

The Journal of Historical Review

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Impact and Future of Holocaust Revisionism

Robert Faurisson

Media Coverage of the Irving-Lipstadt Trial

My Testimony in the London Trial

Kevin MacDonald

Irving and 'Holocaust Denial'

Joseph Sobran

IHR Conference Set for May

Foiling Espionage in Berlin Radio's Arab Service

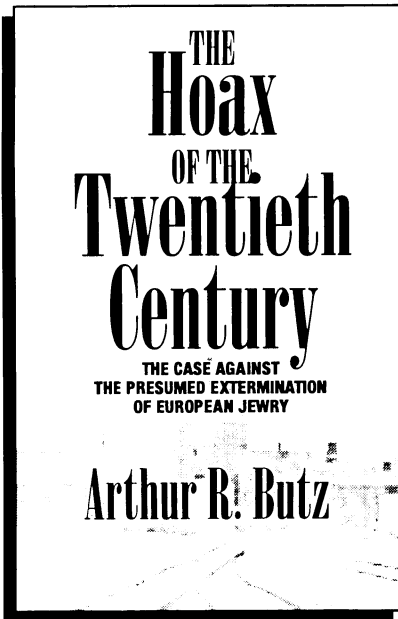
Yûnus Bahrî

— 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

In spite of the many important breakthroughs in revisionist scholarship since it was first published in 1976, Dr. Butz' brilliant pathbreaking study remains unsurpassed as the most comprehensive one-volume scholarly refutation of the Holocaust extermination story.

With an engineer's eye for technical detail and a mature scholar's mastery of the sources, the Northwestern University professor ranges from Auschwitz to Zyklon in debunking the gas chamber and the Six Million stories.

In nearly 400 pages of penetrating analysis and lucid commentary, Dr. Butz gives 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 more than half a century.

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may have perished in the turmoil of deportation, internment and war.

Maligned by persons who have made no effort to read it, bitterly 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 Zionist interests and the international Holocaust lobby that its open sale has been banned in several countries, including Israel and Germany.

In three important supplements included in this edition, the author reports on key aspects of the still unfolding global Holocaust controversy.

Now in its *tenth* US printing, this classic, semi-underground best seller remains the most widely read revisionist work on the subject. It is must reading for anyone who wants a clear picture of the scope and magnitude of the historical cover-up of the age.

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 and Computer

Engineering. 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.

The Hoax of the Twentieth Century

by Arthur Butz

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On the Cover: Robert Faurisson addresses the Tenth IHR Conference, 1990.

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Impact and Future of Holocaust Revisionism

ROBERT FAURISSON

The following is the remark, not of a revisionist, but rather by an anti-revisionist:¹

"Holocaust denier," "revisionist," "negationist": everyone knows what such an accusation means. It effectively means exclusion from civilized humanity. Anyone who is suspected of this is finished. His public life is destroyed, his academic reputation ruined.

And he went on to add:

One day people will have to discuss the state of public affairs in a country where to brand a renowned scholar as a Holocaust denier (by hitting him with the 'Auschwitz Lie' club [*die Keule der Auschwitz-Lüge*]) is enough to destroy him morally, in an instant.

Against the Law

Writings such as this essay cannot be sold openly in my country. They must be published and distributed privately.

In France, it is forbidden to question the *Shoah* — also called the "Holocaust."

A law on the "freedom of the press" enacted on July 13, 1990, makes it a crime to question the *Shoah*, in its three hypostases: the alleged genocide of the Jews, the alleged Nazi gas chambers, and the alleged figure of six million Jewish victims of the Second World War. Violators are subject to a prison term ranging from one month to one year, a fine of

Robert Faurisson is Europe's foremost Holocaust revisionist scholar. Born in 1929, he was educated at the Paris Sorbonne, and served as a professor at the University of Lyon in France from 1974 until 1990. He was a specialist of text and document analysis. After years of private research and study, Dr. Faurisson first made public his skeptical views about the Holocaust extermination story in articles published in 1978 and 1979 in the French daily *Le Monde*. His writings on the Holocaust issue have appeared in several books and numerous scholarly articles, many of which have been published in this *Journal*.

This essay, translated from the French by S. Mundi, is adapted from the introduction (dated December 3, 1998) to *Écrits révisionnistes (1974-1998)*, a four-volume collection, published in 1999, of many of Faurisson's revisionist writings.

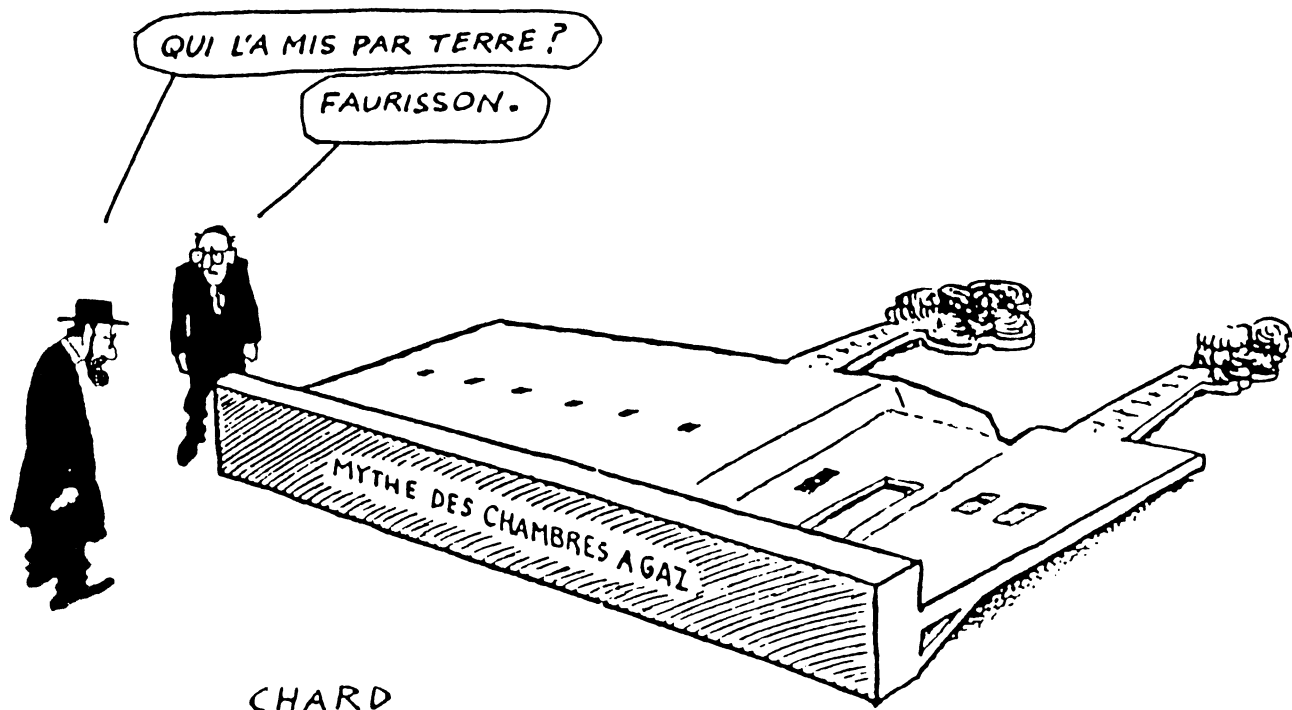


Robert Faurisson

2,000 to 300,000 francs (\$333 to \$50,000), an order to pay considerable damages, and other sanctions. More precisely, this law makes it a crime to question ("contester") the reality of any of the "crimes against humanity" as defined in 1945 and punished in 1946 by the judges of the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg, a court established exclusively by the victors exclusively to judge the vanquished.

Debates and controversies about the *Shoah* are, of course, still permitted, but only within the limits set by the official dogma. Controversies or debates that might lead to a challenging of the *Shoah* story as a whole, or of a part of it, or simply to raise doubt, are forbidden. To repeat: on this issue, even doubt is proscribed, and punished.

In France, the impetus for such a law (which is of Israeli inspiration),² came in 1986 from several historians of Jewish origin, including Pierre Vidal-Naquet, Georges Wellers, and François Bédarida, together with Chief Rabbi René-Samuel Sirat.³ The law was enacted in 1990 on the initiative of former prime minister Laurent Fabius, then a member of the Socialist government, president of the National Assembly, and himself a Jewish militant of the Jewish cause. During this same period (May 1990), a



"Who knocked it down?," asks a Rabbi about the "Myth of the gas chambers" facade. "Faurisson," is the reply. Drawing by French artist Françoise Pichard ("Chard").

desecration of graves in the Jewish cemetery of Carpentras, in Provence, had given rise to a media furor that nullified any inclination on the part of opposition lawmakers to mount any effective resistance to the bill. In Paris some 200,000 marchers, with a host of Israeli flags borne high, demonstrated against "the resurgence of the horrid beast." Notre Dame's great bell tolled as for a particularly tragic or significant event in the history of France. Once the law was on the statute books (promulgated in the *Journal officiel* on the 14th of July, the national holiday: the same issue, incidentally, that announced Vidal-Naquet's nomination to the Order of the *Légion d'honneur*), the Carpentras outrage was mentioned only, if at all, with a certain distance, as a mere reminder. Only the "Fabius-Gayssot" Act remained.

Under pressure from national and international Jewish organizations, and following the Israeli and French examples, other countries similarly adopted laws forbidding any questioning of the Shoah. Such has been the case for Germany, Austria, Belgium, Switzerland, Spain and Lithuania. In practice, such specific laws are not absolutely necessary to combat and suppress historical revisionism. In France, as elsewhere, the practice has often been to prosecute questioners of the Shoah under other laws, according to the needs of a given case, on the basis of laws against racism or anti-Semitism, defaming living

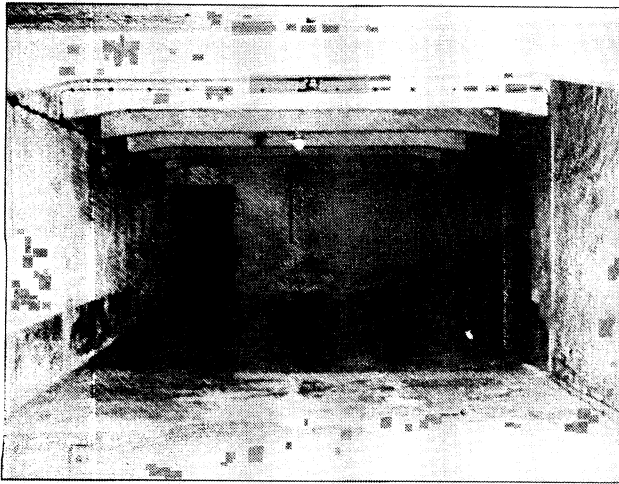
persons, insulting the memory of the dead, attempting to justify crimes, or spreading false news, and — a source of cash indemnities for the plaintiffs — using personal injury statutes.

In France the police and the judiciary rigorously ensure the protection thus accorded to an official version of Second World War history. According to this rabbinical version, the major event of the conflict was the Shoah, in other words the physical extermination of the Jews that the Germans are said to have carried out from 1941-1942 to 1944-1945. (Lacking any document with which to assign a precise time span to the event — and for good reason, as it is a matter of fiction — the official historians propose only dates that are as divergent as they are approximate.)

A Revisionist Chronicle

Since 1974 I have had to fight so many legal battles that I've been unable to find time to compose the systematic exposition that one is entitled to expect from a professor who, over so many years, has devoted his efforts to a single aspect of Second World War history: the "Holocaust" or the Shoah.

Year after year, an avalanche of trials, entailing the gravest consequences, has thwarted my plans to publish such a work. Apart from my own cases, I have had to devote considerable time and effort to the defense, before their respective courts, of other



For decades this room in the crematory building in the Auschwitz I main camp has been shown to many hundreds of thousands of tourists as an execution “gas chamber” in its “original state.” It is now authoritatively acknowledged that this “gas chamber” is actually a fraudulent postwar reconstruction.

revisionists in France and abroad. Today, as I write these words, two cases are being brought against me, one in the Netherlands, the other in France, while I must also intervene, directly or indirectly, in proceedings pending against revisionists in Switzerland, Canada, and Australia. For lack of time, I have had to decline helping others, notably two Japanese revisionists.

Around the world, our adversaries’ tactic is the same: use courts to paralyze the work of the revisionists, if not to sentence them to prison terms or to order them to pay fines or damages. For those convicted, imprisonment means a halt to all revisionist activity, while those ordered to pay large sums are compelled to set off on a feverish pursuit of money, goaded by threats of bailiffs, “writs of seizure,” “notices to third parties,” and freezing of bank accounts. For this reason alone, my life over the past quarter of a century has been difficult. It still is and, in all probability, will remain so.

To make matters worse, my idea of research has never been that of the “paper” professor or historian. I consider it indispensable to see the terrain for myself: either the terrain of the forensic investigation, or the terrain where the adversary is deployed. I wouldn’t be entitled to talk about the camps of Dachau, Majdanek, Auschwitz or Treblinka without first having visiting them to examine for myself the buildings and the people there. I won’t talk about anti-revisionist activities, such as demonstrations, conferences, symposia, and trials, without having attended them, or at least delegating an instructed observer to the events — a prac-

tice that is not without risk, but which enables one to obtain information from a good source. I have friends and associates produce countless letters and statements. Whenever possible, I go myself to the ramparts. To cite but one example: the impressive international “Holocaust” conference organized in Oxford in 1988 by the late billionaire Robert Maxwell (also known as “Bob the Liar”). I believe I can justifiably say that it aborted so pitifully (as Maxwell himself admitted),⁴ thanks to an operation on the spot that I personally organized — with the help of a female French revisionist who lacked neither courage, nor daring, nor ingenuity: her activism alone was certainly worth several books.

To the hours and days thus spent preparing court cases or various sporadic actions should be added the hours and days lost in hospital, recovering from the effects of an exhausting struggle or from the consequences of physical attacks carried out by militant Jewish groups. (In France armed militias are strictly prohibited, except for the Jewish community.)⁵

Finally, I have had to encourage, direct, or coordinate, in France and abroad, numerous activities or works of a revisionist nature, shore up those whose strength has faltered, provide for the continuance of action, answer requests, warn against provocations, errors, digressions from the goal, and, above all combat ill-conceived accommodations given that, for some revisionists, there is a great temptation in such a struggle to seek compromise with the adversary and, sometimes, even to back down. Examples of war-weary revisionists who have sunk to public contrition are, sad to say, not lacking. I shall not cast a stone at them, though. I know from experience that discouragement is liable to befall each of us because the contest is so unequal: our resources are laughable, while those of our opponents are immense.

Historical Revisionism

Revisionism is a matter of method and not an ideology.

It demands, in all research, a return to the starting point, an examination followed by re-examination, re-reading and rewriting, evaluation followed by revaluation, reorientation, revision, recasting. It is, in spirit, the contrary of ideology. It does not *deny*, but instead aims to affirm with greater exactitude. Revisionists are not “deniers” (or, to use the French expression, “negationists”). Rather, they endeavor to seek and to find things where, it seemed, there was nothing more to seek or find.

Revisionism can be carried out in a hundred activities of everyday life and in a hundred fields of historical, scientific, or literary research. It does not necessarily call established ideas into question, but



In this drawing French cartoonist “Chard” (Françoise Pichard) underscores the remarkable fact that the most notorious “gas chamber” at Auschwitz-Birkenau has no openings through which deadly Zyklon could have been introduced. For decades it has been claimed that Zyklon B pellets were poured into Birkenau’s Krema II “gas chamber” through four holes in the roof. (See, for example, Y. Gutman & M. Berenbaum, *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp*, 1994, p. 167.) However, and as any observant visitor at the site can readily determine for himself, there are no holes or openings in this roof (which is now largely in ruins). On the basis of this fact alone, a central pillar of the Holocaust extermination story is discredited. As revisionist scholar Robert Faurisson has succinctly put it on numerous occasions, “No Holes, No ‘Holocaust!’”

often leads to qualifying them somewhat. It seeks to untangle the true from the false. History is, in essence, revisionist; ideology is its enemy. Because ideology is strongest during times of war or conflict, and because it then churns out falsehood in abundance for propaganda needs, the historian working in that area is well advised to redouble his vigilance. In probing deep into the “truths” of which he has been reminded so often, he will doubtless realize that, when a war has led to tens of millions of deaths, the very first victim is the ascertainable truth: a truth that must be sought out and re-established.

The official history of the Second World War comprises a bit of truth mixed with a great deal of falsehood.

Official history: Its Retreats in the Face of Revisionist Advances

It is accurate to say that National Socialist Germany built concentration camps; it did so after, and at the same time as, a good number of other countries, all of which were convinced that their camps would be more humane than prison. Hitler saw in them what Napoléon III had thought he saw in the creation of penal colonies: progress for humanity. But it is false to hold that Germany ever established “extermination camps” (an expression invented by the Allies).

It is accurate to say that the Germans manufactured gas-powered vehicles (*Gaswagen*). But it is false to say that they ever built homicidal gas vans (if a single one of these had ever existed, it would be



Raul Hilberg

on display at an automobile museum, or at one of the various "Holocaust" museums, at least in the form of a drawing of scientific value).

It is accurate to say that the Germans employed Zyklon (made from a base of hydrocyanic acid and in use since 1922) to safeguard, by disinfestation, the health of large numbers of civilians, troops, prisoners, and internees. *But* they never used Zyklon to kill anyone, let alone to put to death throngs of human beings at once. In light of the draconian precautions for the use of hydrogen cyanide gas, the gassing of inmates as allegedly carried out at Auschwitz and at other camps would have been fundamentally impossible.⁶

It is accurate to say that the Germans envisaged a "final solution of the Jewish question" (*Endlösung der Judenfrage*). *But* this solution was a territorial one (*eine territoriale Endlösung der Judenfrage*), and not a murderous one. It was a project to induce or, if necessary, to force the Jews to leave Germany and its European sphere of influence, thereafter to establish, in accord with the Zionists, a Jewish national home, in Madagascar or elsewhere. With a view toward such a solution, many Zionists collaborated with National Socialist Germany.⁷

It is accurate to say that a gathering of German officials was held at a villa in Wannsee, on the outskirts of Berlin, on January 20, 1942, to discuss the Jewish question. *But* the subject of their discussions was the forced emigration or deportation of the Jews, as well as the future creation of a specific Jewish territorial entity, not a program of physical extermination.

It is accurate to say that some German concentration camps had crematories to incinerate corpses. *But* their purpose was to combat epidemics, not to incinerate, as some have dared assert, living human beings along with corpses.⁸

It is accurate to say that many Jews experienced the hardships of war, of internment, deportation, the detention camps, the concentration camps, the

forced labor camps, the ghettos; that there were, for various reasons, summary executions of Jews, that they were the victims of reprisals and even massacres (for there are no wars without massacres). *But* it is equally true that all of these sufferings were also the lot of many other nations or communities during the war and, in particular, of the Germans and their allies (the hardships of the ghetto aside, for the ghetto is first and foremost a specific creation of the Jews themselves).⁹ It is above all most plausible, for anyone who is not afflicted with a hemiplegic memory, and who seeks to acquaint himself with both sides of Second World War history (that is, the side that is always shown, as well as the side almost always hidden), that the sufferings of the vanquished during the war *and afterwards* were, in number and in nature, greater than those of the Jews and the victors, especially as concerns deportations.

It is false that there ever existed, as some have long dared to assert, any order whatever, given by Hitler or any of his associates, to exterminate the Jews. During the war, German soldiers and officers were convicted by their own courts martial, and sometimes shot, for having killed Jews.

It is a good thing that the exterminationists (that is, those who believe in the extermination of the Jews) have grown weary to the point that they now acknowledge that no trace of any plan, instruction, or document relating to a policy of physical extermination of the Jews has ever been found and that, similarly, they have at last admitted that no trace of any budget for such an undertaking, or of a body responsible for running such a project, has been found.

It is a good thing that the exterminationists have at last conceded to the revisionists that the judges at the Nuremberg trial (1945-1946) accepted as true certain pure inventions, such as the stories of soap produced from Jewish fat, of lampshades made of human skin, of "shrunk heads," and of homicidal gassings at Dachau.

It is an especially good thing that the exterminationists have finally recognized that the most spectacular, the most terrifying, the most significant part of that trial — that is, the session of April 15, 1946, in the course of which a former commandant of the Auschwitz camp, Rudolf Höss, testified openly that, in his camp, millions of Jews had been gassed — was merely the product of the tortures inflicted on him. His "confession," presented for so many years and in so many historical works as the Number One "proof" of the genocide of the Jews, is now consigned to oblivion, at least as far as historians are concerned.¹⁰

It is fortunate that exterminationist historians have finally acknowledged that the famous testi-

mony of SS officer Kurt Gerstein, an essential element of their case, is devoid of value. *It is loathsome* that the French University revoked the revisionist Henri Roque's doctorate, earned for having demonstrated that fact in 1985.¹¹

It is pitiful that Raul Hilberg, the "pope" of exterminationism, ventured to write, in the first, 1961 edition of his study, *The Destruction of the European Jews*, that there were two orders by Hitler to exterminate the Jews, and then later to declare, in 1983, that the extermination had come about on its own, without any order or plan, but rather through "an incredible meeting of minds, a consensus — mind reading by a far-flung [German] bureaucracy." So it was that Hilberg replaced a gratuitous assertion with a magical explanation: telepathy.¹²

It is a good thing that the exterminationists have, in effect, finally (or very nearly) abandoned the charge, based on "testimonies," according to which there were execution gas chambers at the camps of Ravensbrück, Oranienburg-Sachsenhausen, Mauthausen, Hartheim, Struthof-Natzweiler, Stutthof-Danzig, Bergen-Belsen ...¹³

It is a good thing that the most-visited "gas chamber" in the world — that of Auschwitz I — has at last (in a January 1995 article) been recognized for what it is — a fabrication. It is fortunate that it has at last been admitted that "*Everything in it is false.*" I personally delight in knowing that an Establishment historian has written: "In the late 1970s, Robert Faurisson exploited these falsifications all the better as the [Auschwitz] museum administration balked at acknowledging them."¹⁴ I delight all the more given that the French courts, in their iniquity, convicted me for basically saying just that.

It is a good thing that, in that same 1995 article, this same historian revealed that such a figure in the Jewish world as eminent as Théo Klein sees in that "gas chamber" only a "trick" ("*artifice*").

It is also a good thing that, in that same article, this same historian revealed, first, that the Auschwitz Museum authorities are conscious of having deceived millions of visitors (500,000 yearly in the early 1990s), and second, that they will nevertheless continue to deceive their visitors, for, as the Museum's assistant director put it: "[Telling the truth about this 'gas chamber'] is too complicated. We'll see to it later on."¹⁵

It is fortunate that in 1996 two historians of Jewish origin, the Canadian Robert Jan van Pelt and the American Debórah Dwork, finally denounced some of the enormous fakes of the Auschwitz camp-museum, and the cynicism with which visitors were being duped there.¹⁶

It is, on the other hand, unconscionable that UNESCO (the United Nations Educational, Scien-

tific, and Cultural Organization) should maintain its patronage (as it has done since 1979) of a site such as Auschwitz, whose center upholds, in its fake "gas chamber" (to say nothing of other enormous falsifications), an imposture now avowed as such. UNESCO (based in Paris and headed by Federico Mayor) has no right to use the dues of the member countries to sanction such a vast swindle, one so incompatible with the interests of "education," "science," and "culture."

It is fortunate that Jean-Claude Pressac, after having been praised to the skies, has fallen into discredit. Promoted by the Klarsfeld couple, this French pharmacist thought it wise to stake out a half-way position between those who believed in the gas chambers and those who did not. For him, in a sense, the woman in question was neither pregnant nor unpregnant, but rather half-pregnant and even, with time, less and less pregnant. An author of writings that were supposed to be about the Nazi gas chambers, but in which not one comprehensive photograph or drawing of a single one of those chemical slaughterhouses was to be found, this pitiful scribbler would, in a Paris court on May 9, 1995, go on to give a demonstration of his total inability to reply to the presiding judge's questions as to what, concretely, such a mass murder machine might actually have been.¹⁷

It is fortunate that, although in ruins, "the gas chamber" of *Krematorium II* in Birkenau (Auschwitz II), plainly shows that there never was a "Holocaust" in this camp. According both to a German defendant's statements under interrogation, as well as 1944 aerial photographs "retouched" by the Allies, the roof of this gas chamber seems to have had four special openings (about ten inches square, it was specified), through which Zyklon was poured in. But as anyone at the site can observe for himself, none of those four openings ever existed. Given that Auschwitz is the capital of the "Holocaust," and that this ruined crematory is at the core of the alleged extermination process of the Jews at Auschwitz, in 1994 I said (and this phrase seems since to have caught on): "*No holes, no 'Holocaust'.*"

It is equally fortunate that a plethora of "testimonies" that supposedly confirm these homicidal gasings have thus been invalidated. By the same token, it is *extremely deplorable* that so many Germans were tried and convicted by their victorious adversaries for crimes they could not have committed, some even being put to death.

It is a good thing that, in the light of trials resembling so many judicial masquerades, the exterminationists themselves voice doubts as to the validity of numerous testimonies. The defective nature of these testimonies would have been much more obvious if one had taken the trouble to carry

out a expert examination of the *supposed* weapon of the *alleged* crime. But in the course of hundreds of trials concerning Auschwitz or other camps, no court ordered any such inquiry. (The one exception, very little known, was carried out at Struthof-Natzweiler in Alsace, the results of which were kept hidden until I revealed them.) It was nonetheless known that a good number of testimonies or confessions needed to be verified and checked against the material facts and that, in the absence of those two conditions, they were worthless as evidence.

It is fortunate that official history has revised downwards — often quite drastically — the supposed number of victims. It was only after more than 40 years of revisionist pressure that Jewish authorities and those of the Auschwitz State Museum removed the 19 plaques that, in 19 different languages, announced that the number of victims there had been four million. It then took five years of internal bickering for agreement to be reached on the new figure of one and a half million, a figure that, in turn, was very quickly challenged by exterminationist authors. Jean-Claude Pressac, Serge Klarsfeld's protégé, has more recently proposed a figure of 600,000 to 800,000 Jewish and non-Jewish victims during the entire period of the Auschwitz complex's existence.¹⁸ It is a pity that this quest for the true figure is not followed through to reach the likely figure of 150,000 persons — most of them victims of epidemics — in the nearly 40 camps of the Auschwitz complex. *It is deplorable* that the film "Nuit et Brouillard" ("Night and Fog"), in which the Auschwitz death toll is put at nine million, continues to be shown in French schools. This film perpetuates the myths of "soap made from the bodies," or lampshades of human skin, and of scratches made by fingernails of dying victims on the concrete walls of the gas chambers. The film even proclaims that "nothing distinguished the gas chamber from an ordinary barracks!"

It was a good thing that Arno Mayer, a Princeton University professor of Jewish origin, wrote in 1988: "Sources for the study of the gas chambers are at once rare and unreliable."¹⁹ But why was it affirmed for so many years that the sources were countless and trustworthy? And why was scorn poured on the revisionists who, since 1950, had written what Arno Mayer affirmed in 1988?

It was a particularly good thing that the French historian Jacques Baynac, who had made a specialty, in *Le Monde* and elsewhere, of labeling the revisionists as forgers, should finally acknowledge in 1996 that there was, after all, no evidence of the existence of homicidal gas chambers. It was, he made clear, "as painful to say as it is to hear."²⁰ Perhaps, for certain persons, and in certain circumstances, the truth is "as painful to say as it is to

hear." For revisionists, though, the truth is as pleasant to say as it is to hear.

Lastly, it is fortunate that the exterminationists have allowed themselves to undermine the third and last element of the Shoah trinity: the figure of six million Jewish deaths.²¹ It seems that this figure was first put forth by Rabbi Michael Dov Weissmandel (1903-1956). Based in Slovakia, this rabbi was the main inventor of the Auschwitz lie based on the alleged testimonies of Rudolf Vrba and Alfred Wetzler. He organized intensive "information campaigns" aimed at the Allies, at Switzerland, and at the Vatican. In a letter of May 31, 1944 (that is, nearly a full year before the war's end in Europe), he did not shrink from writing: "Till now six times a million Jews from Europe and Russia have been destroyed."²²

This six million figure was also published before the end of the war in the writings of the Soviet Jew Ilya Ehrenburg (1891-1967), perhaps the most hateful propagandist of the Second World War.²³ In 1979 the six million figure was suddenly termed "symbolic" (that is, false) by the exterminationist Martin Broszat during the trial of a German revisionist. In 1961, Raul Hilberg, that most prestigious of conventional historians, estimated the number of Jewish wartime deaths to have been 5.1 million. In 1953, another of those historians, Gerald Reitlinger, put forth a figure of between 4.2 and 4.6 million. In fact, though, no historian of that school has offered any figures based on the results of an investigation. It has always been a matter of each one's own more or less educated guess. The revisionist Paul Rassinier, for his part, proposed the figure of "about one million" Jewish deaths. As he pointed out, though, he did so on the basis of numbers furnished by the opposing side. His figure was thus also a product of guesswork.

The truth is that many European Jews perished, and many survived. With modern calculation methods it should be possible to determine what, in each case, is meant by "many." However, the three sources from which the necessary information might be obtained are, in practice, either forbidden to independent researchers or are accessible only with great limitation:

- First, the enormous body of documentation gathered by the International Tracing Service (ITS) of Arolsen-Waldeck, Germany, which is answerable to the International Committee of the Red Cross in Switzerland. Access to this center is very limited — closely guarded by a ten-nation board, of which Israel is a member.

- Second, documents held in Poland and Russia, including death registries of certain camps, cremation registries, and so forth. Only a portion of these documents is accessible.

• Finally, the names of the millions of Jewish survivors — in Israel or in dozens of countries represented by the World Jewish Congress in New York — who have received, or are still receiving, financial indemnities or reparations. Merely listing these names would show the extent to which communities that so often have been said to be “exterminated” in fact were not at all exterminated.

Even 52 years after the end of the war, the State of Israel put the official number of “Holocaust” “survivors” around the world at some 900,000. (More precisely, it gave figures of between 834,000 and 960,000.)²⁴ According to a computation made by the Swedish statistician Carl O. Nordling, to whom I submitted that Israeli government evaluation, it is possible, postulating the existence of 900,000 “survivors” in 1997, to conclude that there were, at the end of the war in Europe in 1945, slightly more than three million “survivors.” Even today, a diverse range of organizations or associations of “survivors” flourish around the world. These include associations of veteran Jewish “résistants,” of former children of Auschwitz (that is, Jewish children born in that camp or interned there with their parents at a very early age), of former Jewish forced laborers, and, more simply, formerly clandestine Jews or Jewish fugitives. Millions of beneficiaries of “miracles” no longer constitute a “miracle,” but are rather the result of a natural phenomenon. The American press has reported fairly often on moving reunions of family members, “Holocaust” survivors all, each of whom, we are assured, was at one time convinced that his or her “entire family” had been lost.

To sum up, in spite of the dogma and the laws, the pursuit of the historical truth about the Second World War in general, and about the Shoah in particular, has made headway in recent years, but the general public is kept in the dark about this. It would be stunned to learn that, since the early 1980s, establishment historians have relegated many of the most firmly held popular beliefs to the rank of legend. From this point of view, one can say that there are two levels of “the Holocaust”: on the one hand, that of the public at large and, on the other, that of the conformist historians. The first seems to be unshakable, while the second (to judge by the number of hasty repairs being made to it), seems on the verge of collapse.

Year by year (and especially since 1979), the concessions made to the revisionists by the “orthodox” historians have been so numerous and of such quality that today the latter find themselves at a dead end. No longer having anything of substance to say about the “Holocaust,” they have handed the baton to the filmmakers, novelists, and theater people. Even the museum people are at a loss. At the US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, the

“decision” has been made not to offer for public viewing “any physical representation of the gas chambers.” (This is according to a statement made to me, and in the presence of four witnesses in August 1994, by the Museum’s Research Director, Michael Berenbaum. He is the author of a guide book of more than 200 pages in which, in effect, no physical representation of gas chambers appears, not even one of the miserable and fallacious mock-up on display for Museum visitors.)²⁵ The public is forbidden to take photographs there. Claude Lanzmann, maker of “Shoah,” a film remarkable for its utter lack of historical or scientific content, today no longer has any recourse but to pontificate in deploring the fact that “the revisionists occupy the whole terrain.”²⁶ As for Elie Wiesel, he calls on everyone to show discretion. He requests that we no longer try to closely examine, or even to imagine what happened in the gas chambers: “Let the gas chambers remain closed to prying eyes, and to imagination.”²⁷ The “Holocaust” historians have turned into theoreticians, philosophers, and “thinkers.” The squabbles among them, between “intentionalists” and “functionalists,” or between supporters and adversaries of a thesis such as Daniel Goldhagen’s on the near-innate propensity of Germans to descend into anti-Semitism and racist crime, ought not to conceal from view the poverty of their historical work.

Revisionism's Successes and Failures

In 1998, an appraisal of the revisionist enterprise could be briefly put as follows: a sparkling success on the historical and scholarly front (where our opponents capitulated in 1996), but a failure on the public relations front. (Our adversaries have closed off all access to the media except, for the time being, the Internet.)

In the 1980s and early 1990s, anti-revisionist authors attempted to cross swords with the revisionists on the field of historical scholarship. Pierre Vidal-Naquet, Nadine Fresco, Georges Wellers, Adalbert Rückerl, Hermann Langbein, Eugen Kogon, Arno Mayer, and Serge Klarsfeld, each in turn tried to persuade the media that answers had been found to the revisionists’ material or documentary arguments. Even Michael Berenbaum, even the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, in 1993 and in early 1994, wanted to pick up the gauntlet I had thrown down, and try to show just a single Nazi gas chamber, just a single proof — of their own choosing — that there had been a genocide of the Jews. But their failures were so stinging that thereafter they abandoned, ever more progressively, the fight on that turf. More recently, in 1998, appeared a thick book by Michael Berenbaum (together with Abraham J. Peck) entitled *The Holocaust and History*.²⁸ But far from examining, on the level of historical

scholarship, what the authors call the “Holocaust,” instead they unintentionally show that the “Holocaust” is one thing, and “History” quite another. The work, moreover, is quasi-immaterial, presenting neither photographs, nor drawings, nor the least attempt to represent physically any reality whatever. Only the dust jacket offers a view of a heap of shoes. Reputedly possessing a certain graphic eloquence, at the US Holocaust Memorial Museum they supposedly tell us: “We are the shoes, we are the last witnesses.” This book is merely a compilation of 55 contributions written and published under the watchful eye of Rabbi Berenbaum: in it even Raul Hilberg, even Yehuda Bauer, even Franciszek Piper, abandon any real effort at scholarly research, while at the same time anathema is pronounced against Arno Mayer who, in his 1988 study, tried to put the “Holocaust” back into the realm of history.²⁹ The irrational has prevailed against attempts at rationalization. Elie Wiesel, Claude Lanzmann, and Steven Spielberg (in his film, “Schindler’s List,” inspired by a novel), have in the end triumphed over those in their own camp who once tried to prove the “Holocaust.”

In future years it will be seen in hindsight that in September 1996 the death knell sounded for the hopes of those who wanted to combat revisionism on historical and scholarly grounds. The two long articles in a Swiss daily paper written by the anti-revisionist historian Jacques Baynac definitively closed the book on attempts at a rational response to revisionist arguments.

In the mid- and late 1970s, I offered my own contribution to the development of revisionism. I discovered and formulated what has since come to be known as the physical and chemical argument, that is, the physical and chemical reasons why the alleged Nazi gas chambers were quite simply inconceivable. At the time, I commended myself for having presented to the world a decisive argument that had never before been expounded either by a German chemist or an American engineer. (Germany is not short of chemists, and the United States has engineers who, given the forbidding complexities involved in making and operating an American penitentiary gas chamber, ought to have realized that, because of certain physical and chemical realities, the alleged Nazi gas chambers could not possibly have operated as claimed.)

If, during that period, amidst the fracas prompted by my discovery, a clairvoyant had predicted that, 20 years later, my adversaries, after many attempts to show that I was wrong, would (as Baynac did in 1996) resign themselves to acknowledging that, after all, there existed not the least evidence with which to prove the reality of a single Nazi gas chamber, I certainly would have rejoiced. I might have also concluded that the myth of the

“Holocaust” could never survive such a direct hit, that the media would then quit propagating the Great Lie and that, quite naturally, the legal repression of revisionists would end by itself.

In so reckoning I would have committed an error both of diagnosis and of prognosis.

For the spirit of superstitious belief is different than that of science. It makes its own way in the world. The realm of religion, of ideology, of illusion, of the media, and of fictional cinema can develop at a certain remove from scientific realities. Even Voltaire never succeeded in “crushing the vile foe.” One may therefore say that, like Voltaire denouncing the absurdities of the Hebraic tales, the revisionists — in spite of the scholarly character of their work — are doomed never to carry the day against the wild imaginings of the Synagogue, while the Synagogue, for its part, will never succeed in stifling the voices of the revisionists. The “Holocaust” and “Shoah business” propaganda will continue to flourish. It still remains for revisionists to show how this belief, this myth was born, grew and flourished before, perhaps, one day disappearing to make way, not for reason but for other beliefs and other myths.

How are men deceived, and why do they deceive themselves so readily?

‘Holocaust’ Propaganda

The masses are most easily fooled through manipulation of images. With the liberation of the German concentration camps in April 1945, British and American journalists rushed to photograph and film true horrors that were then, one may say, made into truer than life horrors. In the language dear to media people, the public was presented with a “put-up” job.³⁰ On the one hand, we were shown real dead bodies as well as real crematories, and, on the other hand, thanks to some misleading comments and a cinematic staging, a deft artifice was effected. I describe this fraud with a phrase that may serve to help unmask all such impostures: We were led to take the *dead* for *killed*, and *crematories* for execution *gas chambers*.

Thus was born the confusion, still so widespread today, between, on the one hand, the crematories, which actually existed (but not at Bergen-Belsen) for the incineration of corpses and, on the other hand, the Nazi gas chambers allegedly used to kill whole crowds of men and women, but which, in reality, never existed nor could have existed.

The myth of the Nazi gas chambers and their association with the crematories originated, in its *media* form, in the press and newsreel photographs and media commentary from the Bergen-Belsen camp — which, orthodox historians now admit, possessed neither mass-execution gas chambers nor even simple crematories.

'Gas Chambers' That Have Never Been Seen or Shown

At a news conference in Stockholm in March 1992, I issued a challenge to the audience of newspaper and television reporters. That challenge was made in the nine words: "Show me or draw me a Nazi gas chamber."

The next day, the journalists' reports on the news conference indeed appeared, but they passed over in silence its essential object: precisely that challenge. They had looked for photographs and had found none.

Billions of people over this past half-century assume (or imagine) that they have seen images of Nazi gas chambers in books or in documentary films. Many are convinced that, at least once in their lives, they've come across a photograph of a Nazi gas chamber. Some have visited Auschwitz or another camp where guides told them that this or that structure was a gas chamber. Such visitors are told that before their eyes is (as the case may be) a gas chamber "in its original state" or "a reconstruction" of an original gas chamber. (This latter expression implies that the "reconstruction" is faithful, that it conforms to the "original.") Sometimes visitors are shown remains of what they are told are "ruins of a gas chamber."³¹ Yet, in all such cases, they have been deceived or, better, have deceived themselves. This phenomenon is easily explained.

Many people imagine that a homicidal gas chamber is merely a room with poison gas inside. This reveals confusion between an execution gassing, and a suicidal or accidental one. An execution gassing, such as those of individuals in some United States prisons, is unavoidably a very complicated undertaking. In such a case, care must be taken to kill only the condemned prisoner without causing an accident, and without putting one's own life, or that of one's associates, in danger, especially in the final phase, that is, when the chamber must be entered to remove the contaminated corpse. Most "Holocaust" museum visitors, readers, film-goers, and even most historians, are obviously unaware of any of this. Those in charge of "Holocaust" museums exploit this lack of awareness. For an effective Nazi gas chamber exhibit, they need only show the credulous public a gloomy space or room, a cold morgue room, a shower room (preferably located below ground), or an air raid shelter (with a peephole in its door), and the trick will work. The tricksters can manage with even less than this: it's enough merely to show a door, a wall, or a roof of a purported "gas chamber." The most clever ones will get by with just a bundle of hair, a pile of shoes, or a heap of eyeglasses, while claiming that these are the only traces or remains left of the "gassed" victims. Naturally, they will refrain from mentioning that, during

the war and the blockade, in a Europe beset with general shortages and penury, vast "recovery" and "recycling" programs were organized to reclaim all recoverable materials, including hair, which was used, for example, in textile products.

The 'Holocaust' Witnesses: Unverified Testimonies

A similar confusion reigns with respect to the witnesses. We are presented with bands of witnesses to the genocide of the Jews. Whether orally or in writing, these witnesses claim to assert that Germany carried out a plan for the overall extermination of the Jews of Europe. In reality, these witnesses can truthfully attest only to such facts as the Jews' deportation, their internment in detention camps, concentration camps or forced labor camps, and even, in some cases, the functioning of crematories. The Jews were to so great a degree *not* doomed to extermination, or to end up in mass-execution gas chambers, that each one of these countless survivors or escapees, far from constituting, as some would have us believe, a "living proof of the genocide," is, on the contrary, a living proof that there was no genocide. As has been seen above, at war's end the number of Jewish "survivors" of the "Holocaust" probably exceeded three million.

For Auschwitz alone, a lengthy list may be made of former Jewish inmates who have borne witness — in public, orally or in writing, on television, in books, in the law courts — to "the extermination of the Jews" in the camp.³²

I shall also mention the resounding case of a late arrival — the Swiss clarinetist Benjamin Wilkomirski. It is not clear why, but this false witness was publicly exposed after a three-year spell of glory during which he was honored with the US National Jewish Book Award, the Jewish Quarterly Literary Prize in Britain, the Mémoire de la Shoah prize in France, and an impressive series of dithyrambic articles in the press worldwide. His purported autobiography, in which he relates being deported as a child to Majdanek and to Auschwitz (?), was originally published in Germany in 1995. It appeared in English under the title *Fragments: Memories of a Wartime Childhood*.³³ Jewish author Daniel Ganzfried concluded, on the basis of his investigation, that Benjamin Wilkomirski, alias Bruno Doesseker, born Bruno Grosjean, indeed had some experience of Auschwitz and Majdanek, but only after the war, as a tourist.³⁴ In 1995 the Australian Donald Watt successfully deceived much of the English-language media with a memoir that told of his alleged life as a crematory "stoker" at Auschwitz-Birkenau.³⁵ Between September and November 1998, a vast media operation was organized in Germany and France based on the sudden "revelations" of Dr. Hans-Wilhelm Münch, one-time SS physician

at Auschwitz. The vein is decidedly bountiful.

Primo Levi is still generally treated as a reliable witness. While this reputation was perhaps deserved in 1947, with the publication of his book *Se questo è un uomo* (published in the US under the title *Survival in Auschwitz*), Levi later conducted himself rather unworthily. Elie Wiesel remains the undisputed “star false witness” of the “Holocaust.” In his autobiographical account *Night* he does not mention “gas chambers.” For him, the Germans threw Jews into blazing pits. (As recently as June 2, 1987, he testified under oath at the Klaus Barbie trial in Lyon that he had “seen, in a little wood, somewhere in [Auschwitz] Birkenau, SS men throwing live children into the flames.” (The translator and editor of the German version of *Night* resuscitated the “gas chambers” in Wiesel’s account of Auschwitz. In France, Fred Sedel in 1990 similarly proceeded in re-editing a book that had appeared in 1963, putting “chambres à gaz” [“gas chamber”] where, 27 years earlier, he had mentioned only “fours crématoires” [“crematory ovens”].)³⁶

In this same boat of “pious lies” one may also include the testimonies of some non-Jews, in partic-

ular that of General André Rogerie. In the original 1946 edition of his memoir, *Vivre, c’est vaincre*, he wrote only of having *heard talk* of “gas chambers.” But fortified by support from Georges Wellers, he presented himself in 1988 as a “Holocaust witness” who had “beheld the Shoah at Birkenau.”³⁷ As he himself has related, his lot as a prisoner in the Auschwitz-Birkenau camp was a privileged one. He lodged in the barracks of the “bosses” and enjoyed a “royally cushy position” of which he “has fond remembrances.” He ate pancakes with jam and played bridge. Of course, he wrote, “not only merry events take place [in the camp].” Still, upon leaving Birkenau he had this thought: “Unlike many others, I have been better off here than anywhere else.”³⁸

Samuel Gringauz got through the war in the ghetto of Kaunas, Lithuania. In 1950 — that is, at a time when it was still possible to speak somewhat freely on the subject — he gave an appraisal of the literature thus far produced by the survivors of the “great Jewish catastrophe.” Deploring the trespasses to which their “hyper-historical complex” was then giving rise, he wrote:³⁹

The hyper-historical complex may be described as judeocentric, lococentric and egocentric. It

Testimony of an Auschwitz Gas Chamber ‘Survivor’

I am 28 years of age and was arrested on 19th May 1941, at Lublin. I was arrested because I was a Jewess ... I was taken to Auschwitz in company with other Jews who were said to be partisans. On arrival I was made to have a bath and had my hair cut off and was then placed in quarantine for six weeks.

At Auschwitz, on 24th December 1942, I was paraded in company with about 19,000 other prisoners, all of them women. I was one of the 3,000 prisoners picked out of the 19,000 by the doctors and taken to our huts, where we were stripped naked by other prisoners and our clothes taken away. We were then taken by tipper-type lorries to the gas chamber chute. They were large lorries, about eight in all and about 300 persons in each lorry.

On arrival at the gas chamber the lorry tipped up and we slid down the chute through some doors into a large room. The room had showers all round, towels and soap and large numbers of benches. There were also small windows high up near the roof. Many were injured coming down the chute and lay where they fell. Those of us who could sat down on the benches provided and immediately afterwards the doors of the room were closed. My eyes then began to water, I started coughing and had a pain in my chest and throat. Some of the other people fell down and others coughed and foamed at the mouth. After being the room for about two minutes the door was opened and an SS man came in wearing a respirator. He called my

name and then pulled me out of the room and quickly shut the door again. When I got outside I saw SS man Franz Hoessler ...

He took me to hospital, where I stayed for about six weeks, receiving special treatment from Dr. Mengele. For the first few days I was at the hospital I found it impossible to eat anything without vomiting. I can only think I was taken out of the gas chamber because I had an Aryan husband and therefore was in a different category from the other prisoners, who were all Jews ...

After recovering I worked in the kitchen at Auschwitz ... I left Auschwitz in November 1944 and went to Breslau, where I stayed for three months, working in a munitions factory. After leaving there I went to various places, working in similar factories until I came to Belsen in March 1945 ...

I was told that there were altogether seven gas chambers at Auschwitz, each with a crematorium attached.

— From the deposition of Sophia Litwinka, submitted as prosecution evidence in the British military court trial at Lüneburg, Sept.-Nov. 1945, of former Bergen-Belsen and Auschwitz camp personnel. Litwinka also testified in the trial. Her deposition and testimony are published in: Raymond Phillips, ed., *Trial of Josef Kramer and Forty-Four Others (The Belsen Trial)*, (London: William Hodge, 1949), pp. 79-84, 745-746.

concentrates historical relevance on Jewish problems of local events under the aspect of personal experience. This is the reason why most of the memoirs and reports are full of preposterous verbosity, graphomantic exaggeration, dramatic effects, overestimated self-inflation, dilettante [sic] philosophizing, would-be lyricism, unchecked rumors, bias, partisan attacks and apologies.

One can only assent to this judgment, which could perfectly well apply today to a Claude Lanzmann or an Elie Wiesel. For the latter's "hyper-historical complex," for the "judeocentric, lococentric and egocentric" character of his writings, one may refer to Wiesel's two recent volumes of memoirs, published in the US under the titles *All Rivers Run to the Sea*, and, *And the Sea is Never Full*. In so doing, one may also realize that, far from having been exterminated, a great many of the members of the Jewish community of the little Romanian-Hungarian town of Sighet in all likelihood survived deportation, notably to Auschwitz in May and June of 1944, and internment. Himself a native of Sighet, Wiesel endured the fate of his fellow townspeople. In journeys to various places around the world after the war, he came upon an amazing number of relatives, friends, old acquaintances, and others from Sighet who, thanks to a succession of "miracles," had survived Auschwitz or the "Holocaust."

Some Other Second World War Fables

Just as perplexed as today's generation, those of the future will ask themselves identical questions about a number of Second World War myths besides that of the Nazi gas chambers: in addition to the stories already mentioned of "Jewish soap," tanned human skins, "shrunk heads," and "gas vans," one may also cite the stories of the insane medical experiments attributed to Dr. Mengele, Adolf Hitler's orders to exterminate the Jews, Heinrich Himmler's order to halt said extermination, and the mass killings of Jews by electricity, steam, quicklime, crematories, burning pits, and vacuum pumps. Let us also cite the purported exterminations of Gypsies and homosexuals, and the alleged gassings of the mentally ill. Future generations will also wonder about many other subjects: the massacres on the Eastern front as related in certain writings, and in writing only, at the Nuremberg trial by the professional false witness Hermann Gräbe; such now-acknowledged impostures as the book supposedly by Hermann Rauschning, which in fact was written chiefly by the Hungarian Jew Imre Révész, alias Emery Reves, but used extensively at the Nuremberg trial as though it were authentic;⁴⁰ the mass killing of Jews near Auschwitz with an exper-



Elie Wiesel

imental atomic bomb, a claim also brought up at the Nuremberg trial;⁴¹ the absurd "confessions" extorted from German prisoners; the reputed diary of Anne Frank; the young boy in the Warsaw ghetto shown as going to his death, whereas he most likely emigrated to New York after the war;⁴² along with various false memoirs, false stories, false testimonies, and false attributions, the true natures of which would, with a minimum of effort, have been easy to ascertain.

But those future generations will probably be astonished most of all by the myth that was instituted and hallowed by the Nuremberg trial (and, to a lesser degree, by the Tokyo trial): that of the intrinsic barbarity of the vanquished and the intrinsic virtue of the victors who, as becomes apparent upon a close look at the facts, themselves committed acts of horror that were far more striking, both in quantity and in quality, than those perpetrated by the vanquished.

A Universal Butchery

At a time when one might be led to believe that only the Jews really suffered during the Second World War, and that only the Germans behaved like veritable criminals, an impartial examination into the true sufferings of all peoples and the real crimes of all belligerents seems overdue.

Whether "just" or "unjust," every war is a butchery — indeed, notwithstanding the heroism of countless soldiers, a competition in butchery. At the end of it, the winner turns out to have been nothing



The German defendants at the "International Military Tribunal," which met November 1945 to October 1946 in Nuremberg. Here Alfred Jodl, standing, delivers his final plea to the Tribunal.

more than a good butcher, and the loser a bad butcher. So when hostilities have ceased, the victor may perhaps be entitled to give the vanquished a lesson in butchery, but certainly not in Right and Justice. Yet that is just what happened in the great Nuremberg trial of 1945-1946, when the four big winners, acting in their own names and in the name of the 19 victorious entities (not counting the World Jewish Congress, which enjoyed the status of *amicus curiae* or "friend of the court"), had the cynicism to inflict such a treatment on a beaten nation reduced to total impotence.

According to Nahum Goldmann, President of both the World Jewish Congress and the World Zionist Organization, the idea of such a trial was the brainchild of a few Jews.⁴³ As for the role played by Jews in the actual proceedings at Nuremberg, it was considerable. The American delegation, which ran the entire business, was made up largely of "re-emigrants," that is, of Jews who migrated in the 1930s from Germany to America, and then returned to Germany after the war. Gustave M. Gilbert, the famous psychologist and author of *Nuremberg Diary* (1947), was a Jew who, working behind the scenes with the American prosecutors, did not miss the chance to practice psychological torture on the German defendants. Airey Neave, a member of the British delegation, remarked, in a book prefaced by Lord Justice Birkett, one of the panel of judges, that many of the American examiners were German-

born, and all were Jewish.⁴⁴

For reasons I deal with in detail in my *Écrits révisionnistes* collection, the Nuremberg trial can be regarded as this century's crime of all crimes. Its consequences have proven tragic. It accorded the status of truth to an extravagant volume of lies, calumnies, and injustices that over the years have served to justify all kinds of wickedness: in particular Bolshevik and Zionist expansionism at the expense of nations in Europe and Asia, and of Palestine. Given, however, that the Nuremberg judges found Germany guilty, first and foremost, of having unilaterally plotted and

instigated the Second World War, we must begin by first examining this point.

Four Giants and Three Dwarfs: Who Wanted War?

Because history is primarily a matter of geography, let us consider a desktop globe of the year 1939 on whose surface a single color would cover four immense aggregates: Great Britain and her empire of a fifth of the Earth, and upon which "the sun never set," France and her own vast colonial empire, the United States and its vassals, and, finally, the impressive empire of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Then, another color would mark the modest Germany within her pre-war borders, the meager Italy and her little colonial empire, and finally Japan, whose armies at the time occupied territory in China. (We shall not consider here the countries that were later to join the ranks, at least provisionally, of one or the other of these two belligerent blocs.)

The contrast between the geographical areas covered by these two groups is striking, as is the contrast between their natural, industrial, and commercial resources. Of course, by the end of the 1930s, Germany and Japan were starting — as the postwar years further proved — to shake off their yokes, and to build an economy and an army capable of disquieting the bigger and stronger powers. And, of course, the Germans and the Japanese, during the first years of the war, deployed an uncom-

mon measure of energy and succeeded in carving out their short-lived empires. But, all things considered, Germany, Italy, and Japan were mere dwarfs, so to speak, beside the four giants that were the British, French, American, and Soviet empires.

Who today can seriously believe — as was maintained at the Nuremberg and Tokyo trials — that during the late 1930s these three dwarfs deliberately sought to provoke a new world war? Better still: who today can believe for an instant that, during the general slaughter that ensued, the first of these three dwarfs (Germany) was guilty of every imaginable crime, while the next (Japan) came a distant second, and the third (Italy), which changed sides in September 1943, committed no really reprehensible acts? Who today can accept the notion that the four giants did not, to use the Nuremberg terminology, commit any “crimes against peace,” any “war crimes,” or any “crimes against humanity” that, after 1945, would have warranted judgment by an international tribunal?

It is nevertheless easy to show, with solid proof, that the winners, in six years of war and in a few years afterwards, accumulated, in their massacres of prisoners of war and of civilians, in massive deportations, in systematic looting, and in summary or “judicial” executions, more horrors than the losers. Katyn forest, the Gulag, Dresden, Hiroshima, Nagasaki, the expulsion, under horrible conditions, of 12 to 15 million Germans (from East Prussia, Pomerania, Silesia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Romania, and Yugoslavia), the handing over of millions of Europeans to the Soviet moloch, the bloodiest purge ever to sweep the continent: was all of that really too small a matter for review by an international tribunal? During this past century, no military force has killed as many children — in Europe, Japan, Korea, Vietnam, Iraq, and Central America — as the US air force. And yet no international authority has held it to account for these slaughters, which the “boys” have always been ready to carry out anywhere in the world, for such is their “job.”⁴⁵

Did the French Want War?

“Cursed be war!” reads the inscription on the war memorial in the small French town of Gentioux. In the town of Saint-Martin-d’Estréaux, the inscription on the memorial is lengthier, but its “assessment” of the war sends forth the same cry.⁴⁶ The lists, in churches and on monuments throughout France, of the dead from the 1914-1918 war are heart-rending. Today no one is really able to say for just what reason the youth of France (just as, on its side, the youth of Germany) were thus mown down.

On some of these same memorials in our towns and villages one can also find, though in markedly

smaller numbers, the names of young Frenchmen killed or missing during the campaign of 1939-1940: about 87,000 altogether. Occasionally one also finds lists of civilian victims. During the war years, the British and Americans alone killed some 67,000 in their air attacks on France. Occasionally, to round out the list, one can sometimes find the names of a few Résistance members who died in their beds well after the war. Almost never can one find the names of French victims of the “Great Purge” of 1944-1947 — probably 14,000, and not 30,000 or, as is sometimes claimed, 105,000 — in which Jews, Communists, and last-minute Gaullists played an essential role. With rare exceptions the names of the colonial troops who “died for France” are also missing, because they were not natives of the French towns.

For France, the two world wars constituted a disaster: the first, especially because of the sheer volume of human losses, and the second because of its character as a civil war that has persisted to this day.

When reflecting on these lists of First World War dead, including those “missing in action,” when remembering the whole battalions of men who survived with ruined faces, of those wounded, maimed, and crippled for life, when taking stock of the destructions of all sorts, when thinking of the families devastated by these losses, of the prisoners, of those “shot for desertion,” of the suicides provoked by so much suffering, when remembering as well the 25 million deaths in America and Europe in 1918 from the epidemic of a viral illness wrongly called “Spanish influenza” (brought into France, at least in part, by American troops),⁴⁷ can one not understand the pre-1939-1945 pacifists and supporters of “Munich,” as well as the Pétainists of 1940? What right today has anyone to speak blithely of “cowardice,” either with regard to the Munich accords of September 29 and 30, 1938, or to the armistice signed at Rethondes in Picardy on June 22, 1940? Could the Frenchmen who, in the late 1930s, still bore the physical and emotional scars of the 1914-1918 holocaust (a veritable one), and its aftermath, consider it a moral obligation to hurl themselves straight into a new slaughter? And, after the signing of an armistice that, however harsh, was by no means shameful, where was the dishonor in seeking an understanding with the adversary, not in order to wage war but to make peace?

Did the Germans Want War?

“Hitler [was] born at Versailles”: that sentence serves as the title of a work by the late Léon Degrelle.⁴⁸ The 1919 Versailles *Diktat* — for it was not really a treaty — was so harsh and dishonorable for the defeated nation that the American Senate

refused to recognize or adopt it (November 20, 1919). And in the years that followed, it was ever more discredited. It dismembered Germany, submitted it to a cruel military occupation, and starved it. In particular, it obliged the defeated nation to cede to the newly created state of Poland the regions of Posen, Upper Silesia, and part of West Prussia. The 440 articles of the "Treaty of Peace Between the Allied and Associated Powers and Germany" (together with its annexes) signed at Versailles on June 28, 1919, constituted, along with the related treaties (Trianon, Saint-Germain, Sèvres), a monumental iniquity which, if anything, only the fury of a recently ended war can explain. As one French writer has put it: "It is easy enough to find fault with the Germans for not having respected Versailles. Their duty of honor as Germans was, first, to get round it, and then to tear it up, just as that of the French was to maintain it."⁴⁹

Twenty years after that crushing humiliation, Hitler sought to recover some of the territory turned over to Poland, just as France, after its defeat in 1870, sought to recover Alsace and a part of Lorraine.

Unless he chooses to speak flippantly, no historian is in a position to state who in fact is mainly to blame for a worldwide conflict. It is thus wise not to ascribe to Hitler exclusive responsibility for the 1939-1945 war under the pretext that, on the 1st of September 1939, he went to war against Poland. On the other hand, the attempt to justify the entry into war of Britain and France, two days later, by their declarations of war against Germany on the basis of a pledge to come to the aid of Poland seems rather unfounded given that, two weeks later (September 17, 1939), the USSR invaded Poland and occupied a good part of its territory, without prompting any military reaction on the part of Britain or France.

Worldwide conflicts resemble tremendous natural disasters in that they cannot accurately be predicted, even if one can sometimes feel them coming. Only after the fact can they be explained, laboriously and, too often, affected by reserves of bad faith in the form of mutual accusations of negligence, blindness, ill will, or irresponsibility. All the same one can note that in Germany during the late 1930s, the pro-war camp, that is, those who urged military action against the western powers was, to all intents and purposes, non-existent. The Germans envisaged only a "push to the East" (*Drang nach Osten*). On the other hand, in Britain, France and the United States, the anti-German hawks were powerful. The "war party" wanted a "democratic crusade," and got it. Among these new crusaders figured, with a few noteworthy exceptions, the whole of American and European organized Jewry.

Churchill and the British as Masters of War Propaganda

During the First World War, the British cynically exploited all the resources of propaganda based on wholly fictitious atrocity stories.⁵⁰ During the Second World War they remained true to form.

Today people widely condemn Neville Chamberlain for his policy of "appeasement" in dealing with the Germans, whereas people hold, or pretend to hold, Winston Churchill in high esteem for his determination to carry on war against Germany. It is not yet certain that history, with time, will uphold this judgment. New discoveries concerning Churchill's personality and wartime role raise questions about the dubious justifications for that determination, along with questions about the fruits of his policies. At least Chamberlain had foreseen that even a British victory would entail disaster for his country, her empire, and for other victors as well. Churchill did not see this, or did not know how to see it. He promised "blood, toil, tears, and sweat," to be followed by victory. He did not anticipate the bitter morrow of victory: the hastened disappearance of the empire he held dear, and the handing over of nearly half of Europe to Communist imperialism.

During an address given several years ago, David Irving, Churchill's biographer, showed the illusory nature of the justifications given by Churchill, first, to launch his countrymen into the war, and then to keep them in it. The business, if one may so term it, was carried out in four phases.

In the initial phase, Churchill assured the British that it was their obligation to go to the aid of a Poland that had fallen victim to Hitler's aggression but, two weeks into the war, this motive was nullified by the Soviet Union's aggression against the same ally.

In the next phase, he explained to his countrymen that they must carry on the war in order to safeguard the British empire. He rejected Germany's repeated peace proposals, and in May 1941 he had the peace emissary Rudolf Hess incarcerated. Whereas Germany wanted to preserve and maintain the British empire, he chose to conclude an alliance with the empire's worst possible enemy: the American Franklin Roosevelt. Thus the second motive was then nullified.

In a third phase, Churchill told the British that they were duty-bound to fight for Democracy, including its most paradoxical variety: the Soviet Socialist. He held that a second European front must be opened to relieve the burden on Stalin. This of course meant aiding a dictatorship that had assaulted Poland on September 17, 1939, and which was preparing a new conquest of that country.

As late as one month before the end of hostilities in Europe (May 8, 1945), British propaganda was

generally lacking in coherence, while many British and American soldiers were appalled to learn the extent to which their bombers had ravaged Germany.

It was then that suddenly, in April 1945, there occurred a miracle that enabled Churchill to find his fourth, and really good motive: the discovery of the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp prompted him to assert that, Britain's difficult fight over nearly six years, wreaking and enduring so much havoc, was for no less a cause than that of civilization itself. To be sure, on more than one occasion he had already spoken to his countrymen, in his customarily high-flown rhetoric, about Britain as the cradle of a civilization threatened by the Teutonic hordes (the "Huns," as he called them), but these oratorical devices no longer worked so well. The godsend was the discovery in April 1945 of a pestilence-ravaged camp: a boon for Churchill and for British propaganda.

At Bergen-Belsen, the British Introduce the 'Nazi Crime' Media Spectacle

Situated near Hannover, Bergen-Belsen was originally established as a camp for wounded soldiers. In 1943 it became a detention center for European Jews who were to be exchanged for German civilians held by the Allies. In the middle of the war, Jews were transferred from that camp to Switzerland or, by way of Turkey, even to Palestine (yet another proof, as may be pointed out in passing, of the absence of an extermination program).

Until the end of 1944, conditions for inmates at Bergen-Belsen were about normal: then, along with a convoy of deportees brought from regions in the East facing the imminent Soviet onslaught, there arrived epidemics of dysentery, cholera, and exanthematic typhus. The resulting disaster was aggravated by the Anglo-American bombing raids that severely hampered deliveries of medicine, food, and — most devastating of all — water. The rail transports of Jews from the East no longer took just two or three days to reach the camp, but rather one or two weeks. Because of Allied air bombardment and strafing, the trains could proceed only at night. As a result, the trains arrived containing only dead and dying, or exhausted men and women unfit to withstand such epidemics. On March 1st, 1945, camp commandant Josef Kramer sent a letter to General Richard Glücks, chief of concentration camp administration, in which he described this "catastrophe" in detail, concluding with the plea: "I implore your help in overcoming this situation."⁵¹

Germany, on its last legs, could no longer deal with the influx of its own eastern refugees arriving by the millions. It could no longer manage to supply its army with weapons and ammunition, or its population with food. Finally, it could no longer remedy



British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, American President Franklin Roosevelt and Soviet premier Joseph Stalin at the Yalta Conference in Soviet Crimea, February 1945.

the tragic conditions in camps where even guards were dying of typhus. Himmler authorized Wehrmacht officers to establish contact with the British to warn them that they were approaching, in their advance, a frightful den of infection. Negotiations followed. A wide truce area was declared around Bergen-Belsen, and British and German soldiers decided, by mutual consent, to share the task of camp surveillance.

But what they found in the camp, including barracks and tents flooded with excrement, and the unbearable odor of decomposing bodies, quickly had the British feeling indignant. They came to believe, or were allowed to believe, that the SS had deliberately chosen to kill the inmates or to let them die. And, despite their own best efforts, the British were unable to curb the terrible mortality rate.

Then, like a swarm of vultures, journalists swooped down on the camp, filming and photographing every possible horror. They also proceeded to arrange certain scenes of their own making: a famous one, shown for example in the film "Night and Fog," is that of a bulldozer pushing corpses into a large pit. Many viewers have been led to believe that they are seeing "German bulldozers."⁵² They didn't notice that the bulldozer (just one) is driven by a British soldier who, doubtless after a body count, is pushing the corpses into a large trench that had been dug after the camp's liberation. The Jew Sydney Lewis Bernstein, London head of the Home Office cinema section, called on Alfred Hitchcock to make a film on these "Nazi atrocities." Hitchcock accepted, but, in the end, only fragments of his film were made public, probably because the complete version contained assertions that might cast doubt on its authenticity.⁵³

On the whole, the "shock of Bergen-Belsen" was a great success for Allied propaganda. In every possible way, the media exploited it to show *dead* and

dying camp inmates to the world at large, but while at the same time leading viewers, through commentary, to think that these inmates had been *killed*, *murdered*, or *exterminated*, or else were walking corpses condemned to perish as victims of *killing*, *murder*, or *extermination*. Thus, on the basis of the ghastly conditions in a camp that, as already noted, had neither crematories nor (as conventional historians acknowledge) any homicidal gas chamber, was built the general myth of the existence and use, at Auschwitz and elsewhere, of “gas chambers” coupled with crematories.

Among the most famous casualties of epidemics in that camp were Anne Frank and her sister Margot who, for nearly 40 years, were widely and persistently said to have been gassed at Auschwitz (from where, in fact, they had been brought), or killed at Bergen-Belsen. Today, it is generally conceded that they died of typhus at Bergen-Belsen in February-March 1945.

The “shock of Bergen-Belsen” was very quickly imitated by the Americans who, turning to Hollywood, shot a series of motion pictures on the liberation of the German camps. After editing the extensive footage (6,000 feet of film, of a total of 80,000), they produced a film that was shown on November 29, 1945, at the Nuremberg trial. Everyone, including most of the defendants, found it quite disturbing. A few of the defendants sensed the deceit, but it was too late: the great lie’s bulldozer had been set in motion. It is still running today. The viewers of all the many horror films on the “Nazi camps” have, over time, been conditioned by the choice of images and the commentary. A section of wall, a heap of shoes, a smokestack: it has taken no more than these for the public to believe that they have seen a chemical slaughterhouse.

Fifty-two years after the liberation of the Bergen-Belsen camp, Maurice Druon, *secrétaire perpétuel* of the *Académie française*, testified at the trial of Maurice Papon, accused of “collaboration” in the “Final Solution.” Here is an extract of his deposition mentioning gas chambers at that camp (which, as all historians today acknowledge, had none), the famous bulldozer, and the “hair shorn from the dead to help make some ersatz or other”:⁵⁴

When speaking today of the camps, one has in one’s eyes, and the jurors present have in their eyes, those horrid images that the films and the screens offered and offer to us; and it is quite right to do so [that is, to show them], and they ought to be re-shown each year to every secondary school graduating class. But those images, of the gas chambers, of the mounds of hair shorn from the dead to help make some ersatz or other, of those children playing among

the corpses, and of those bodies so great in number that they had to be pushed into a pit by a bulldozer, and of those troops of skeletons, staggering and haggard, in striped pajamas, with death in their eyes, those images, and I hereby bear witness, I was, in my modest capacity of information officer, one of the 20 Allied officers to “view” them first, when the uncut footage, as it is called, arrived just after the liberation of Bergen-Belsen by the English. But that was in the spring of 1945. Until then, no one knew. — We must not judge with our trained eyes [sic] of today, but with our blind eyes of yesterday.

Maurice Druon, in reality, had “trained eyes” yesterday and has “blind eyes” today. More than 50 years of propaganda have blinded him. But already during the war, were not he and his uncle Joseph Kessel, both Jewish, blinded by their hatred of the German soldiers when they wrote the atrocious “Partisans’ Song,” which includes the exhortation “Killers by bullet and by knife, kill quickly!”?

The Americans and the Soviets Outdo the British

In 1951, anyway, the Jewish scholar Hannah Arendt had the honesty to write:⁵⁵

It is of some importance to realize that all pictures of concentration camps are misleading insofar as they show the camps in their last stages, at the moment the Allied troops marched in ... The condition of the camps was a result of the war events during the final months: Himmler had ordered the evacuation of all extermination camps in the East, the German camps were consequently vastly overcrowded, and he was no longer in a position to assure the food supply in Germany.

Let us once more recall that the expression “extermination camps” is a creation of Allied war propaganda.

Eisenhower thus followed Churchill’s lead and set about building, on an American scale, such a propaganda edifice, based on atrocity stories, that soon everything and anything came to be allowed, as much in regard to the vanquished as to the simple, factual truth. In news reports about the German camps there were added to the true horrors, as I have said, horrors truer than life. Eliminated were the photographs or film segments showing inmates with beaming faces, such as that of Marcel Paul,⁵⁶ or those in relatively good health despite the severe shortages or epidemics, or, as at Dachau, the healthy Hungarian Jewish mothers with their babes-in-arms. Instead, the public was only shown images of the sickly, the wasted, the human rags,

who were actually just as much victims of the Allies as of the Germans, for the former, with their carpet-bombing of the whole of Germany and their systematic aerial strafing of civilians — even of farm workers in the fields — had brought about an apocalypse in the heart of Europe.

Respect for the truth will oblige one to remark that neither Churchill, nor Eisenhower, nor Truman, nor de Gaulle was impudent enough to lend credence to the tales of chemical slaughterhouses. They left that job to their propaganda specialists and to the judges of their military tribunals. Appalling tortures were inflicted on the Germans who, in the eyes of the Allies, were guilty of all of those “crimes.” Reprisals were carried out against German prisoners and civilians. As late as 1951 German men and women were being hanged. (Even in the 1980s, the Soviets were still shooting German or German-allied “war criminals.”) British and American soldiers, at first quite taken aback at the sight both of the German cities reduced to rubble, and of their inhabitants turned into cave-dwellers, could return home with peace of mind. Churchill and Eisenhower were there to vouch for the Truth: the Allied forces had brought down Evil; they embodied Good; there was to be a program of “re-education” for the defeated Germans, including the burning by the millions of their bad books. All told, the Great Slaughter had come to a happy ending, and had been carried out for a righteous cause. Such was the fraud made holy by the Nuremberg show-trial.

A Fraud at Last Denounced in 1995

It took no less than 50 years for a historian, Annette Wieviorka, and a filmmaker, William Karel, to reveal to the general public, in a documentary entitled *Contre l'oubli* (“Against Forgetting”), the 1945 American and Soviet stagings and fabrications carried out in the context of the liberation of the camps in East and West.

Wieviorka, a French Jew, and Karel, an Israeli who has lived in France since 1985, have manifestly been influenced by the French revisionist school. Although quite hostile toward the latter, they have nonetheless admitted that the time has at last come to denounce some of the exterminationist propaganda’s most glaring fictions. On this subject one may refer either to an article by the journalist Philippe Cusin⁵⁷ or, especially, to another article that Béatrice Bocard prepared for the repeat broadcast of “Against Forgetting” on *Antenne 2* television, a piece whose title alone says a great deal: “The Shoah, from reality to the spectacle. The indecent stagings by the liberators in the face of the deportees’ accounts.”⁵⁸ In it Bocard wrote:

With only slight exaggeration, it might be said



These Hungarian Jewish mothers with their babies were photographed at Dachau on May 1, 1945, two days after the liberation of the camp. The official US Army caption reports that these Jewish babies were born during the final months of German control of the camp. (US Army photo SC 205488.)

that the liberation of the concentration camps introduced the *reality shows* ... The first signs of the genre of spectacles that television channels like CNN were to make commonplace 50 years later were already there, with attempts to outdo [one another] at indecency, at voyeurism, and with recourse to staging ... The least infirm of the survivors were made to repeat their script before the cameras: “I was deported because I was Jewish,” says one of them. Once, twice ... Not to be outdone by the American “show,” the Soviets, who had done nothing at the time of the Auschwitz camp’s liberation, shot a “fake liberation” a few weeks afterwards, with Polish extras enthusiastically greeting the soldiers ... “William Karel is the first to have dissected these false images that we had always been told, until quite recently, were genuine,” says Annette Wieviorka. How had it been possible to accept them? “People are not in the habit of questioning images as they question texts,” the historian explains. “The example of the [purported] mass graves at Timosoara [Romania, December 1989] is not too distant.”

It goes without saying that, in this article by Bocard, the manipulations were presented as being offensive ... for the internees. Some German soldiers and civilians denounced this sort of fakery as early as 1945 but, instead of being believed, they were accused of Nazism or anti-Semitism.

The Jewish Organizations' Responsibility for This Propaganda

From its origins in 1941 up to the present, the propaganda that has evolved around the "genocide" and the "gas chambers" has essentially been the product of Jewish organizations. As a result, the general public has gradually become convinced that the Germans carried out a wartime program of physical extermination directed, above all, at the Jews, and that the "gas chambers" were in some way reserved exclusively for them (including for the Jewish "Sonderkommando" members whose supposed job was to lead their fellow Jews to the slaughter). Nowadays, the countless "Holocaust museums" constitute a Jewish monopoly, and a Hebrew word, "Shoah" ("catastrophe"), is used ever more often to designate this purported genocide. Whatever their part in the making of the myth and in its success, the western Allies played only a supporting role, and always under pressure from various Jewish organizations. (The Soviet case may have been different: Moscow's fabrication of an "Auschwitz" in which the fate of the Jews was not particularly emphasized may have been born of the need for a propaganda to be directed less toward the peoples behind the Iron Curtain than toward Western "progressives.")

The fact that today some Jewish voices are being raised to ask that there be less talk of the "gas chambers" has not induced Jewish community leaders to tone down the "Holocaust" or Shoah propaganda. From the standpoint of Jewish historians these incredible "gas chambers" have, to put it simply, become somewhat burdensome in propagating the Shoah religion.

A French political figure, Jean-Marie Le Pen, has said that the Nazi gas chambers are a detail of Second World War history. Yet, in their respective writings on that war, Eisenhower, Churchill, and de Gaulle apparently regarded those chemical slaughterhouses as even less than a detail, given that they did not mention a word of them. A similar discretion can be noted on the part of the historian René Rémond, who was a prominent member first of the French *Comité d'histoire de la Deuxième Guerre mondiale* (Committee on the History of the Second World War), then of the *Institut d'histoire du temps présent* (Institute of Contemporary History): in two of his works where one might expect to read the words "gas chambers," one finds no such thing. The American historian Daniel Jonah Goldhagen speaks of Nazi gas chambers as an "epiphenomenon." In the 84,000-word French version of the Nuremberg judgment, only 520 extremely vague words are devoted to them, a portion amounting to 0.62 percent of the text.⁵⁹

For a revisionist, the gas chambers are less than

a detail because they quite simply never existed. But the gas chamber myth is much more than a detail: it is the cornerstone of a huge structure of beliefs of all sorts that the law forbids us to question.

"Gas chambers or not, what does it matter?" This question may at times be heard, tinged with skepticism. It bothers Pierre Vidal-Naquet, for whom the abandonment of the gas chambers would be a "surrender in open country."⁶⁰ One can only agree with him. On the matter of the gas chambers' existence or non-existence hinges, in effect, the question of whether the Germans are to be regarded as arrant criminals, or instead, the Jews as arrant liars (or confidence men). In the former case, the Germans, in the space of three or four years, killed industrial proportions of poor unarmed victims by industrial means whereas, in the latter, the Jews, for more than half a century, peddled a lie of historic dimensions.

In 1976 the American Arthur Robert Butz, published his book *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*. In the newspaper *Le Monde* of December 29, 1978, and January 16, 1979, I published two texts on "the rumor of Auschwitz," and, at the very start of that same year of 1979, Wilhelm Stäglich published *Der Auschwitz Mythos*. Voicing the grave Jewish worries in the face of the emergence of revisionist writings, the Zionist William D. Rubinstein, professor at Deakin University in Melbourne, wrote at the time: "... Were the Holocaust shown to be a hoax, the number one weapon in Israel's propaganda armory disappears."⁶¹ Some time later he similarly declared: "... The fact that if the Holocaust can be shown to be a 'Zionist myth,' the strongest of all weapons in Israel's propaganda armory collapses."⁶²

Eight years later, as if to echo those statements, a lawyer for the "International League Against Racism and Anti-Semitism" (LICRA) wrote:⁶³

If [it is true that] the gas chambers existed, then Nazi barbarity has no equal. If not, the Jews will have lied and anti-Semitism will thus be justified. Those are the stakes in the debate.

In Ernst Zündel's phrase, "the 'Holocaust' is Israel's sword and shield."

The stakes are thus not merely historical but also political. And the political stakes present a paradox: the "Holocaust" myth serves, in the first place, to condemn German National Socialism, and secondarily all forms of nationalism or of the national idea — except the Israeli and Zionist variety, which the myth, on the contrary, reinforces.

The stakes are just as much financial, as one may realize when considering that, at least since the "reparations" agreement signed at Luxembourg in 1952, German taxpayers have paid "astronomi-

cal" sums (as Nahum Goldmann put it) to the Jewish population of the State of Israel as well as outside (in the Diaspora), and that they are to continue to pay for the crimes of the Shoah imputed to them until at least the year 2030. The "Shoah Business," denounced even by a Pierre Vidal-Naquet, is inseparable from the Shoah.

Today, the bluff of the Shoah legitimizes a worldwide racket. In the first place, a growing number of either rich or poor countries, including France, find themselves facing claims made by billionaire Edgar Bronfman's World Jewish Congress, and by immensely wealthy American Jewish organizations, for new "reimbursements" or new "reparations" in the form of mountains of gold and money. The countries of Europe, starting with Switzerland, are not the only ones targeted. For the moment a well-established "mafia" concentrates on four main issues (there will certainly be others in future): "Nazi gold," Jewish assets, Jewish art collections, and insurance policies taken out by Jews. The chief targets are governments, banks, museums, auction houses, and insurance firms. The New Jersey legislature, under pressure from Jewish organizations, took measures to impose a boycott of Swiss banking institutions. This is but the beginning. The only real argument brought to bear by the blackmailers can be put in one word: Shoah. Not one government, not one bank, not one insurance company dare retort that the matter at hand is one of myth, and that there is no question of its paying for a crime that was not committed. The Swiss, also under pressure from Jewish organizations, were at first so naive as to think that it would be enough to enact a law forbidding any questioning of the Shoah. But no sooner had they enacted this new legislation than Bronfman presented them his bill. They then offered considerable amounts: a wasted effort. An "angry" Bronfman let it be known that it would take infinitely more to satisfy him. "My experience with the Swiss," he remarked, "is that unless you hold their feet very close to the fire, they don't take you seriously."⁶⁴

As for the moral wrong done to Germany in particular and to non-Jews in general by the propagation of the "Holocaust" faith, it is incalculable. Incessantly the Jewish organizations repeat their accusations, not only against a Germany supposedly guilty of a "genocide" of the Jews, but also against Churchill, Roosevelt, de Gaulle, Stalin, Pope Pius XII, the International Committee of the Red Cross, the neutral countries, and still other countries, all guilty, supposedly, of having permitted Germany to commit this "genocide" and, consequently, themselves likewise liable for financial "reparations."

Jewish Organizations Impose a 'Holocaust' Creed

My writings have dealt little with the "Jewish question." If, over so long a period, I doggedly pursued this historical inquiry without giving much thought to the "Jewish question" as such, it was because, to my mind, the latter was of only secondary importance. Were I to dwell on it I might risk being thrown off the essential course: for I was seeking, first and foremost, to determine, respectively, the real and the mythical components in the story of the so-called "Holocaust" or Shoah. It was therefore far more important for me to establish the actual facts than to try to uncover the responsibilities.

And yet, in spite of myself, two things made me abandon this reticence: the attitude of numerous Jews toward my work, and the aggressive manner in which they served notice on me to state my position regarding the subject that grips so many of them: the "Jewish question."

When, in the early 1960s, I approached what Olga Wormser-Migot was to call in her 1968 doctoral thesis "the problem of the gas chambers," I knew beforehand what sort of consequences such an undertaking might generate. Paul Rassinier's example was there to warn me that I could expect grave repercussions. I nonetheless decided to go ahead with it, to keep within the framework of research of an entirely scholarly nature, and to publish my results. I also chose to leave to the potential adversary any responsibility for recourse to coercion or perhaps even physical violence should the matter ever go beyond the confines of academic controversy.

And that is precisely what happened. Using a metaphor, I could say that the frail door behind which I drafted my revisionist writings one day abruptly gave way to the pushing and shoving of a loud mob of protesters. I was bound then to remark that, in their entirety or quasi-entirety, these troublemakers were sons and daughters of Israel. "The Jews" had barged into my life. I suddenly found them to be not as I had known them hitherto, that is, as individuals to be distinguished one from the other, but as mutually inseparable elements of a group especially united in hatred and, to use their own word, in "anger." Frenzied and frothy-mouthed, in a tone at once moaning and threatening, they came to trumpet in my ears that my work outraged them, that my conclusions were false, and that I must imperatively show allegiance to their version of Second World War history. This kosher version of history put "the Jews" at the center of that war as its victims "second to none," while in fact the conflict caused probably close to 40 million deaths. For Jews, their slaughter is unique in world history. I was warned that unless I complied my career would be ruined. Soon afterwards I was brought to court. Then, by way of the media, the Grand Sanhedrin

made up of the priests, doctors, and other worthies of Jewish Law enforcement launched a virulent campaign against me, advocating hatred and violence. I shall not dwell here on the insults, physical assaults, and court cases that have been its interminable aftermath.⁶⁵

The leaders of these Jewish organizations readily call me a "Nazi," which I am not. As comparisons go, "Palestinian" seems more befitting in view of my standing with them, for they have treated me like one, and I have come to believe that the Jews in their Diaspora behave toward those who displease them much as their brethren behave in Palestine. My writings are, in a sense, the stones of my Intifada. Frankly speaking, I find no essential difference between the behavior of the Zionist leaders of Tel Aviv or Jerusalem, and that of the Jewish leaders in Paris or New York: the same harshness, the same spirit of conquest and domination, the same insistence on privileges, all against a constant background of blackmail, of pressure accompanied by complaints and moaning. Such is the case in today's world. Was it different in the past? Were the Jewish people as unhappy in past centuries as they tend to claim? Have they suffered as much from wars, foreign and civil, as have other human communities? Have they experienced as much hardship and misery? Have they really had no responsibility for the hostile reactions of which they are so quick to complain? On this point, Bernard Lazare wrote:⁶⁶

If this hostility, even repugnance, had been brought to bear on the Jews only at one time and in one country, it would be easy to explain the limited causes of such anger; but this race has been, on the contrary, faced with the hatred of all the peoples among whom it has settled. Therefore, because the Jews' foes have belonged to the most diverse races — races inhabiting lands quite distant from one another, living under different laws and governed by opposing principles, having neither the same ways nor customs, and, animated by various ways of thinking, being unable to judge all things in the same manner — the general causes of anti-Semitism must always have lain in Israel itself, and not amongst those who have fought against it.

This is not to assert that the Jews' persecutors have always had right on their side, nor that they have not resorted to all the excesses that may accompany ardent hatred, but merely



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to postulate that — at least some of the time — the Jews have brought their ills upon themselves.

Lazare was not in the least hostile to his co-religionists — quite the opposite, in fact. He had the frankness to recall, in several passages in his book, how skilful the Jews had been, throughout their history (and thus as far back as Greco-Roman antiquity), in obtaining privileges. He noted that, among those of the poor who converted to Judaism, many "were attracted by the privileges granted to the Jews."⁶⁷

I trust that I may be permitted here a personal digression.

In my capacity as an erstwhile Latinist, as a defendant prosecuted in court by Jewish organizations, as a university professor prevented from giving his lectures by Jewish demonstrations, and, finally, as an author forbidden to publish because of certain Chief Rabbinate decisions that have been ratified by the French Republic, it has occurred to me that I may compare my experiences with those of some illustrious predecessors. It is thus that my thoughts turn to the Roman aristocrat Lucius Flaccus. In 59 BC Cicero had occasion to defend him, notably against his Jewish accusers. The description of the influence, power, and methods of the Jews in Rome that the brilliant orator then gave in the praetorium leads me to think that, if he were to return to this world, in the late twentieth century, to defend a revisionist, he would not, as it were, have to change one word on that subject in the text of his plea (which is known as *Pro Flacco*).

Having taught at the Sorbonne, my thoughts also turn to my predecessor Henri Labroue, author of a work entitled *Voltaire antijuif*. Late in 1942, in the middle of the German occupation, a time when we are expected to believe that the Jews and their supporters were as discreet as possible, he had to abandon his lectures on the history of Judaism. In the words of the present-day Sorbonne luminary André Kaspi: "A chair of the history of Judaism was created at the Sorbonne beginning with the fall term of 1942, and held by Henri Labroue. The first courses provoked hostile demonstrations and incidents that led to the course's cancellation."⁶⁸

Today, dozens of great authors of world literature, including Shakespeare, Voltaire, Hugo, and Zola (the partisan of Captain Dreyfus also wrote "*L'Argent*"), would find themselves in court, sued and prosecuted by Jewish organizations. Among the

great names in French politics, even the Socialist and pacifist Jean Jaurès would be in the dock of disgrace.

Such considerations might earn me the label “anti-Semitic” or “anti-Jewish.” I reject those epithets, which I see as trite insults. I wish no harm to any Jew. At the same time, I regard as loathsome the behavior of most of the associations, organizations, and pressure groups that claim to represent Jewish interests or “Jewish remembrance.”

The leaders of those associations, organizations, or groups obviously have the greatest difficulty in understanding that one may act out of simple intellectual curiosity. I have devoted a good part of my life to revisionism, first in the field of literary studies, then in that of historical research, not at all as a result of some invidious calculation, or in the service of an anti-Jewish plot, but in heeding an impulse as natural as that which makes the birds sing and the leaves grow, and which makes men in the darkness strive after light.

Historical Science's Natural Resistance to this Creed

I could have followed the example set by some other revisionists by proffering my surrender, showing repentance, and retracting certain statements. As another avenue of escape, I might have sought contentment in discreetly devising clever and convoluted maneuvers. Not only did I decide, in the late 1970s, to resist openly and in the public forum, but I also pledged to myself not to play the adversary's game. I resolved to change nothing in my own behavior, and to let the hotheads get hotter by the day, if they so chose. Among the Jews, I would listen only to those who, especially brave, dared to take up my defense, if only for the duration of a season.⁶⁹

On the whole, Jewish organizations brand as “anti-Semites” those who do not adopt their own conception of Second World War history. This is understandable, for the act of going so far as to say, as I do here and now, that these organizations are among those most to blame for the peddling of a gigantic myth, may well seem to be inspired by anti-Semitism. But, in reality, I only draw obvious conclusions from a historical inquiry that seems to have been quite a serious one given that, in spite of the feverish research of plaintiffs and prosecutors, no court has ever found in it a trace of shallowness, negligence, deliberate ignorance, or falsehood.

Moreover, I fail to see why I, for my part, ought to show respect toward groups of persons who have never shown the least respect for my research work, my publications, or my personal, family, or professional life. I do not attack these bodies for their religious convictions or for their attachment to the State of Israel. All human groups revel in phantas-

magoria. Consequently, each is free to offer itself a more or less real, or more or less imaginary, view of its own history. But this conception is not to be forced on others. Yet, the Jewish organizations force theirs on us, a practice that is in itself unacceptable, and all the more so given that this portrayal is manifestly wrong. And I know of no other group in France that has succeeded in making, of an article of its own religious faith (that of the Shoah), an article of the law of the Republic — a group that, with the assent of the Interior Ministry, enjoys the exorbitant privilege of operating its own armed militias; and, finally, which can decree that university teachers who displease it shall no longer have the right to work, either in France or abroad.⁷⁰

For a Fortright Revisionism

The revisionists in fact know neither master nor disciple. They make up a heterogeneous group. They are loath to unite with one another, a trait that brings as many benefits as drawbacks. Their individualism makes them unsuited for concerted action. At the same time, the police are unable to infiltrate such a disparate group and keep it under surveillance; they cannot work their way up the channels of the revisionist structure because there simply is no such thing. These individuals feel free to improvise, each according to his aptitudes or tastes, revisionist activities that may take the most diverse forms. The quality of the work undertaken reflects this disparity, and it must be acknowledged that the results are uneven. From this point of view, one can say that much still remains to be done. The mere amateur is shoulder to shoulder with the scholar, as is the man of action with the researcher in his archives. I shall not mention any names here, for fear of labeling anyone.⁷¹

Regarding the manner in which the revisionist struggle is to be waged, it goes without saying that the revisionists are divided between supporters and opponents of a kind of political realism. Most of them consider that, given the strength of the taboo, they had better proceed indirectly, thereby avoiding direct clashes with the guardians of orthodoxy. For these revisionists, it is clumsy and ill-advised to state, for example, that the “Holocaust” is a myth. They believe that is more worthwhile to imply that the “Holocaust” did indeed take place, but not to the generally acknowledged extent. Keen on strategy or tactics, they seek to leave Jewish sensibilities unruffled and will suggest, wrongly, that the legendary portion of the “Holocaust” story is above all the work of the Communists or the western Allies, but not of the Jews, or if so, only very little. New revisionists have particularly been inclined to engage in this deceitful fudge, which involves presenting the Jews as victims, like everyone else, of a kind of uni-

versal false creed. According to this view, the Jews have been driven, as if by some immanent force, to believe in the genocide and the gas chambers while also being driven, doubtless by the same force, to demand ever more money in reparations for fictitious hardships.⁷² A wandering Jew who has just gone over to the revisionist camp will be welcomed by these revisionists as a great genius and savior of the cause. If he appropriates as his own (and even clumsily), findings about Auschwitz of his non-Jewish predecessors', the newcomer is also hailed as a guiding light of scholarship.

I accept certain forms of such political realism, but on condition that it not be done with arrogance. There is no superiority, either intellectual or moral, in deeming that the end justifies the means, and that it is sometimes simply necessary to borrow the adversary's weapons of dissembling and lying. My personal preference is for a forthright revisionism, a revisionism without hang-ups or too many compromises; one that shows its colors; that marches straight toward its goal; alone, if need be; that does not let the enemy off lightly. Besides, long experience in the revisionist struggle has led me to think that the best strategy, the best tactic may be a series of frontal attacks; the adversary does not expect them: he imagines that no one would ever dare defy him in such a way; he discovers that he no longer inspires fear; he is disconcerted.

A Conflict Without End

On more than one occasion revisionists have proposed to their adversaries the holding of a public debate on the questions of the genocide, the six million, and the gas chambers. Jewish organizations have always shied away from this. This proves that they will not accept it. Even the Catholic Church today allows a form of dialogue with atheists. The "Synagogue," though, will never forget the offense it has suffered,⁷³ nor will it run the risk of engaging in such a dialogue with the revisionists. Moreover, too many political, financial, and moral interests are at stake for the leaders of either the State of Israel or of Jewry in the Diaspora to agree to launch a fair debate on the kosher version of Second World War history.

Therefore, the test of strength will continue. I see no end to it. This conflict between "exterminationism" and "revisionism," that is, between, on the one hand, a fixed, official history and, on the other hand, a critical, scholarly, secular history, is but one of many in the endless struggles between faith and reason, between belief and science, in human societies for thousands of years. The "Holocaust" or Shoah creed is an integral part of a religion, the Hebraic religion, of which, upon closer examination, the "Holocaust" phantasmagoria plainly appears to be

merely one expression. No religion has ever collapsed under the weight of reason, and we are not about to witness the disappearance of the Jewish religion, together with one of its most vital components. That religion, it is currently estimated, is at least 1500 or 3,000 years old, if not 4,000. There is no special reason why those living in the year 2000 should have the privilege of witnessing the demise of a religion so deeply rooted in the ages.

Some say that one day the "Holocaust" or Shoah myth will fade away, just as Stalinist Communism foundered not long ago, or as the Zionist myth and the State of Israel will founder one day. But those who say so are likening unlike things. Communism and Zionism stand on shaky ground; both presuppose largely illusory high aspirations in Man: general absence of selfishness, equal sharing among all, a sense of sacrifice, labor for the common good; their emblems have been, for the former, the hammer, the sickle, and the kolkhoz [collective farm], and, for the latter, the sword, the plough, and the kibbutz. The Jewish religion, for its part, beneath the complex outward appearance provided by the Masora and the *pilpul*, does not indulge in such flights of fancy. It aims low to aim straight. It relies on the real. Underneath the cover of Talmudic extravagance and intellectual or verbal wizardry, one may see that it is above all hand-in-glove with money, King Dollar, the Golden Calf, and the allurements of consumerism. Who can believe that these "values" will soon lose their power? And besides, why should the demise of the State of Israel bring in its wake dire consequences for the myth of the "Holocaust"? On the contrary, the millions of Jews thus forced to settle or resettle in the rich countries of the West would not miss the chance to bewail a "Second Holocaust" and, once again and even more forcefully, would blame the entire world for the new ordeal visited upon the Jewish people, who would then have to be "compensated."

In the end, the Jewish religion — and one sees this only too well in the tales of the "Holocaust" — is anchored in that perhaps deepest zone of Man: fear. Therein lies its strength. Therein lies its chance for survival, despite all the hazards and despite the battering that its myths have taken at the hands of historical revisionism. By exploiting fear, the practitioners of Judaism win every time.

I agree with French sociologist and historian Serge Thion,⁷⁴ who observes that whereas historical revisionism has won all the intellectual battles over the past 25 years, it loses the ideological war every day. Revisionism runs up against the irrational, against a quasi-religious way of thinking, against the refusal to take into account anything that originates from a non-Jewish sphere. We are in the presence of a sort of secular theology whose worldwide

high priest is Elie Wiesel, ordained by the award of a Nobel prize.

The Future Between Repression and the Internet

Newcomers to revisionism must take care not to harbor illusions. Their task will be hard. Will it be less so than it was for Paul Rassinier and his immediate successors? Will the repression be less fierce?

Personally, I rather doubt it. Yet, in the world at large, changes in the political balance and in communication technology will perhaps give minorities an opportunity to be more widely heard than they have been in the recent past. Thanks to the Internet, it will perhaps be easier for revisionists to foil censorship, and historical information will doubtless become more accessible.

The fact remains that at the close of a century and a millennium, humanity is strangely experiencing a world in which books, newspapers, radio, and television are ever more tightly controlled by the masters of finance or by the thought police, while at the same time, in parallel and at increasing speed, new means of communication are being developed which, at least in part, elude those forces' dominion. One might see it as a world of two distinct profiles, one stiffening and ageing, and another, in the insolence of youth, looking keenly to the future. The same contrast can be seen in historical research, at least in the sector that is under thought police surveillance: on one side, the official historians, who bring out countless works on the "Holocaust" or Shoah, isolating themselves within the realm of religious belief or of hair-splitting argument while, on the other side, independent minds strive to follow only the precepts of reason and science. Thanks to the latter, free historical research is today showing an impressive vitality, notably on the Internet.

The upholders of an official history, protected and guaranteed by the law, will be forever doomed to confront the questioners of their ordained truth. The former, long established, have the wealth and the power; the latter, a real future.

A Worsening Repression

If there is one point on which revisionist writings can convey as much information to revisionists as to anti-revisionists, it is that of the repression endured by the former at the hands of the latter.

Nearly every revisionist can provide a good account of what it has cost him to speak out on a taboo subject, but he is not always aware of what his colleagues in other countries have had to endure. The anti-revisionists, for their part, systematically minimize the extent of their repressive actions. They are mindful only of their own torments, which they compare to those suffered by Torquemada and the Grand Inquisitors: they are obliged to flog, ever

to flog; their arms grow weary, they feel cramps coming on, they suffer, they groan; they find that, if there are any who deserve pity, it is the executioners; they cover their eyes and plug up their ears to avoid seeing and hearing any of their victims. At times they are even surprised, perhaps in good faith, when shown a list of revisionists whose personal, family, or professional lives they have succeeded in dashing, or of those whom they have ruined, or caused to be heavily sanctioned by fines or imprisonment, or to be gravely injured, or to have acid sprayed in their faces, or killed, or driven to suicide, while, conversely, there is not even a single instance of a revisionist touching even a hair on the head of one of his adversaries.

It must be said that the media tries, as much as possible, to conceal the effects of this widespread repression. On this score the French daily *Le Monde* has made a speciality of keeping silent about abominations that, if their victims had been Jewish anti-revisionists (such as Pierre Vidal-Naquet), would have prompted protest marches and demonstrations around the world. In this regard, the most that one can expect from the apostles of the Shoah is a warning against some excesses of anti-revisionism because these might damage the good reputation of the Jews and the sacred cause of their creed.

Among the recent batch of repressive measures taken against revisionists one may note (beginning with France) the dismissal by the education ministry of Michel Adam from his post as history teacher in a middle school in Brittany; at 57, with five dependent children, he now finds himself utterly without resources, receiving, for the moment, not even public assistance ("RMI"). As for Vincent Reynouard, also dismissed from his state sector teaching job, he was on November 10, 1998, sentenced by a court in Saint-Nazaire to three months' imprisonment and a fine of 10,000 francs for having distributed the *Rudolf Report*. Aged 29, Reynouard is married with three small children, and he and his wife are destitute. Pastor Roger Parmentier has been expelled from the Socialist Party for having come to the aid of Roger Garaudy in the latter's recent court case, while Jean-Marie Le Pen, for his part, has been indicted, in both France and Germany, for an innocuous statement on "the detail" of the gas chambers.⁷⁵

In Barcelona on November 16, 1998, the bookseller Pedro Varela was convicted — at the behest of the Simon Wiesenthal Center, SOS-Racismo España, the city's two Jewish communities, and the Spanish Liberal Jewish Movement — of "denial of the Holocaust" and "incitement to racial hatred" in his writings. He was sentenced to five years' imprisonment and ordered to pay a fine of 720,000 pesetas (about \$5,000), as well as heavy court costs. The

stock of his book shop (20,972 volumes and hundreds of audio and video cassettes) is to be destroyed by fire. His shop had previously been the target of violent aggression, including arson attacks. On several occasions he and his female employee had been assaulted.⁷⁶

In Germany, more and more revisionist writings are being seized and burned. Gary Lauck (an American citizen extradited to Germany by Denmark), Günter Deckert, and Udo Walendy still languish in prison and can consider themselves lucky if their terms are not prolonged on the least pretext. After serving a one-year sentence, Erhard Kemper, of Münster, finding himself under threat of new, harsher sentences that would probably have kept him locked up for the rest of his life, has had to go underground. Other Germans and Austrians live in exile.

In Canada, the plight of Ernst Zündel and his friends continues before "Human Rights Commission" tribunals — *ad hoc* courts that blithely flout the defendant's basic rights. It is, for example, forbidden to argue that what one has written concurs with the verifiable facts. Openly declaring that "truth is no defense," these tribunals are only interested in knowing whether the defendants' writing upsets certain persons. Other special commissions, attached to the Canadian Intelligence Service, try cases of revisionists in closed session, on the basis of a file that is not shown to the defendant.⁷⁷

Jewish groups around the world continue to push for the enactment of new and more repressive anti-revisionist laws. At a 1998 conference in Salonica, the International Association of Jewish Lawyers and Jurists called for the introduction of such laws in countries that have not yet adopted them, and let it be known that it would be holding similar meetings in more than 20 countries to lobby for new or more severe anti-revisionist laws.⁷⁸

The Duty of Resistance

Whatever storms and vicissitudes may arise now or in future, the revisionist historian must hold firm. To the cult of tribal remembrance built on fear, vengeance and greed, he will prefer the stubborn search for exactitude. In this way he will, albeit perhaps unwittingly, do justice to the true sufferings of all victims of the Second World War. And, from this viewpoint, it is the revisionist who refuses to make a distinction among victims on the basis of race, religion, or community. Above all, he will reject the supreme imposture that gave the crowning touch to that conflict: that of the Nuremberg and Tokyo trials, and of the thousand other proceedings since the war in which, even today, the victor, without in the least having to answer for his own crimes, has assumed the right to prosecute and condemn the

vanquished.

Contrary to the romantic vision of the aristocratic author Chateaubriand (1768-1848), the historian is hardly "commissioned to avenge peoples," and still less so to avenge one that claims to be God's own.

On whatever subject, the historian in general and the revisionist historian in particular have no other mission than to determine the accuracy of what is said. That mission is basic and obvious, but also — as experience teaches — perilous.

Notes

1. "Holocaust-Leugner," 'Revisionist,' 'Negationist' — jeder weiss, was ein solcher Vorwurf bedeutet. Er bedeutet soviel wie Ausschuss aus der zivilisierten Menschheit. Jemand, den eine solche Verdächtigung erreicht, ist erledigt. Seine bürgerliche Existenz ist dahin und sein Ansehen als Wissenschaftler ruiniert." "Man wird darüber zu reden haben, wie es um die Öffentlichkeit in einem Land bestellt sein muss, in dem es ausreicht, die Keule der Auschwitz-Lüge zu schwingen, um einem Wissenschaftler von Rang binnen einer Sekunde moralisch zu erledigen."
- These are the words of Karl Schlögel, writing in defense of Gabor Tamas Rittersporn, who was accused by Maxime Leo of having lent his support to Robert Faurisson's freedom of speech in 1980. "Holocaust-Leugner im Berliner Center Marc Bloch," *Berliner Zeitung*, Feb. 12, 1998; "Eine Jagdpartie. Wie man einen Wissenschaftler ruiniert," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, Feb. 18, 1998, p. 42.
2. "In July 1981 [actually, July 16, 1986], the Knesset passed a law that prohibited the denial of the Holocaust: 'The publication, in writing or orally, of work that denies the acts committed during the period of the Nazi rule, which are crimes against the Jewish people or crimes against humanity, or that downplays their dimensions with the intention of defending those who committed these crimes or of expressing support for or identification with them is liable to five years' imprisonment.' A proposal to impose ten years' imprisonment was not accepted. Thus the extermination of the Jews was no longer a subject for the historians; it was almost as if it had been uprooted from history itself and had become a national doctrine of truth, protected by law, somewhat similar in legal status to religious faith. Indeed, in one way the Holocaust has even a higher status than religion: The maximum punishment for 'crass injury' to religious sensibilities or tradition — including, presumably, any denial of God's existence — is one year in prison." Tom Segev, *The Seventh Million: The Israelis and the Holocaust* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1993), p. 464.
3. *Bulletin quotidien d'informations de l'Agence télégraphique juive*, June 2, 1986, pp. 1, 3.
4. See: Robert Maxwell, "J'accuse," *Sunday Mirror* (owned by Maxwell), London, July 17, 1988, p. 2.

5. "Jewish Militants: Fifteen Years, and More, of Terrorism in France," *The Journal of Historical Review*, March-April 1996, pp. 2-13.
6. On the complications in using hydrocyanic acid (and Zyklon), see: R. Faurisson, "The Mechanics of Gassing," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1980, pp. 23-30; R. Faurisson, "The Gas Chambers of Auschwitz Appear to be Physically Inconceivable," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1981, pp. 311-317; R. Faurisson, "The Gas Chambers: Truth or Lie?," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1981, pp. 319-373, esp. pp. 356-358; B. Kulaszka, ed./comp., *Did Six Million Really Die?: Report of the Evidence in the Canadian 'False News' Trial of Ernst Zündel* (Toronto: Samisdat, 1992), pp. 322-334, 471-489 (including the "Leuchter Report" and Nuremberg document NI-9912).
7. M. Weber, "Zionism and the Third Reich," *The Journal of Historical Review*, July-August 1993, pp. 29-37.
8. The "Jewish babies [were] thrown, alive, into the crematories." Thus writes Pierre Weil, director of the French public opinion poll institute SOFRES, in his article "L'anniversaire impossible," *Le Nouvel Observateur*, Feb. 9, 1995, p. 53.
9. "Moreover, it is worthwhile ... to stress that the ghetto is historically a Jewish invention." Nahum Goldmann, *Le Paradoxe juif* (Paris, Stock, 1976), pp. 83-84. US edition: *The Jewish Paradox* (New York: 1978), p. 66. See also Pierre-André Taguieff, "L'identité juive et ses fantasmes," *L'Express*, Jan. 20-26, 1989, p. 65.
10. R. Faurisson, "How the British Obtained the Confessions of Rudolf Höss," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1986-87, pp. 389-403.
11. H. Roques, *The 'Confessions' of Kurt Gerstein* (IHR, 1989); H. Roques, *Quand Alain Decaux raconte l'histoire du SS Kurt Gerstein* (1998); "French Court Fines Faurisson, Roques for 'Holocaust Denial' Book," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Nov.-Dec. 1995, pp. 13-17.
12. R. Faurisson, "Genocide by Telepathy, Hilberg Explains," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Jan.-Feb. 1999, pp. 15-16.
13. See, for example, the 1960 letter by Martin Broszat, "No Gassing in Dachau," and, "Wiesenthal Re-Confirms: 'No Extermination Camps on German Soil'," both in *The Journal of Historical Review*, May-June 1993, pp. 9-12.
14. Eric Conan, "Auschwitz: la mémoire du mal," *L'Express*, Jan. 19-25, 1995, p. 68. See also: "Major French Magazine Acknowledges Auschwitz Gas Chamber Fraud," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Jan.-Feb. 1995, pp. 23-24.
15. E. Conan, "Auschwitz: la mémoire du mal," *L'Express*, Jan. 19-25, 1995 (cited above), p. 68.
In 1992, that is, long after "the late 1970s," David Cole, a young Californian revisionist of Jewish origin, was presented as the discoverer of the "gas chamber" falsifications at Auschwitz I. In a mediocre video, he showed, on the one hand, the Museum guides' version (according to which the gas chamber is genuine) and, on the other hand, that of Franciszek Piper, a member of the Museum administration (for whom this gas chamber is "very similar" to the original). There was nothing new in that. The trouble was that Cole and his friends exaggerated greatly — to put it mildly — in later claiming that Piper had acknowledged that there had been a "fraud." There had indeed been a fraud, but unhappily Cole was not able to unmask it because he was too unfamiliar with the body of revisionist work. He could have definitively confounded Piper by showing him, on film, the original blueprints I had discovered in 1975-1976 and published "in the late 1970s." These plainly show that today's alleged "gas chamber" is the result of a certain number of makeovers of the premises carried out after the war. For instance, the ceiling's four alleged "holes for the pouring in of the Zyklon B" were made — quite crudely and clumsily — after the war: the steel reinforcement bars in the concrete were broken by the Polish Communists and remain today as they were left then.
(On the Cole video, see also: G. Raven, "Dramatic New Videotape Presentation Takes Aim at Key Holocaust Claims," and, D. Cole, "A Jewish Revisionist's Visit to Auschwitz," both in *The Journal of Historical Review*, March-April 1993, pp. 8-13.)
16. R. J. van Pelt and D. Dwork, *Auschwitz, 1270 to the Present*, (London: Yale University Press, 1996; New York: W. W. Norton, 1996), pp. 363-364, 367, 369. See also: R. Faurisson, "The 'Gas Chamber' of Auschwitz I," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Sept.-Dec. 1999, pp. 12-13.
17. See: "French Court Fines Faurisson, Roques for 'Holocaust Denial' Book," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Nov.-Dec. 1995, pp. 13-17. See also: "The Jewish World' Against Pressac," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Jan.-Feb. 1996, p. 41.
Three years later, Pressac was reduced to writing: "Thus, according to the statements of former members of the *Sonderkommando*, it is reckoned with firm certainty that a film on homicidal gassings was shot by the SS at Birkenau. Why should it not be found by chance [at some future date] in the attic or cellar of a former SS man?" Source: J.-C. Pressac, "Enquête sur les chambres à gaz," in *Auschwitz, la Solution finale* (Paris), Collections de *L'Histoire*, no. 3, October 1998, p. 41.
18. J.-C. Pressac, *Les Crématoires d'Auschwitz* (CNRS, 1993), p. 148; J.-C. Pressac, *Die Krematorien von Auschwitz* (Piper, 1994), pp. 199, 202. See also: R. Faurisson, "Auschwitz: Facts and Legend," *The Journal of Historical Review*, July-August 1997, pp. 17, 19.
19. Arno J. Mayer, *Why Did the Heavens Not Darken?: The "Final Solution" in History* (New York: Pantheon, 1989), p. 362. In this same book he also wrote (p. 365): "Besides, from 1942 to 1945, certainly at Auschwitz,

- but probably overall, more Jews were killed by so-called 'natural' causes [starvation, disease, sickness, and overwork] than by 'unnatural' ones."
20. Jacques Baynac in *Le Nouveau Quotidien* (Lausanne), September 2, 1996, p. 16, and September 3, 1996, p. 14. See, beforehand, Jacques Baynac and Nadine Fresco, "Comment s'en débarrasser ?" ("How to get rid of them?" — that is, the revisionists"), *Le Monde*, June 18, 1987, p. 2. See also: R. Faurisson, "An Orthodox Historian [Baynac] Finally Admits That There is No Evidence for Nazi Gas Chambers," *The Journal of Historical Review*, July-August 1998, pp. 24-28.
 21. It has sometimes been held that the six million figure originated in a newspaper article published in ... 1919, under the signature of Martin H. Glynn, former governor of New York: "The Crucifixion of Jews Must Stop!" (*The American Hebrew*, October 31, 1919). In this article Glynn made an appeal for contributions to help six million European Jews who, he wrote, were being subjected to starvation and persecution and were thus experiencing a "holocaust," a "crucifixion." (A facsimile of a portion of this article is in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Nov.-Dec. 1995, p. 31.)
The word "holocaust," with the meaning of "disaster," is attested in English as early as the 17th century. In this 1919 usage, it designates the consequences of a famine described as an impending disaster. In 1894, French Jewish writer Bernard Lazare (1865-1903) applied the word to the massacres of Jews: "... from time to time, kings, noblemen, or the urban rich offered their slaves a holocaust of Jews ... the Jews were offered in holocaust." B. Lazare, *L'Antisémitisme, son histoire et ses causes* (Paris: L. Chailley, 1894; re-issued: Paris, La Vieille Taupe, 1985), pp. 67, 71.
 22. Lucy S. Dawidowicz, *A Holocaust Reader* (New York: Behrman House, 1976), p. 327. Weissmandel's letters were published in Hebrew in New York in 1960 under the title *Min hametzar*. Portions of two of them are published in translation in *A Holocaust Reader*.
 23. For this discovery I am indebted to the German historian Joachim Hoffmann. See: J. Hoffmann, *Stalins Vernichtungskrieg 1941-1945* ("Stalin's War of Annihilation"), Munich: Verlag für Wehrwissenschaften, 2nd edition, 1995, p. 161, and n. 42 on p. 169. Hoffmann points out that Ehrenburg gave that figure in an article in the *Soviet War News* of January 4, 1945, headlined: "Once Again - Remember!" While trying to verify this point at London's Imperial War Museum, I found nothing under that date. However, I did find the text mentioned by Hoffmann under another heading and another date: "Remember, Remember, Remember," in *Soviet War News*, December 22, 1944, pp. 4-5.
In the 5th edition of *Stalins Vernichtungskrieg 1941-1945* (Munich: Herbig, 1999), see pp. 183, 193-194, 327, 390-393, including facsimile of Ehrenburg's essay in the *Soviet War News* of Dec. 22, 1944.
 24. "Holocaust Survivors," Adina Mishkoff, Administrative Assistant, AMCHA, Jerusalem, August 13, 1997. (The figures are provided by the office of Israel's prime minister.)
 25. The Museum's miserable and fallacious mock-up has openings in the roof for introducing the Zyklon (openings that, in fact, never existed), as well as allegedly perforated pillars (which, as one can also see today, were solid). This mock-up is reproduced in another guide book published in 1995: Jeshajahu Weinberg and Rina Elieli, *The Holocaust Museum in Washington* (New York: Rizzoli), pp. 126-127. On the other hand, this second guidebook does not show the "document" that Berenbaum had presented in his own 1993 guide, *The World Must Know* (p. 138) as an exhibit *par excellence* proving the reality of homicidal gassings: an alleged gas chamber door at Majdanek.
Regarding this Majdanek "gas chamber" door, see: R. Faurisson, "The US Holocaust Museum: A Challenge," *The Journal of Historical Review*, July-August 1993, pp. 14-17, esp. p. 16; "Gas Chamber Door Fraudulently Portrayed at US Holocaust Museum," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Sept.-Oct. 1993, p. 39.
 26. *Le Nouvel Observateur*, Sept. 30, 1993, p. 96.
 27. *All Rivers Run to the Sea: Memoirs*, volume I (New York: Knopf, 1995), p. 74.
 28. Michael Berenbaum and Abraham J. Peck, eds., *The Holocaust and History: The Known, the Unknown, the Disputed and the Reexamined*. Published in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (Washington, DC). Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998. xv + 836 pages; 55 contributions.
See the review by R. Faurisson of this book: "Much 'Holocaust' But No History: The Failure of Rabbi Berenbaum," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Sept.-Oct. 1998, pp. 29-31.
 29. M. Berenbaum and A. J. Peck, eds., *The Holocaust and History* (cited above), p. 15.
 30. Compare this with the media exaggerations about "genocide" in Timosoara, Romania, December 1989. On this see the essay by Faurisson, "Un mensonge gros comme le le siècle," in his *Écrits révisionnistes* (1999), vol. III, p. 1141-1150.
 31. The purported model of a crematory with its "gas chamber" on display at the Auschwitz State Museum, as well as the one at the US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, are so cursory in design precisely regarding the "gas chamber," and at such variance with the remains that one may examine on site at Auschwitz-Birkenau, that it is laughably simple to prove that these two models are purely fanciful. See above, note 25.
 32. Among the best known are:
Odette Abadie, Louise Alcan, Esther Alicigüzel, Jehuda Bacon, Charles Baron, Bruno Baum, Charles-Sigismond Bendel, Paul Bendel, Maurice Benroubi, Henri Bily, Ada Bimko, Suzanne Birn-

- baum, Eva Brewster, Henry Bulawko, Robert Clary, Jehiel Dinour (alias K. Tzetnik), Szlama Dragan, Fania Fénelon, Arnold Friedman, Philip Friedman, Michel Gelber, Israël Gutman, Dr. Hafner, Henry Heller, Benny Hochman, Régine Jacobert, Wanda Jakubowska, Stanislas Jankowski alias Alter Fajnzylberg, Simone Kadouch-Lagrange, Raya Kagan, Rudolf Kauer, Marc Klein, Ruth Klüger, Guy Kohen, Erich Kulka, Simon Laks, Hermann Langbein, Leo Laufer, Sonia Litwinska, Renée Louria, Henryk Mandelbaum, Françoise Maous, Mel Mermelstein, Ernest Morgan, Filip Müller, Flora Neumann, Anna Novac, Myklos Nyiszli, David Olère, Dounia Ourisson, Dov Paisikovic, Gisella Perl, Samuel Pisar, Macha Ravine-Speter, Jérôme Scorin, Georges Snyders, Henri Sonnenbluck, Jacques Stroumsa, David Szmulewski, Henri Tajchner, Henryk Tauber, Sima Vaïsman, Simone Veil née Jacob, Rudolf Vrba, Robert Weil, Georges Wellers ...
33. The US edition of *Fragments* was published in 1996 by Schocken (Random House), New York.
 34. *Weltwoche* (Zurich), August 27 and September 3, 1998; Nicolas Weil, "La mémoire suspectée de Benjamin Wilkomirski," *Le Monde*, October 23, 1998, p. v. See also: "Holocaust Survivor Memoir Exposed as Fraud," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Sept.-Oct. 1998, pp. 15-16.
 35. Donald Watt, *Stoker: The Story of an Australian Soldier Who Survived Auschwitz-Birkenau* (Simon & Schuster [Australia], 1995). See also: Doug Collins, "Australian Rambo Unmasked at Last," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Jan.-Feb. 1998, p. 5-6.
 36. Fred Sedel, *Habiter les ténèbres* ("Living in the Gloom"), Paris and Geneva: La Palatine, 1963, and Paris: A.-M. Métaillié, 1990. See also: R. Faurisson, "A Prominent False Witness: Elie Wiesel," IHR leaflet, 1996; R. Faurisson, "Auschwitz: Facts and Legend," *The Journal of Historical Review*, July-August 1997, pp. 14-19; R. Faurisson, "Elie Wiesel: One More Lie," *The Journal of Historical Review*, May-June 1999, p. 28.
 37. *Vivre, c'est vaincre* ("To Live is to Win"), by A. Rogerie (Maulévrier: Maine-et-Loire, France, 1988), is presented as having been written in 1945 and printed in the third quarter of 1946. In 1988, it was republished with fanfare by Héraut-Editions, with, on the cover, a blurb strip reading "J'ai été témoin de l'Holocauste" ("I was witness to the Holocaust"). It was in *Le Figaro* of May 15, 1996, (p. 2) that Rogerie declared that he had "beheld the Shoah at Birkenau." The extremely succinct description of the "gas chambers" and of the ovens with which he was supplied conflicts with today's accepted version: his "witness" had told him of gas entering the chambers from shower heads, and of electric ovens (p. 75).
 38. A. Rogerie, *Vivre, c'est vaincre* (cited above), pp. 70, 85, 82 ("Caïds"), 83 ("Planque royale," "je garde de bons souvenirs"), 84, 87 ("A l'encontre de bien d'autres, j'y ai été moins malheureux que partout ailleurs").
 39. Samuel Gringauz, "Some Methodological Problems in the Study of the Ghetto," in *Jewish Social Studies* (A Quarterly Journal Devoted to Contemporary and Historical Aspects of Jewish Life), Volume XII, edited for The Conference on Jewish Relations, New York, 1950, pp. 65-72; p. 65.
 40. H. Rauschning, *Hitler Speaks* (London: T. Butterworth, 1939). Published in the US under the title *The Voice of Destruction* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1940).
See also: David Irving, *Hitler's War* (London: Focal Point, 1991), p. 8 (introduction); "Rauschning's Phony 'Conversations With Hitler': An Update," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1985-86, pp. 499-500.
 41. Statement by Justice Jackson on June 21, 1946. *Trial of the Major War Criminals Before the International Military Tribunal* (Nuremberg: 1947-1949), IMT "blue series," vol. 16, pp. 529-530.
 42. M. Weber, "The 'Warsaw Ghetto Boy,'" *The Journal of Historical Review*, March-April 1994, pp. 6-7.
 43. Nahum Goldmann, *Le Paradoxe juif* (cited above), pp. 148-149. US edition: *The Jewish Paradox* (New York: 1978), p. 122. See also: M. Weber, "The Nuremberg Trials and the Holocaust," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1992, esp. pp. 170-172, 202.
 44. A. Neave, *They Have Their Exits* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1953), p. 172.
 45. The two words in quotation marks, "boys" and "job," appear in the original in English.
 46. Gentieux in is the French département of Creuse. Saint-Martin-d'Estréaux, in the Loire département.
From a text of about 250 words on the Saint-Martin-d'Estréaux memorial, one may particularly remember the following: "More than twelve million dead! As many individuals thus to go unborn! Still more maimed, wounded, widowed and orphaned! Countless billions in assorted destructions. Scandalous fortunes made from human misery. The innocent before firing squads. The guilty honored. A horrid life for the disinherited. The frightful price to pay." Further on it reads: "The spirit of Nations must be improved by improving that of individuals with an enriched and widely expanded instruction. The people must know how to read. And above all to grasp the importance of what they read." The text ends: "Cursed be war. And its perpetrators!"
 47. See: Christiane Gallus, "Une pandémie qui a fait trois fois plus de victimes que la guerre de 1914-1918" ("A pandemic that claimed three times as many victims as the war of 1914-1918"), *Le Monde*, Dec. 31, 1997, p. 17.
 48. *Hitler: Born at Versailles*, by Léon Degrelle (1906-1994). Published by the IHR (hardcover, 535 pages, with photos).
 49. Pierre Kaufmann, "Le danger allemand" ("The German Danger"), *Le Monde*, Feb. 8, 1947.
 50. See: Arthur Ponsonby, *Falsehood in Wartime* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1929; IHR, 1991).

51. Mark Weber, "Bergen-Belsen Camp: The Suppressed Story," *The Journal of Historical Review*, May-June 1995, pp. 23-30. Source cited: Raymond Phillips, ed., *Trial of Josef Kramer and Forty-Four Others (The Belsen Trial)*, (London: William Hodge, 1949), pp. 163-166.
52. Such was the case, for instance, of Bartley C. Crum in his book *Behind the Silken Curtain* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1947), p. 114.

As late as 1978, a Jewish publication was to show that bulldozer, but not without shrewdly beheading the driver in such a way as to hide his British army beret. Arthur Suzman and Denis Diamond, *Six Million Did Die: The Truth Shall Prevail* (Johannesburg: South African Board of Jewish Deputies, 1978, 2nd edition), p. 18.
53. Alfred Hitchcock, born in 1899, was already well known in 1945. For his macabre or morbid tastes, his art of manipulating the public," and the strange fascination brought to bear on his mind by gas, one may read Bruno Villien, *Hitchcock* (Paris: Colonna, 1982), pp. 9-10.
54. *Le Figaro*, October 24, 1997, p. 10.
55. H. Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1951), p. 446, n. 138.
56. A famous French Communist *résistant*, Marcel Paul, much like General Rogerie, had a rather "good war" in the camps.
57. *Le Figaro*, Jan. 16, 1995, p. 29.
58. "La Shoah, de la réalité aux shows. Face aux récits des déportés, l'indécence mise en scène de leurs libérateurs," *Libération*, Dec. 18, 1995, p. 41.
59. R. Faurisson, "The Detail," *The Journal of Historical Review*, March-April 1998, pp. 19-20.
60. "Capituler en rase campagne": Pierre Vidal-Naquet, "Le secret partagé," *Le Nouvel Observateur*, Sept. 21, 1984, p. 80.
61. Letter appearing in *Nation Review* (Australia), June 21, 1979, p. 639. (In 1997 Rubinstein was Professor of History at the University of Wales -Aberystwyth.)
62. "The Left, the Right, and the Jews," *Quadrant* (Australia), Sept. 1979, p. 27.
63. Bernard Jouanneau, *La Croix*, Sept. 23, 1987, p. 2. (LICRA = Ligue internationale contre le racisme et l'antisémitisme)
64. *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), June 2, 1998, pp. A1, 15.

Together with his son, Edgar Bronfman, Jr., the senior Bronfman controls the Seagram's group, a North American alcohol empire that also includes such major media holdings as Universal Studios and MCA.

In early 1998 a group of prominent Americans, including former Bush administration cabinet member William Bennett, voted Bronfman the first ever "Silver Sewer" award, notably for the Jerry Springer Show, owned by Universal subsidiary USA Networks, which features "pregnant strippers, teenage prostitutes fighting with pimps, or undertakers having sex with corpses." (*Financial Times*, March 21-22, 1998, p. 2)
65. See: "Jewish Militants: Fifteen Years, and More, of Terrorism in France," *The Journal of Historical Review*, March-April 1996, pp. 2-13. See also: M. Weber, *The Zionist Terror Network* (IHR, 1993).
66. B. Lazare, *L'Antisémitisme, son histoire et ses causes* (cited above), opening page of first chapter. Bernard Lazare (1865-1903), a major French Jewish writer of the late 19th century, played an important role in the Dreyfus affair.
67. B. Lazare, *L'Antisémitisme* (cited above), p. 27.
68. A. Kaspi, *Les Juifs pendant l'Occupation* ("The Jews during the Occupation"), revised edition (Paris: Le Seuil, 1997 [1991]), p. 109, n. 27.
69. I sometimes hear it said that there is greater risk for a Jew than for a non-Jew to profess revisionist views. The facts disprove this assertion. Not one Jew has been convicted or held liable in court for revisionism, not even Roger-Guy Dommergue (Polacco de Menasce) who, for years, has produced the most vehement writings against the lies of those whom he calls his "fellow creatures" (*congénères*). No-one as yet has ventured to invoke either the Pleven (1972) or the Fabius-Gayssot Act (1990) against him.

At the same time, the case of the young American revisionist David Cole deserves to be recalled, for it shows to what degree of violence certain Jewish organizations can resort in order to silence Jews who have sided with the revisionist cause. (In January 1992, for example, David Cole was physically attacked by Jewish thugs of the "Jewish Defense League," who pushed him down a flight of stairs and hit him in the face, bloodying his nose. Source: M. Weber, *The Zionist Terror Network* [IHR, 1993], p. 14.)
70. Note especially the case of Bernard Notin. R. Faurisson, "The Notin Affair: Jewish Organizations Make the Law," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Sept.-Oct. 1997, pp. 17-18.
71. An independent researcher, even if he does not identify himself as a revisionist, can contribute indirectly to revisionism by the mere quality of his work. I shall mention one name here, that of Jean Plantin, director of a publication whose title alone indicates its erudite character: *Akribieia*, the name of his quarterly, is Greek for "exactitude," "painstaking care," and has given French the learned word "acribie" (quality of the scholar who works with extreme care). *Akribieia*, 45/3, Route de Vourles, 69230 Saint-Genis-Laval, France. (See: "Scholarly French Journal Strives for 'Exactitude'," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Nov.-Dec. 1998, pp. 31.)
72. See the pertinent analysis by Guillermo Coletti, "The Taming of Holocaust Revisionism," distributed on the Internet (November 13, 1998) by the Anti-Censorship News Agency (E-mail address: anti_censor@hotmail.com).
73. "Forgetting is not our main virtue" — the words of the president of the board (*consistoire*) of the Toulouse Jewish community, as cited in *Le Figaro*, Oct. 9, 1997,

p. 10.

74. Serge Thion is, in particular, the author of a revisionist work bearing the eloquent title *Une Allumette sur la banquise* ("A Match to the Ice Floe"). A revisionist book, he writes (p. 90), even if its contents seem like dynamite, perhaps gives off, all told, no more light and heat than a match "in the polar night, put to the ice floe of frozen ideas."
75. See: M. Weber, "French Courts Punish Holocaust Apostasy," *The Journal of Historical Review*, March-April 1998, pp. 14-18; "Swiss Court Punishes Two Revisionists," *The Journal of Historical Review*, July-August 1998, pp. 2-10.
76. See: "Un libraire espagnol condamné pour 'apologie de génocide'" ("A Spanish Bookseller Convicted for 'Justification of Genocide'"), *Le Monde*, Nov. 19, 1998, p. 3; also, an article by Emmanuel Ratier in his periodical *Faits & Documents* ("Facts & Documents"), Paris, Dec. 1, 1998, p. 12. (See also: M. Weber, "Spanish Court Sentences 'Thought Criminal'," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Nov.-Dec. 1998, pp. 21-23.)
77. In late 1998 it was announced that a new Canadian anti-revisionist law would permit police to make house searches to seize books and other materials that, in their view, might serve to spread revisionism. The proposed law also stipulated that the regular courts are to bring their procedures into line with those of the *ad hoc* Commission tribunals, which would mean that a defendant would no longer be permitted to argue that what he wrote is in fact the truth. See: "Crackdown on hate materials planned," *National Post* (Canada), November 25, 1998.
78. *Athens News*, June 28, 1998, p. 1; "Jewish Group Demands More Anti-Revisionist Laws," *The Journal of Historical Review*, July-August 1998, p. 22.

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Foiling Espionage in Berlin Radio's Arabic Service

YÛNUS BAHRI

Among the Lufthansa passengers arriving in Berlin on April 5, 1939 was a cheerful, outgoing, dark-haired man in his late 30s. Though evidently a foreigner, he had a good command of the German language and confidently found his way through the crowds at the airport and into the bustling capital of the Third Reich. Yûnus Bahrî, Iraqi journalist and independence activist, had visited Berlin several times before. He had first met Joseph Goebbels in 1931, before Hitler had even come to power, to enlist the propaganda chief's support for a newspaper Bahrî would publish in Baghdad. As war clouds were gathering over Europe, however, he was now embarked on quite a different mission: to launch and run Radio Berlin's first-ever Arabic language service.

Bahrî was at the microphone on April 25, 1939, at the début of the new radio service. He would continue broadcasting from the German capital until April 30, 1945, after which he would make his way out of the rubble of the dying city, out of the country and, eventually back to the Middle East. There, in Beirut, Lebanon, Bahrî published a memoir of his career in Berlin under the title *Hunâ Berlin! Hayiya al-'Arab!* — "This is Berlin! Long live the Arabs!" — his trademark opening line from his broadcasts.

In his native Iraq, Bahrî had already made a name for himself. He was editor and publisher of the Baghdad daily newspaper *al-'Uqâb* ("The Eagle"), founded in 1931, and he had organized an Iraqi news agency. He had played an important role, as both an administrator and announcer, of his country's first two radio stations (over one of which the country's young king himself spoke each day). He also served as editor and director of the Iraqi periodical, "The Radio."

In his memoir, Bahrî recounted how Dr. Erich Hetzler, an official with German Radio's short wave service, visited him shortly after the Arabic-lan-

guage service had begun its broadcasts. Hetzler, who was also a high ranking SS officer, invited the Iraqi broadcaster to accept a commission as a captain in the black uniformed elite. The idea, which Hetzler told him came from General Hermann Fegelein, an SS officer close to Hitler, was for Bahrî to recruit young Arabs living in Germany to form a special detachment. Bahrî agreed, but soon found that the appointment was far more than honorary. "Johannes Bahri," as this Arab SS officer was officially known, underwent a tough course of military training from September 1939 to February 1940 to prepare him for work as a war reporter. He also recruited and sent out to various Arab countries a number of young volunteer correspondents who had to work secretly and under cover. None of the correspondents, Bahrî wrote later, ever sought payment for this extremely risky work. Bahrî himself was sentenced to death in absentia by the British-controlled Iraqi regime in late 1939.

So what was it that motivated Yûnus Bahrî and other Arabs to work so eagerly for the Third Reich? Before meeting Goebbels, Bahrî had been in the service of Saudi Arabia, the only major Arab country that was independent at the time, traveling widely to promote Arab and Islamic unity. As Bahrî later made clear in his memoir, his motivation for throwing in his lot with the Germans was not infatuation with Adolf Hitler or with the message of *Mein Kampf*. Bahrî, like millions of other Arabs in that age of colonialism, burned with the desire to expel the imperialist powers from the Arab world, to unite the Arab countries, and to frustrate international Zionism's determined campaign to take Palestine. Germany alone among the great powers posed a credible challenge to the empires of Britain and France, and to Zionism. With events in Europe rapidly building to a climax, Bahrî and many of his compatriots felt that the cause of Arab liberation demanded that they contribute whatever they could to help the Reich defeat their common enemies.

Yûnus Bahrî wrote his memoir with Arab readers of the 1950s in mind. In a few places in the text he makes brief references to Arab personalities who are not directly relevant here. These have been deleted, as indicated with an ellipsis (...) In another instance, the author listed names of Arabic broad-

This account is a translation of a portion of the memoir of Yûnus Bahrî (1902?-1979), *Hunâ Berlin! Hayiya al-'Arab!*, volume five, pages 79-93, published in Beirut in 1956 by Matb'at al-Jihâd. It is translated from the Arabic by E.G. Müller, an Arab studies specialist with a Master's degree in political science who is currently working on a Ph.D. at an American university.

casters in Berlin and their country of origin. Inasmuch as this long paragraph of Arabic names is of no particular relevance here, and might seem tedious to many readers, the names have been deleted. Instead, a sentence indicating the number of broadcasters from each Arab country has been added in brackets.

In the following excerpt, Bahrî recalls an episode from 1940. Shortly after the dismissal of one of the original Arab staff members, a new man, Dr. Zakî Karâm, joined the staff as a replacement.

— The Translator

When Dr. Kamâl al-Dîn Jalâl was dismissed suddenly from the Arabic Service (for reasons that I still don't know), someone suggested to Hamdî Khayât, one of our translator-broadcasters, that we hire Dr. Zakî Karâm to fill the vacancy. I had gotten to know Dr. Karâm many years before the start of the war. He had chosen Berlin as his third home, for he was a Syrian of Arab ancestry — from Aleppo, I think — but he had taken Turkish citizenship because he had served as an Ottoman officer in the First World War ...

I hired Zakî Karâm and he proved an excellent successor to Dr. Jalâl. He and I came to work harmoniously together. Dr. Karâm had an excellent speaking voice, but he moved slowly because of his disability. He had been seriously wounded in the right leg during the First World War. The leg had been amputated and replaced with a wooden prosthesis that kept him from moving about freely. He hobbled about with difficulty, but was for all that very active. If you gave him any assignment, he would take care of it for you quickly and cheerfully.

Dr. Karâm had extensive connections with the leaders of the National Socialist Party in general and with the personnel in the Reich's foreign ministry in particular. Among his friends he also counted many Arab and Muslim leaders throughout the Islamic world and abroad. Whenever the name of a new Middle East leader, or would-be leader, began to circulate, Dr. Karâm would plunge ahead and write to him, establishing personal contact.

Back in 1929, the late king 'Abd al-'Azîz Ibn Sa'ûd of Saudi Arabia sent me to Java, Indonesia [then the Dutch East Indies], in order to popularize the pilgrimage to Mecca. I was accompanied by the great Kuwaiti historian Shaykh 'Abd al-'Azîz al-Rashîd. In Batavia, now Jakarta, we published a magazine called "Kuwait and Iraq" in which we were the first in modern Arab history to call for the unification of Kuwait and Iraq. At that time Dr. Zakî Karâm had sent me an article he had written supporting our call for Kuwaiti-Iraqi unity, demonstrating that these two fraternal Arab countries together

constitute a social and economic unit, neither of which can do without the other. He noted also the strategic importance of the unity of the two lands as regards their position on the sea and the land. King 'Abd al-'Azîz Ibn Sa'ûd also encouraged us in this movement. He funded our mission to Indonesia, and also spent his own personal money on the magazines we published there in Arabic and Malay.

Anyway, since that time I had been friends with Dr. Karâm.

With great energy, Dr. Karâm began his work with the Arabic broadcasts in Berlin. He had a good grasp of his new job responsibilities, and would translate the secret reports that came to us every day — "for our personal information," and not for broadcast or publication — from various German armed forces commands, and from various German ministries. The doctor's work was, in fact, extremely satisfactory. He gave me some relief from dealing with the laziness of Professor Faraj Allâhverdî (a Turkoman who was one of the station's original translators), which was to become such a chronic problem by early 1941 that I took to calling him chief of the "gentry" of the station, where he had been chief of translation.

I helped get Dr. Karâm appointed as an additional broadcaster, thereby joining an elite group of announcers whom I had trained for the radio. [Altogether these now numbered three from Iraq, one from Lebanon, two from Palestine, two from Syria, and one each from Jordan, Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia.] Thus the staff of the Arabic service in Berlin became a miniature Arab League. This was in addition to a tumultuous army of editors, writers, translators, and male and female typists.

When [after the fall of France] we set up the Arabic service of Radio Paris as a branch of our service in Berlin, I was asked to go to Tangier (Morocco) to recruit broadcasters for the North African Arabic service of Paris Radio. I excused myself because of the heavy accumulation of work as a result of the raucous "war of the ether" being waged against us from London, Cairo, Omdurman, Baghdad and Ankara.

I requested instead that one of my assistants fly to Madrid, and from there to Tangier. The next day Dr. Karâm came to me and asked that I send him on the mission to Tangier. He said he could carry out the job well, on account of the fact that he had a Turkish passport and would not attract the attention of Allied spies in that international city, a place overrun with spies, mercenaries, and colonial agents.

I asked, skeptically, "Won't your leg give you trouble on the trip?"

He replied smiling, "I'm an old soldier. I can carry out the mission. After all, I'm not going there

to compete in an international track meet."

"Be ready to travel tomorrow," I told him. And in fact Dr. Karâm did the job very well, and he earned everybody's trust.

Two months after Dr. Karâm returned from his trip to Tangier, I received a visit by Herr Schabeu, Near East specialist for the National Socialist Party's philosopher, Alfred Rosenberg, and also one of Admiral Wilhelm Canaris' most important men in Berlin. Schabeu was, beside all that, a close friend of mine. He and I had spent many pleasant evenings in his home, and we would maintain our friendship until the last days of Berlin.

Before he sat down, Herr Schabeu asked with an uncharacteristic frown, "Does this person work at the radio?" And he showed me a passport.

I said that we had sent the owner of this passport to Tangier two months earlier on a secret mission, and he had carried it out admirably.

He stared at me inquiringly and asked, "Do you trust him?"

"Completely," I replied. "But everybody trusts him!"

"Where is he now?" he asked.

"We gave him a week's leave starting tomorrow," I told Schabeu, "to go to Vienna to visit his wife. She's undergoing medical treatment there."

"Yesterday your colleague applied for an exit visa from Germany to go to Turkey," he told me.

"And what's wrong with that?" I asked.

Herr Schabeu looked at me in surprise and then said, "Your colleague trusts you completely. Can you help us uncover what's really going on with him?"

"How can I help you?" I asked.

"Catch a flight tonight to Vienna," he said. "Be in the main lobby of the Imperial Hotel tomorrow morning at ten. A room has already been reserved for you at the hotel."

I hurriedly recorded my political commentaries for the next day's radio broadcast, and at nine o'clock that night I was in Vienna. I had lots of friends there, but I really just wanted to enjoy an evening away from the dreadful darkness and silence of the Berlin nights during the blackout — *die Verdunkelung* — that now was in force in most of the country's major cities. Vienna, in contrast, would remain bathed in bright electric lights until the end of 1940.

My old friend Faraj Tûmâ was the former director of Iraqi Immigration. He had come to live in Vienna in 1932 when a chest ailment forced him into retirement. The doctors had advised him to go to Vienna for treatment. Mr. Tûmâ was an Arab who particularly loved helping other Arabs and looking out for their needs. It made no difference to him whether one was from Iraq or Syria or Egypt or Morocco — anyone who spoke Arabic represented to

him the Arab world, with all its diverse ways, countries, and dialects. The fact is, Faraj Al Tûmâ was an example of those generous Arabs who would never turn down any request. Because he had lived for a long time in Paris, Berlin and Vienna, he knew the long-time Arab residents of Germany better than anybody...

I telephoned Mr. Tûmâ from the Victoria Café in the aristocratic Vienna district known as *Schottentor*, or "Scottish Gate." He asked, "Where are you calling from?"

"I'll be at your place in less than a quarter of an hour," I told him.

At the appointed time I was next to my friend Faraj, who was a walking encyclopedia of information on the Arabs living in Germany, France and Austria. Given that he had been director of the police department that oversaw immigration and residence in Iraq, he would keep track of everyone's comings and goings just because he liked to be in the know, as well as out of a certain *cop* inquisitiveness that by now had become an instinct.

Mr. Faraj Al Tûmâ was, unlike his "namesake" Faraj Allâhverdi at the radio station, a fierce enemy of everything Turkish or Ottoman. Around the time the war broke out he was in Germany, and he went out of his way to uncover any slip-ups made by Turks or their supporters, especially because the province of Alexandretta had been detached from Syria and given to Atatürk's Turkey [by the French mandate authorities in 1937].

My friend Faraj welcomed my arrival and asked about my beautiful lady friends Gerda Mason and Fräulein Jeneka. I assured him they were still fine and that I still enjoyed mutual love and affection in my relations with each of them.

"So, what's the secret behind this sudden visit?" he asked.

"Just a change of atmosphere," I replied.

"The political atmosphere — or the love atmosphere?"

"Both," I answered.

With the self-assured tone of a policeman he said, "Come on, Yûnus, you've come to ask me about some Arab guy, isn't that right?"

"Actually I'm not in town to visit you exactly," I said. "I was asked to go to Vienna, and once I was here I phoned you to see if we could spend a wild night in the bars of Grinzing, listening to *Schrammelmusik*, and enjoying Hans Moser and his famous orchestra."

"Okay, just tell me clearly. I'm ready to help you," he said.

"Do you know Dr. Zakî Karâm?" I asked.

"That cripple?"

"Yes," I said.

And without hesitating or thinking he

responded, "He's a Turkish agent."

At ten o'clock the next morning I was in the big lobby of the Imperial Hotel. Ten minutes later I saw my friend, Herr Schabeu, enter the lobby and look to the right and left. I waved to him and he came over. Without shaking hands he said, "Let's go outside."

We got in a car and headed for the Turkish consulate.

There, in front of the entrance to the Turkish consulate at half past ten a traditional Vienna taxicab pulled up and stopped. Dr. Karâm got out carrying a briefcase bulging at the seams. As soon as Herr Schabeu saw him he bolted out of our car like lightning, overtook Karâm, and whispered some words to him that I couldn't hear. The doctor retraced his steps to our car, looking troubled and alarmed. But when he saw me he seemed reassured, and said, "Everything's okay, right? What's going on?"

I said, "I really don't know anything about it."

The doctor got into our car, his brow wet with perspiration, and asked, "So what's this story you're acting out with me?"

I said, "The matter isn't about you personally. It's about Germany."

"How am I related to Germany?" he asked.

"Like the wolf to the lamb," I said.

"What do you mean?"

Schabeu intervened, "You are working both sides of the street, the Turkish and the German, or to be more precise, you're working for the Allies."

"That's a dirty crime I'd never stoop to," he protested.

Schabeu replied, "We'll sort this out soon enough."

In a splendid suite in the Imperial Hotel in Vienna we sat, the three of us, studying each other's faces. We sat in silence, like ones beheaded. We could almost hear the powerful throb of the doctor's heartbeat. After half an hour I wanted to leave to go to my room and change my shoes, but there were two giant *Sicherheitsdienst* security service agents barring the door. When I tried to go out, a third guard standing in the middle of the hallway motioned politely for me to go back inside.

I returned and tried to interpret the face of my friend Schabeu, but it told me nothing. After a quarter hour, the double doors opened and four men, all in civilian clothes walked in. The senior one stepped forward, opened a door to an adjacent second room, and asked Dr. Karâm to please step inside. The doctor picked up his briefcase and went into the room with the four men. Schabeu and I remained alone.

An hour passed and we still waited.

As the clock struck one p.m., a German officer with the rank of lieutenant-colonel looked in on us,

gave a military salute and then spoke to me in Turkish!

"I believe you can read Turkish written in the Arabic alphabet?"

I replied in the affirmative.

[Prior to the 1920s, Turkish was written in the Arabic alphabet. After the fall of the Ottoman empire, Kemal Atatürk's nationalist government banned the use of Arabic script, replacing it with a version of the Latin alphabet. Anyone studying Turkish from that time on, including presumably the German lieutenant colonel, would learn the language in the Latin alphabet. Bahrî, on the other hand, grew up and was educated in Iraq when it was still an Ottoman province, and was familiar with the older written form of Turkish. — The translator]

He said, "Please ..." and motioned us to the door through which the doctor and the four men in civilian clothing had passed earlier. There was no sign of the doctor inside, but on a massive table lay his briefcase with its contents spread out — various maps, statistics from the Todt Organization and from Hitler Youth institutions, photographs of the most important secret reports that came to us in the radio service from various commands of the German armed forces!

More noteworthy than all of this was a detailed account of all the employees of German radio's Indian, Iranian, Turkish, and Arabic services, with our pictures, addresses, telephone numbers, citizenship statuses, countries of origin, and the dates each of us had started work for German radio.

I was astonished at this mass of information about us. Even I was not privy to all this kind of detailed data about our staff.

I stared in dismay at the papers and documents. I looked at the captivating yet frightening scene and pictured to myself the delight that these rare documents would excite in the soul of whoever would take possession of them in Ankara. He would be either an American or a Briton, for Turkey would not be interested in anything about us. This proved that the Turkish capital was serving only as a "post office box" for the British and their allies.

As he handed me one of the three fat file folders that lay next to Dr. Karâm's briefcase, the German lieutenant colonel asked me, "Where did this report come from?"

I read in the Turkish written in the Arabic alphabet that the source was "Berlin, No. 21", and I wanted to read more, but he politely interrupted me, "I'd like you to stop there." Then he asked me: "Have you taken the oath?"

I told him, "I'm a German officer with the rank of captain," and I presented my military identification card, which had the authority of a diplomatic passport.

"Read, in the name of the Führer," he told me.

"Report number 63, dated December 10, 1940." I read the report in a loud voice in Turkish while the German lieutenant colonel, whose name I never learned, translated and wrote out the text in German.

Report number 63 contained a detailed description of the course of the Spanish-German negotiations concerning the future relations between the Führer and the *Caudillo* — the Spanish leader Francisco Franco — and about the [proposed] unification of Morocco by combining Tangier and the French occupied zone, together with the Khalifal areas, and placing Sultan Mohammed V, king of Morocco, and his country under a Spanish protectorate. In accordance with this arrangement, the three parts of Morocco would be transferred from French occupation to Spanish occupation. In return for this "modification" of North African politics, General Franco would commit himself to declare war on Britain and to join with the German and Italian armed forces in occupying Gibraltar and closing the Strait, or, more precisely, closing the Mediterranean Sea in Britain's face.

Report 63 was actually a collection of 15 reports that had come from different agents and sources in 15 cities, and in particular from Madrid, Rome, Paris, Tangier, and Tétouan. They had been sent to the "number 21" headquarters in Berlin, where they were studied, correlated and given their final form in the light of the private reports drawn from trusted sources.

Our work on the papers took just three hours. During that time I also took pictures of all the documents, reports and photographs. False reports that looked like the originals were inserted in the papers and folders. They brought in a briefcase that looked exactly like the doctor's, full of its contents, and sealed with the same wax seal and initials.

The German counterintelligence department, headed by Admiral Canaris, accomplished miracles of outstanding forgery so precise that they bordered on genius. The department had kept Dr. Karâm under surveillance since Hitler attacked Poland, that is since early October 1939. When I hired him to work at Berlin radio, his massive leather briefcase made Canaris's men suspicious. The doctor used to carry the big case, in spite of its weight, and despite the fact that he was of slight build, was disabled, and couldn't walk half a kilometer in an hour. So they measured his briefcase, and noted its appearance inside and out. I myself never wondered at the doctor's case, for I never knew anything about these details until after the dove had fallen into the trap ...

Indeed, it caused them to be suspicious when the doctor replaced his old briefcase with a attractive

new one made of expensive pigskin. This was particularly remarkable because all types of leather were considered wartime necessities and rationed according to the Third Reich's wartime measures.

When the first four men escorted the doctor from the room where we were all sitting, they took away his original briefcase and replaced it with their own sealed copy of his case. Then, after we had done what we needed to do with his original briefcase, the duplicate one was slipped away, and his own case was returned to him, the sealed security band indicating it had never been opened.

Thus Dr. Zakî Karâm was made to feel secure. He returned to us by himself at five o'clock and told me, now with his usual voice again, "You did me wrong, Mr. Bahrî. Didn't I tell you I was innocent?"

I said, "Congratulations! Thank God for such a good outcome."

We let Dr. Karâm finish his mission quite freely and without surveillance. He was in the Austrian capital only as a "postman," after all, taking "mail," some authentic and some forged, to its addressee. And only God really knows secrets. After he had left his briefcase or "mail" in the care of the Turkish consulate, he rejoined us. We returned to Berlin, with our valuable catch, on a special military flight. Then, the next day, the doctor caught a flight for Istanbul. Altogether, Dr. Karâm spent a week on leave in Vienna and in Turkey. Then one day I heard the familiar clumping of the doctor's heavy military boot as he made his way down the long wooden hallway leading to my office.

The doctor came in and embraced me like a long lost brother. He asked, "When do I start work?"

"Doctor," I said, "the fact is, and I won't hide it from you, that here at the Arabic service we don't really need high level scientific qualifications or great scholars of the Arabic language. We need young people who want to finish their study. We help them materially to continue their education. You, on the other hand, by God's grace and by virtue of your old military exploits, have already amassed property and wealth that anyone would envy. I'm prepared to give you six months' salary as compensation."

Now, Dr. Karâm was greedier than a locust, always on the lookout for new ways to make money, to count it and to relish it. With lightning speed he calculated the sum, for he was a Turkish artillery officer and knew his math. It amounted to a mouth-watering amount.

Thus it was that the doctor's mission ended. He left the radio station for his home, where he remained under surveillance for the rest of the war. And with that we turned another page in the history of Berlin Radio's Arabic service.

International Conference Set for May

Revisionist Historians and Activists To Meet in Southern California

California's Orange County will once again be the site of the 13th Conference of the Institute for Historical Review. From around the United States and across the seas, scholars, activists and friends of the IHR will meet over Memorial Day weekend — Saturday afternoon, May 27, through Monday afternoon, May 29, 2000.

Leading revisionists will report on the latest breakthroughs in the international fight for historical truth, from the headline-grabbing Irving-Lipstadt trial in London to the growing official support for Holocaust revisionism in the Middle East, as well as on the formidable efforts of our enemies to silence debate and to outlaw dissent. As at every IHR Conference, vanguard researchers will present new findings, based on archival research, that replace “official” lies with historical fact.

Speakers will include:

- **Robert Faurisson**, Europe's foremost revisionist scholar, has never failed to delight IHR Conference attendees with his entertaining and instructive talks. He brings to the podium the insight and savvy of a scholar who was educated at the Paris Sorbonne, and who served for years as a professor at the University of Lyon II. Faurisson, whose ground-breaking writings and courageous advocacy of Holocaust revisionism have resulted in academic sanctions, endless trials, and murderous assaults, will look at revisionism's recent progress, and its prospects for victory in the new century.

- **Paul (Pete) McCloskey**, former US Congressman (Rep.-Calif.), was targeted by Jewish-Zionist organizations when he spoke out against Israel's illegal use in Lebanon of American-supplied cluster bombs. More recently, he has played a major role in a class action lawsuit against the Anti-Defamation League, one of America's most powerful Jewish-Zionist organizations, for its illicit spying activities. He will speak about the ADL and its record of shadowy, underhanded operations.

- **John Sack** will detail the furor touched off by the publication of *An Eye for an Eye*, his headline-making exposé of the brutal mistreatment of ethnic Germans by Jewish Communist authorities in post-war Poland (a work that *New York* magazine called “the book they dare not review”). He will relate his



John Sack

adventures in censorship at the hands of the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, his German publisher, and other enemies of open discourse. Sack, an author (of *M, Lieutenant Calley: His Story*, and *Company C*), and veteran journalist (*Esquire*, *The New Yorker*, CBS News), has covered every US war from Korea to the Gulf at the battlefield.

- **Gladye Whitney**, professor of Psychology at Florida State University, Tallahassee, will explain “How Psychology Lost Darwin,” an examination of how the prevailing view of race and race relations has changed radically over the past 70 years, and why — identifying the forces behind the revolutionary shift.

- **Theodore O'Keefe**, IHR book editor, will present a devastating exposé of the legends and lies behind *Schindler's List*, the influential novel and Steven Spielberg film, and offer an intensively researched account of Oskar Schindler's actual wartime role — and its larger significance.

- **Mark Weber**, IHR Director, will present a sweeping and provocative look at the dramatic course of the 20th century history in the Conference's keynote address, in which he'll also review recent revisionist progress and outline future challenges. Later he will also give an eye-opening scholarly presentation.

- **Germar Rudolf**, a German-born certified chemist who was sentenced to 14 months imprisonment and forced into exile for his critical on-site forensic examination of the Auschwitz and Birkenau “gas chambers,” will report on his headline-making work as a revisionist researcher, publisher and editor.

- **Fredrick Toben**, director of the Adelaide Institute in Australia, will provide a first-person account of his trial and seven months imprisonment in Germany for “Holocaust denial,” with exciting news about the growing international support for revisionism.



Jürgen Graf addresses the Twelfth IHR Conference, September 1994.

- **Jürgen Graf**, Swiss educator, author, and researcher, will present startling new facts and insights, gleaned from long-neglected wartime records unearthed from archives in Russia and eastern Europe, as he takes a myth-busting look at the fate of Jews deported to Auschwitz who were not registered.

- **Ernst Zündel**, Canada's leading revisionist activist, and prominent German-Canadian civil rights figure, will once again delight Conference attendees in his typically irrepressible and upbeat style. Twice he was tried in Canada's two great "Holocaust trials," but ultimately vindicated. Now he'll report on the latest political and judicial effort to silence him and the California-based web site operated by Ingrid Rimland, as well as share thoughts on the recent publicity surrounding Fred Leuchter, whose forensic examination of Auschwitz he commissioned for the 1988 trial in Toronto.

- **Greg Raven**, IHR associate editor, will serve as MC, and will introduce the speakers.

- **Charles Provan**, researcher and author, will cite laboriously unearthed documents and other evidence that debunks the "testimony" of Miklos Nyiszli, a physician at Auschwitz-Birkenau whose memoir has been widely cited as proof of mass killings in gas chambers.

- **Bradley Smith**, veteran of hundreds of radio and television appearances, will bring attendees up-to-date on his work in bringing revisionist scholar-

ship to America's colleges and universities. In his usual genial manner, Smith will tell how his ad campaign and new magazine, *The Revisionist*, have shaken up one campus after another across the country, re-enraging the traditional enemies of free speech.

- **Robert Countess**, scholar and globe-trotting revisionist ambassador, will report on important new publishing projects and current activism, including insights from his attendance at the recent international Holocaust conference in Stockholm.

As those who have attended in the past know, an IHR Conference is a unforgettable experience. It's a special opportunity to meet, hear and converse with the stalwart scholars and cutting-edge activists who are making headlines — and history — in their courageous fight to bring history into accord with the facts. It's also a wonderful occasion for making new revisionist friends from around the globe, or renewing old friendships — all in the sunny ambience of southern California.

Register Now!

Previous IHR Conference attendees can reserve a place simply by remitting the registration fee, and indicating a lodging preference. Those who have not previously attended an IHR Conference should first fill out and submit an application form — which can be obtained from the IHR office, or downloaded from the IHR web site (www.ihr.org).

The regular registration fee is \$195. Attendees can bring a family member (spouse or child) for the reduced fee of \$155. For students (with valid ID) the rate is \$50.

The registration fee — payable by personal check, money order or Visa or MC credit card — covers all lectures and events, two buffet breakfasts, and the banquet dinner. Lunches are the attendees' own responsibility. (Several restaurants are within easy walking distance.)

This three-day event will be at an elegant and easily accessible hotel, with comfortable rooms and a large pool. The precise site will be announced later to registered attendees.

For those flying in from out of town, transportation to and from the nearby Orange County airport (Irvine/Santa Ana) will be available. There is ample parking for those driving in.

The special room rate for attendees who wish to stay overnight at the hotel is \$80 per room (not person). For those willing to share a room (one or two beds), the rate is just \$40 per person. We'll reserve your room, and help with any special requests.

Registration will begin at 3:00 pm on Saturday

afternoon, May 27. The Conference will commence promptly at 6:00 pm, run all day Sunday into the evening, and adjourn at about 3:00 pm on Monday afternoon.

Questions? Phone us at 949 - 631 1490. Fax: 949 - 631 0980. E-mail: ihr@ihr.org

Sponsored by the Institute for Historical Review, the Conference is a private meeting. We reserve the right to refuse admission to anyone.

Visit www.ihr.org

IHR Internet Web Site Offers Worldwide Access to Revisionism

On its own Internet web site, www.ihr.org, the Institute for Historical Review makes available an impressive selection of IHR material, including dozens of IHR *Journal* articles and reviews. It also includes a listing of every item that has ever appeared in this *Journal*, as well as the complete texts of *The Zionist Terror Network*, "The Leuchter Report," and Kulaszka's encyclopedic work *Did Six Million Really Die?*. New material is added as time permits.

Key words can be located in any of the site's items using a built-in search capability.

Through the IHR web site, revisionist scholarship is instantly available to millions of computer users worldwide, free of censorship by governments or powerful special interest groups. It can be reached 24 hours a day from around the globe through the World Wide Web (WWW), a multimedia Internet service.

Interest in the IHR web site has grown steadily over the past year. It's recently been receiving in excess of 3,000 "hits" or "visits" per day.

Journal associate editor Greg Raven maintains and operates this site as its "web master." Because it is linked to several other revisionist (and anti-revisionist) web sites, visitors can easily access vast amounts of additional information.

The IHR web site address is

<http://www.ihr.org>

E-mail messages can be sent to
ihr@ihr.org

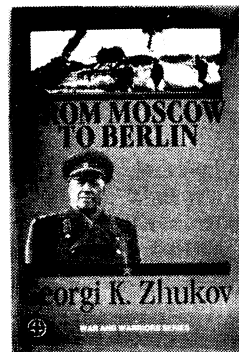


Robert Faurisson and Michael Shermer, editor of *Skeptic* magazine, exchange views during a break at the 12th IHR Conference.

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Media Coverage of the Irving-Lipstadt Trial

COMPILED BY GREG RAVEN

Even before it began on January 11, 2000, the libel trial in London's High Court of Justice brought by historian David Irving against Jewish activist Deborah Lipstadt and her British publisher had attracted a good bit of attention. And since then it has generated considerable media coverage and commentary, not only in Britain, but around the world.

At the core of the case is Lipstadt's 1993 book, Denying the Holocaust, a polemical broadside against those who dispute Holocaust extermination claims. Her attacks against Irving, who she calls "one of the most dangerous spokespersons for Holocaust denial," include demonstrably false statements.

In addition to her book, Lipstadt has played a major role in the ongoing international endeavor to silence those who challenge Holocaust orthodoxy — a campaign that has effectively blacklisted Irving among "mainstream" publishers. (See also "A British Historian Defends His Livelihood and Honor" in the Sept.-Dec. 1999 Journal, with the complete text of Irving's Opening Statement. Much more detailed information about the case, including texts of important trial documents, can be found on Irving's web site: <http://www.fpp.co.uk>)

As the following excerpts from press reports and commentary on the case show, this non-jury trial has shaped up as a major battle over "Holocaust denial" and, more broadly, the Holocaust extermination story itself. The headings given here are the original article headlines. Brief explanatory or elucidating remarks have been added in brackets.

Taking a Holocaust Skeptic Seriously

D. D. Guttenplan

The New York Times, June 26, 1999

... British writer David Irving's books have been praised by some of the most eminent scholars in his field. The military historian John Keegan, who says Irving "knows more than anyone alive about the German side of the Second World War," considers his work "indispensable to anyone seeking to understand the war in the round." Gordon Craig, a leading scholar of German history at Stanford University, also calls Irving's work "indispensable." He adds, "I always learn something from him."

Shoah Showdown

Elli Wohlgelernter

Jerusalem Post, September 24, 1999

... Others see in the trial an inherent danger, fearing it will in effect put the entire Nazi operation on trial. Should that happen, then the slightest legal infraction could lead to a judgment that would reward Irving with a technical victory, one he would be sure to exploit to further his agenda.

"That's always the danger," said Efraim Zuroff, head of the Simon Wiesenthal Center's Israel office. "The court is going to deal with facts regarding events that obviously took place, and there is a theoretical possibility that the verdict could in some way diminish those crimes, or question those crimes."

"It seems unlikely, but every time you go to court there is always the danger of losing a case. Any victory for Irving, any defeat for Deborah Lipstadt on any major point, will be a loss for truth and historical accuracy."



Deborah Lipstadt

... this trial will dwarf all the others, because of its location, its adversaries, and what it portends for the future.

Zuroff said that what marks this trial is that "the stakes are much higher because of Irving, because of who he is, and the charges."

"This is not a perpetrator saying it didn't happen, nor a survivor saying it did happen — these are people who are historians, the people who deal with the events rather than the people who lived through the events. This is the beginning of the future. It would not be surprising if such cases don't happen again and again."

[ADL director Abraham] Foxman, himself a lawyer, said that bringing the Holocaust to trial "is always a very, very uncomfortable and problematic issue, because those of us who are lawyers and who have experience with the law know that frequently

'the law is an ass,' and that decisions can come down on procedural matters which may be spun as a win or a loss which has nothing to do with the essence of the case."

Emory's Deborah Lipstadt Prepares to do Battle with Holocaust Denier David Irving

Steven H. Pollak

Atlanta Jewish Times, October 8, 1999

... Irving's chances for success are enhanced in the United Kingdom, where the burden of proof required in libel suits places the defendant at a disadvantage. Lipstadt's co-defendant is her publishing house, Penguin Books, Ltd.

... "The bottom line is, it's much easier to win a defamation action in England than it is in the United States," said Lee. "That's probably why this suit was brought in England rather than the United States."

... For his part, Irving said he is the object of hatred by Jewish and other organizations bent on destroying his legitimacy as a historian. He prefers the term "revisionist" to describe his views on the Holocaust. He may have chosen to bring a lawsuit against Lipstadt in England because her book was published there.

"Lipstadt may find it unfortunate that she is the one to be taken out of the line and shot," he said via e-mail from Key West, Fla. "The fact is that Lipstadt was silly enough to print her libels within the jurisdiction of the British courts. Others have been more circumspect."

Danger in Denying Holocaust?

Kim Murphy

Los Angeles Times, January 7, 2000

... Over the last decade, supporters of [revisionist] theories have scrutinized hundreds of thousands of pages of Third Reich documents and diaries made available after the collapse of the Soviet Union. They have analyzed gas chamber construction. They have pinpointed contradictions and hard-to-believe details in stories told by camp survivors and, amid nearly universal scorn from the academic establishment, won testimonials for some of their work from academics at respected institutions, such as Northwestern University and the University of Lyon.

... For Irving, who is regarded in some mainstream quarters as one of the premier documentarians of the Third Reich, it is an issue of professional vindication. It is no accident, he says, that he has been banned from even entering Canada, Italy, Germany and Austria because of Holocaust denial laws in those countries. "They regard me as dangerous,



David Irving speaking at the Twelfth IHR Conference (Sept. 1994)

and the word 'dangerous' puzzles me," he said. "I don't go around punching people in the face.... 'Dangerous' can only mean dangerous to their interests, either in the long term or the short term.

"In the end, it isn't really a question of whether it's 6 million or only 1 million" Jews who died. "I think the figures have been inflated, and the significance of the inflation is that the Jewish community is trying to make out that their suffering is unique in its grandeur and the methods applied to achieve it. And it wasn't. It was just one of the many barbarisms committed under the cloak of war."

Some revisions in Holocaust history have been generally accepted. Stories that Jewish remains were manufactured into soap and lampshades have been dismissed as myth. There were, most historians now agree, no human gassings at Dachau. Deaths at Auschwitz, once estimated, based on the testimony of Nazi commanders, at up to 3 million have been scaled back to about 1.1 million. Even the widely accepted figure of 6 million Jewish dead all over Europe has been questioned in recent years by some of the world's most prominent Holocaust scholars.

Raul Hilberg and Robert Jan van Pelt, two of the

leading authorities, now believe the figure is probably closer to 5.1 million.

... "I think, by the end of this case, the word 'scholarship' will come to stink," Irving predicts. "Scholars tend to award that accolade to each other. And their scholarship usually consists of sitting in libraries reading each others' books."

... Yet Irving has his admirers as well. Christopher Hitchens, writing of Irving's work in *Vanity Fair*, called him "not just a Fascist historian, [but] ... also a great historian of Fascism." Gordon A. Craig, considered the dean of German historians, acknowledged that Irving has been an "annoyance" but said: "The fact is that he knows more about national socialism than most professional scholars in his field." His book on Hitler, Craig said, "remains the best study we have of the German side of the Second World War."

"I can deal with Himmler. I can deal with Höss. There's a certain kind of naive honesty in what they do, however evil it is," van Pelt said. "But the contortions and complete fabrications of these deniers is obscene."

Holocaust on Trial in London

Douglas Davis

Jerusalem Post, January 11, 2000

... Inside the austere Court 37, Lipstadt and Irving will spend much of the next three months in a detailed battle for the soul of the Holocaust, a battle which British Jewish historian Prof. David Cesarani this week described as "one of the most gripping of modern times."

"The consequences for both parties will be enormous," noted Cesarani, "and the consequences will reverberate far and wide."

Trial Pits Revisionist against Holocaust Scholar

Douglas Davis

Jewish Telegraphic Agency, January 11, 2000

... "I don't see any reason to be tasteful about Auschwitz," [Lipstadt defense attorney Richard] Rampton quoted Irving as saying. "It's baloney. It's a legend."

"Once we admit the fact that it was a brutal slave labor camp and a large number of people did die, as large numbers of people died elsewhere in the war, why believe the rest of the baloney?"

"I say quite tastelessly, in fact, that more women died on the back seat of Edward Kennedy's car at Chappaquiddick than ever died in a gas chamber in Auschwitz."

Historians' Views Clash in Court

Bert Roughton Jr.

Atlanta Journal-Constitution, January 12, 2000

... A maverick British historian testified Tuesday that a book written by an Emory University professor was part of an international conspiracy to silence him and end his attempts to challenge conventional understandings of the Holocaust.

... Irving said that Lipstadt's use of the phrase "Holocaust denier" to describe him has been deeply damaging.

"It is a poison to which there is virtually no antidote," he said. "It is like being called a wife-beater or a pedophile. It is enough for the label to be attached, for the attachee to find himself designated as a pariah, an outcast from normal society. It is a verbal Yellow Star."

"Far from being a 'Holocaust denier,' I have repeatedly drawn attention to major aspects of the Holocaust," he said.

Irving, who stated in a 1977 book that Hitler was unaware of the mass slaughter of Jews until 1943, said the term "Holocaust" is meaningless.

"The word 'Holocaust' is an artificial label commonly attached to one of the greatest and still most unexplained tragedies of this past century," he said.

In his view, Auschwitz was a slave labor camp but not a death camp. He argues that gas chambers at the camp were built after the war.

Holocaust-based Libel Suit Opens in British Court

Ray Moseley

Chicago Tribune, January 12, 2000

British historian David Irving and American professor Deborah Lipstadt confronted each other Tuesday in a British court face-off that has drawn worldwide attention to Irving's attempts to cast doubt on the Nazi Holocaust.

Irving, who has questioned whether 6 million Jews were killed by the Nazis and has sought to absolve Adolf Hitler of responsibility for the Holocaust, has brought a libel suit against Lipstadt.

... Irving said he was able to pursue the expensive libel action only because of contributions from 4,000 supporters around the world. His opponents say he is being bankrolled by right-wing extremists, mainly Americans.

Historian Lied about Holocaust, Libel Trial Told

Neil Tweedie

Daily Telegraph (London), January 12, 2000

The controversial British historian David Irving claimed he was the victim of an "organized interna-

tional endeavour" to destroy his career at the opening of a libel trial in London yesterday.

... The case is likely to prove one of the most emotive seen in an English libel court in recent years, taking one of the greatest human tragedies of the 20th century as its subject matter. Journalists from Israel, Germany and America crowded into the High Court for the beginning of the trial, which opened with vitriolic attacks from both sides.

'To Put It Bluntly, Mr. Irving Is a Liar'

Neil Tweedie

Daily Telegraph (London), January 12, 2000

... Mr. Irving said at Calgary, Alberta, in September 1991: "I don't see any reason to be tasteful about Auschwitz. It's baloney, it's a legend. I say quite tastelessly, in fact, that more women died on the back seat of Edward Kennedy's car at Chapquiddick than ever died in a gas chamber in Auschwitz.

"Oh, you think that's tasteless, how about this? There are so many Auschwitz survivors going around, in fact the number increases as the years go past, which is biologically very odd. Because I'm going to form an Association of Auschwitz survivors, survivors of the Holocaust and other liars, or the ASSHOLS."

'Claims Are Like Being Called a Pedophile'

Neil Tweedie

Daily Telegraph (London), January 12, 2000

... Holocaust deniers "has become one of the most potent phrases in the arsenal of insult, replacing the N-word, the F-word, and a whole alphabet of other slurs ..." Mr. Irving said. The judge would undoubtedly hear from the defendants, he said, that he was fined a very substantial sum of money by the German Government.

"It is no matter for shame for me, although it has had catastrophic consequences, as it now makes me de facto 'a convict', with a criminal record and as such liable to a concatenation of further indignities and sanctions in every foreign country which I now wish to visit." It arose from a remark made during an address he made to an audience in Munich in 1990 — "We now know that the gas chamber shown to the tourists at Auschwitz is a fake built by the Poles after the war, just like the one established by the Americans at Dachau."

Mr. Irving said: "This may well raise eyebrows. It might be found to be offensive by sections of the community and if they take such offense, I can assure this court that I regret it and that such was not my intention. The fact remains that these remarks were true; the Poles admitted it in January

1995 and under English law truth has always been regarded as an absolute defense."

Academic Buccaneer vs Bookish School-master

Alan Hamilton

The Times (London), January 12, 2000

... What is at stake here is not the *amour-propre* of individuals with grossly inflated egos. Rather it is whether one of the blackest chapters of 20th-century history actually happened, or is a figment of politically motivated Jewry.

... In the absence of a jury, the case has been allotted one of the High Court's smaller and less imposing arenas, where every spare seat is taken by representatives of the British, US and Jewish press.

Mass Gassing of Jews Not Feasible, Says Irving

Neil Tweedie

Daily Telegraph (London), January 13, 2000

David Irving, the historian, denied yesterday that millions of Jews were systematically murdered in the gas chambers during the Second World War.

Giving evidence in a libel action, Mr. Irving claimed that the mass gassing of Jews by the Nazis was not possible, and that there was no evidence of a systematic programme of extermination sanctioned by Adolf Hitler. The 62-year-old author said he had removed the word Holocaust from the second edition of his book *Hitler's War* because the term was too vague and imprecise.

... Yesterday Mr. Irving, who is representing himself, went into the witness box for cross-examination by Richard Rampton, QC, the counsel for Prof Lipstadt and Penguin. The historian stood by comments he made in Calgary in 1991 in which he claimed that the gassing of millions of Jews in "factories of death" was "just a legend".

... When asked if he believed that Jews had been gassed in great numbers in the Treblinka and Sobibor concentration camps, Mr. Irving said he had no evidence of it. He said: "I deny that it was possible to liquidate millions of people in the gas chambers." Mr. Irving also put the number of Jewish dead at between one million and four million, as opposed to the generally accepted figure of six million.

... Mr. Irving said that like most fellow Englishmen of his background and age he regretted the passing of "the old England". He said: "I sometimes think that if the soldiers and sailors of the Normandy beaches in 1944 could have seen what England was like at the end of the century, they would not have got 50 yards up the beach. They would have given up in disgust."

Irving Says Holocaust 'Logistically Impossible'

Michael Horsnell

The Times (London), January 13, 2000

The Hitler historian, David Irving, denied yesterday that the Nazis killed millions of Jews in concentration-camp gas chambers. The SS may have had gassing experiments, he said, but such mass murder was logistically impossible.

Mr. Irving, 62, said that the massacre of Jews — as occurred in the East when Germany invaded Russia — was by shooting, but was without the knowledge of Adolf Hitler and was not part of any systematic extermination by the Third Reich.

... "There was a time when he was on the right course and then went off the rails," he said. "You can't praise his racial program or penal methods. But he did pick up his nation out of the mire after World War I, reunified it and gave it a sense of pride again."

... Was it six million who died in one of the blackest chapters of 20th-century history? "A lot of the numbers are very suspect," the historian said. The judge put it to him: "It's said against you that you tried to blame what was done against the Jews by the Third Reich on Jews themselves." Mr. Irving replied: "I have said on a number of occasions that if I was a Jew, I would be far more concerned not at who pulled the trigger, but why. Anti-Semitism is a recurring malaise in society. There must be some reason why anti-Semitic groups break out like some kind of epidemic."

Mr. Rampton asked him: "Do you accept that the Nazis killed by one means or another — murdered, hanged, put to death — millions of people during World War II?" "Yes," Mr. Irving said. "I hesitate to speculate. It was certainly more than one million, certainly less than four million." Mr. Rampton: "Do you deny the Nazis killed millions of Jews in gas chambers in purpose-built establishments?"

Mr. Irving: "Yes, it's logistically impossible." He added: "One million people weigh 100,000 tons — it's a major logistical problem. I deny that it was possible to liquidate millions of people in gas chambers as presented by historians so far." Asked about the Holocaust, the historian said: "I find the word is misleading and unhelpful. It's too vague, imprecise and unscientific and should be avoided like the plague."

Pressed on his own definition of the Holocaust, he said that although tragedy befell the Jews it "was the whole of the Second World War and the people who died were not just Jews but Gypsies and homosexuals, the people of Coventry and the people of Hiroshima." Asked how many innocent Jewish people he thought the Germans had killed deliberately,

Mr. Irving brought up the name of Anne Frank, who died of disease in a camp at the age of 15. "She was a Jew who died in the Holocaust and she wasn't murdered unless you take it in the broadest sense."

... He maintained that he had never knowingly or wilfully misrepresented any document nor suppressed information that did not support his case and said that he always passed the information he gathered to other historians.

... This libel trial, dealing with one of the most controversial and complex episodes of the past century, is expected to take at least three months. Both sides will call a host of eminent historians. "The documentary evidence will be enormous," one lawyer said. Neither side opposed the judge's suggestion, made before the trial, to dispense with a jury.

Irving in Court: Aspects of Shoah 'Debatable'

Lee Levitt

Jewish Chronicle (London), January 14, 2000

Historian David Irving questioned the extent of the Holocaust as his libel action against an American academic continued in the High Court this week.

... he told the packed court: "I am prepared to deny the possibility that the Nazis liquidated millions of people in gas chambers."

Misleading, Inaccurate, Distorted, and Uninformed Reporting

Michael Berenbaum

The Jewish Journal (Los Angeles), January 14, 2000

... Professor Yehuda Bauer and I, among others, did not find evidence that remains of the dead were manufactured into soap. And when we could not, we published our findings. Each bar of soap given to the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum was tested to see if it contained human remains. Since it didn't, we said so. We are the servants of the truth.

Getting it Very Wrong

Tom Tugend

The Jewish Journal (Los Angeles), January 14, 2000

... To survivors and experts on the Holocaust, there is little doubt that the [Los Angeles] *Times* and reporter Kim Murphy gave credence to the lies of the deniers in the name of journalistic impartiality.

"It is a sign of immaturity, and inexperience on the reporter's part, to try and balance everything, because there are some things that can't be balanced," says Arthur Stern, a veteran of Bergen-Belsen and a Jewish Federation lay leader.

"I fear that at some point in the future, every-

thing reported about the Nazi regime will be gray, and nothing will any longer be black and white," he adds.

Rabbi Abraham Cooper, associate dean of the Simon Wiesenthal Center, faults the *Times*' report on the same basis, and also charges that the article suffered from a glaring omission.

"The reporter left out the most crucial element, namely the confessions of the war criminals themselves," says Cooper. "The Nazis left an extensive paper trail and there are any number of quotes and statements by Himmler, Goebbels and Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss, clearly documenting the extent of the Holocaust."

To Harold Schulweis, author and rabbi, of Valley Beth Shalom, denial of the Holocaust is "the ultimate obscenity ... like poking in the cremated ashes of a loved one.

"What is the motivation behind saying that Jews died 'only' of starvation and typhus, but not gassing? It's like telling a person after a terrible tragedy to cheer up," he observes.

... "How can you even discuss whether 6 million or 5.1 million Jews were killed?", asked survivor and business leader Nathan Shapell. "After all these years, for a newspaper like the *Los Angeles Times* to print such an article is ridiculous."

... Whatever the impact of the *Times* article, it will be eclipsed in the next few months by the London trial of a libel suit by revisionist David Irving against Holocaust historian Deborah Lipstadt.

This courtroom drama, notes the Jerusalem Post, is expected to be the most highly publicized Holocaust trial since Adolf Eichmann's in 1961.

The paper cites the view of the eminent Israeli historian Yehuda Bauer of Yad Vashem, who sees the trial as a wonderful chance to debunk the deniers.

... Others are less sanguine, fearing that the slightest legal infraction could lead to a judgment that would reward Irving with a technical victory.

[David] Lehrer [regional director of the Anti-Defamation League] ... shares the concern. "There is always a possibility, especially under British libel laws, of losing a case on a technicality."

England: Irving Case Continues

Cathy Gordon and Jan Colley

Press Association News, January 13, 2000

Controversial historian David Irving today dramatically revealed that the German government was seeking his extradition for alleged racial incitement.

The 62-year-old author told the High Court in London that it was another example of "the kind of hatred I face and the problems I face because of the

repugnant allegations against me".

... After the end of today's sitting, Mr. Irving told the media that the controversy arose over a comment he made during a talk at Weinheim that the gas chambers at Auschwitz were a fake and built after the war. Such a statement was a criminal offense in Germany, he said.

He said he was fined the equivalent of £15,000 in 1992 for making the same statement in Munich in 1990. He was also banned from Germany.

The extradition proceedings revealed in court today were launched in August 1998, said Mr. Irving. No attempt had been made to serve the warrant against him, but the British Government had agreed to co-operate with Germany.

CNN Reports

Charles Glass

CNN television, January 16, 2000

... Next on CNN & TIME, historian David Irving and the Holocaust. Some of his views on the subject may surprise you ...

... GLASS: Don Guttenplan is a journalist writing a book about Irving versus Lipstadt.

GUTTENPLAN: In this case, what he's done is kind of use the libel law as a kind of jujitsu to force her to prove not only that what she said about him is true, but since she says that his views about the Holocaust are nonsensical, she has to prove that they're nonsensical.

... DAVID CESARANI, DIR., WIENER LIBRARY: We now have in the Moscow archives the building plans, the orders for the gas chamber and crematory equipment. This is not to mention the sworn statements taken by Nazis in captivity at the end of the Second World War, and of course, the mass of statements by the survivors.

... IRVING: I'm interested to see if in this coming trial here in London they find the documents and they produce them to the satisfaction of this court that do prove me wrong. And if they prove me wrong, I'll smile sheepishly and say, well done, fellows. It's taken you 40 years.

Last Battle of Hitler's Historians

Neal Ascherson

The Observer (London), January 16, 2000

... if Irving were to win this case, the impact would be far greater than damages. At the last possible moment, his reputation as a credible historian would be salvaged. His version of Hitler and the Holocaust would be given a degree of plausibility.

... Once, in a bout with Rampton over whether the Führer had ordered the extermination of the Jews, David Irving reminded him that no signed

order had been found. That, said Rampton, was just negative evidence. Noisily, Irving retorted: "I have to remind you of the basic principle of English law that a man is innocent until he is proved guilty: am I right?"

And at that second there was a tiny stillness in Court 37. We were talking about Adolf Hitler.

Nazi Trains Carried Ample Food for Jews, Says Irving

Daily Telegraph (London), January 18, 2000

The image of the Holocaust was dented by the fact that trains carrying Jews to concentration camps were "well-provisioned," David Irving, the historian, said in the High Court yesterday.

A telegram message about a transportation of 944 Jews from Berlin to Lithuania on Nov. 17, 1941, decoded by British intelligence at Bletchley Park, Bucks, showed that there was 24 days' worth of food on board for the three-day journey.

"It's a bit of a dent, a tiny dent in the image we have of the Holocaust today," said the 62-year-old author of *Hitler's War*.

It went against the accepted image of victims stuffed into cattle trucks and shipped across Europe with no food or water, to arrive half dead. In fact, he added, intercepted messages indicated that the trains were equipped with a "very substantial amount of food" to keep the Jews going for three weeks after their arrival and their appliances or "tools of the trade".

The Battle to Control the Memory of the Shoah

David Cesarani

The Guardian (London), January 18, 2000

At times during his legal battle in the high court, David Irving, a man of natural military bearing, resembles a beleaguered Wehrmacht general in some god-forsaken pocket on the eastern front, desperately trying to beat off the Jewish-Bolshevik hordes....

He stands or sits alone on one side of the courtroom, while the large defense team occupies most of the rest of it. In his opening statement he referred several times to the existence of an "international endeavor" to destroy his name and career as a writer.... Bizarre as they may be, these accusations ... may feed into the growing backlash against the so-called 'Holocaust industry' which, for very different reasons, is taking hold in mainstream media and academic circles.

... Earlier in the year the announcement that the Imperial War Museum North was planning a joint venture with the Manchester Shoah Centre

provoked Brian Sewell in the *Evening Standard* to condemn the 'bandwagon' effect. 'Can we not say to the Jews of Manchester,' he asked, 'that enough has been made of their Holocaust and they are too greedy for our memories.'

Most recently, Sam Schulman in the *Spectator* warned that 'a new kind of anti-Semitism may emerge in the 21st century, in reaction to the attempt to make 'the Holocaust' central to our civilisation.'...

In 1999, Tim Cole, a British academic responsible for ground-breaking research on the wartime Budapest ghetto, published *Images of the Holocaust: the Myth of the 'Shoah Business,'* which slammed the redemptive and kitschy representation of the Holocaust seen in films and museums the world over. He dubbed this, perhaps foolishly, the 'myth' of the Holocaust.

... But Cole singles out the use of exhibitions and memorials to combat Holocaust denial. "Museums such as the US Holocaust Memorial Museum and movies such as 'Schindler's List' have as a self-conscious goal not simply teaching the public lessons from the past, but also the aim of disproving the claims of those who deny the Holocaust."

In his eyes this is a mistake, since "it amounts to attempting to counter the questioning of the reality of the 'Holocaust' by offering in its place a representation of the 'Holocaust' which only tends to blur the critical distinction between reality and representation." Worse, it's self-defeating: "It was not until it emerged as an iconic event that it was perceived to be an event which was deemed to be worth denying." Memorialization provokes denial.

The intellectual backlash has been more prominent and problematic in the US. Next month will see the publication in Britain of *The Holocaust In American Life* by the respected US historian Peter Novick, in which he maintains that "it was Jewish initiative that put the Holocaust on the American agenda"....

Denial Denial

George Szamuely

New York Press, January 18, 2000

... Irving is a scholar of enormous energy and dedication. He has published innumerable works, most of which have been praised by leading historians of the period....

This cuts no ice with our cultural vigilantes who would spoon-feed us what information they think we need. Back in March 1996, St. Martin's Press was looking forward to bringing out his book, *Goebbels: Mastermind of the Third Reich*....

The book would have been a fascinating read. But it was not to be. Abraham H. Foxman of the

Anti-Defamation League led the charge of the pious bullies....

The usual crowd of smelly little orthodoxies immediately chimed in.... Lipstadt herself made the sonorous announcement: "In the Passover Haggadah, it says in every generation there are those who rise up to destroy us ... David Irving is not physically destroying us, but is trying to destroy the memory of those who have already perished at the hands of tyrants." The onslaught in the media was followed by death threats to the publisher.

Inevitably, St. Martin's caved and withdrew the book from publication. Irving is right to be upset that an influential minority with a political agenda succeeded in destroying his career.... Irving is also right to be outraged by the promiscuous use of the phrase "Holocaust denial." As Lipstadt uses the term, it means whatever she wants it to mean. If you believe that fewer than six million died, are you still a Holocaust denier? Are you a Holocaust denier if you have questions about the precise means of death? In *Denying the Holocaust*, Lipstadt wrote that Pat Buchanan's "attacks on the credibility of survivor' testimony are standard elements of Holocaust denial." Yet, a few years ago the director of Yad Vashem's archive told a reporter that most of the 20,000 testimonies it had collected were unreliable: "Many were never in the places where they claim to have witnessed atrocities, while others relied on secondhand information given them by friends or passing strangers." Is he also then a "Holocaust denier"?

We now know that many of the most lurid stories of the Holocaust are not true. Jews were never made into soap. Jewish skin was not used to make lampshades. Deaths at Auschwitz, once estimated at around four million, have been scaled back to about 1.1 million. There were no gassings at Dachau. Holocaust scholars no longer accept the six-million-Jewish-dead figure; two leading figures — Raul Hilberg and Robert Jan van Pelt — believe the figure is probably closer to 5.1 million. Is this Holocaust denial or merely addition to our knowledge?...

Whether Irving wins or loses his libel case, we will probably find out that our current knowledge of the Holocaust is much flimsier than we had believed. Today, David Irving is banned from entering Canada, Australia and Germany. If our politically correct globalists have their way, he will probably be banned here and everywhere else as well soon. Why? Irving is a scholar, not a criminal. There is something contemptible about democracies terrified of anyone challenging their prevailing pieties. Outlawing him only serves to make him look good and our rulers shabby.

Philosophy of Hate Has No Room for Truth

Alan Gold

Sydney Morning Herald (Australia), January 18, 2000

... Irving denies Hitler knew anything of the Holocaust. So does Australia's Fred Toben. And Ernst Zündel in Canada. And Arthur Butz and Fred Leuchter in America. And Robert Faurisson in France. And lots of others.

... Deniers like Irving, Toben and the rest are using the Internet to recruit and promote themselves to a vast audience.

... Extremists on both sides of the political divide have adopted the Internet as their preferred medium of communication, but by far the largest number of Web sites propagating denialism and racial vilification are owned by the far right-wing.

... The Internet is a dream come true for today's historical revisionists. No longer do they have to find a mainstream publisher willing to print their words; nor do they have to rely on the limitations of handing out leaflets on street corners.

Alan Gold is a novelist whose latest book, Berlin Song, deals with issues of denialism and the Holocaust.

Irving Insists that Hitler Did Not Order the Holocaust

Tim Jones

The Times (London), January 19, 2000

The historian David Irving refused to accept yesterday that hundreds of thousands of Jews had been sent to concentration camps as part of Hitler's plan to exterminate them.

His denial that the liquidation of Jews was part of a plan personally approved by the Führer came during a sharp exchange with Richard Rampton, QC, during a libel case at the High Court in London.

Referring to the transportation of Jews from Warsaw and other towns and cities to the villages of Treblinka, Sobibor and Belzec, near the Russian border, Mr. Rampton suggested that "only a fool and a liar" would suggest that they were being sent there for their health.

... Mr. Irving, 62, who is conducting his own case, replied: "There could be any number of convincing explanations, from the most innocent to the most sinister."

He added: "During World War II large numbers of people were sent to Aldershot but no one believes that there they were put into gas chambers."

In another exchange, Mr. Irving said he could not accept that 1.2 million Jews had been deliberately murdered at the Auschwitz concentration camp.

Mr. Irving, who maintains that the gas chamber at Auschwitz was built by the Poles after the war as a tourist attraction, said: "I don't accept that and I have good reason not to."

He indicated that he would justify his belief about what occurred at the infamous camp when he cross-examines Holocaust experts who are to appear in court during the course of the trial, which is expected to last for more than two months.

Speaking from the witness box in Court 73, in front of a packed public gallery in which there were many Jewish people, Mr. Irving maintained that Hitler had not been aware of the mass slaughter of the Jews. He said that in the records of the so-called "table talks" between Hitler, Heinrich Himmler, the head of the SS, and Joseph Goebbels, his Propaganda Minister, there was no evidence that the Führer knew of the "Final Solution."

Even in 1942, Mr. Irving said, Hitler was talking in terms of shipping the Jews to the island of Madagascar to begin new lives but that operation could not be carried out because of the naval war.

Hitler, he said, did not want the Jews transported to Siberia, which would merely toughen up the strain of the Jewish "bacillus." He wished them to be removed totally from the Greater Reich.

Mr. Irving said that during the conversations, at which Hitler and his henchmen had discussed the course of the war, there was no suggestion that the Jews should be systematically killed.

Mr. Irving, who accepts that hundreds of thousands of Jews were murdered but denies that the killings were part of a systematic programme of extermination, accused Mr. Rampton of disregarding evidence which did not concur with his case.

Herald Sun Regrets Poll

Mark Briskin

Australian Jewish News, January 21, 2000

Melbourne's *Herald Sun* newspaper has acknowledged that a poll asking readers whether they supported David Irving's views of the Holocaust was "ill-conceived".

The question which appeared in last Friday's edition read. "Do you agree with David Irving's view of the Holocaust?" and invited readers to respond via a "Yes" or "No" phone number. However a poll result did not appear in the following paper.

The reader poll accompanied a story about the David Irving libel trial currently before the courts in London.

Herald Sun deputy editor John Trevorrow said, "The question was ill-conceived and shouldn't have been asked. With a question like that you're allow-

ing for the possibility that you agree with David Irving's view on the Holocaust i.e., that it didn't happen, that it was a conspiracy, which is clearly not something the *Herald Sun* wants to be associated with. It was a mistake to ask that question."

Jewish Holocaust Museum and Research Centre President Shmuel Rosenkranz said, "The question was simply do you believe Mr. Irving or don't you? It is absolutely ridiculous to put such a question when there is sufficient evidence that the Holocaust did take place. There is sufficient evidence that Mr. Irving is a Holocaust denier par-excellence." He believed the question could give Holocaust denial legitimacy.

Australia Israel Jewish Affairs Council National Chairman Mark Leibler said that making Holocaust denial the subject of questionnaire conferred an inordinate sense of legitimacy to the issue. "It is insensitive to the many Holocaust survivors who live here. It's offensive I would have thought to all Australians of whatever shade or complexion or ethnic background and it's just simply not appropriate."

B'nai Brith Anti-Defamation Commission Executive Director Danny Ben-Moshe said he received several complaints that the poll reflected a lack of understanding about the nature of Holocaust denial and individuals such as David Irving.

"This is a very good example of the way something like Holocaust denial can sort of slip in there. In this particular way, it is a different form of racist hate to deal with, so the educational role we have to play is going to be more not less."

He added, "I think under the circumstances while its original publication was abhorrent and completely unacceptable, it was, dealt with in the most appropriate way."

Mr. Trevorrow said that the individual responsible for the poll had been admonished that the newspaper did not print the results as it wanted nothing more to do with the issue. "The best thing was not to air the subject any further," he said.

New Twists on History

Dennis Roddy

Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, January 22, 2000

... As the libel trial enters its third week, Irving promises fresh proofs that Auschwitz had no gas chambers, evidence he'll unleash when he gets one of Lipstadt's expert witnesses on the stand.

"The battleship Auschwitz as the capital ship of the Holocaust legend will have sunk," Irving assures me.

Defender of Hitler Sues Critics — and Puts Holocaust on Trial

Ray Moseley

Chicago Tribune, January 23, 2000

... Even his critics acknowledge that Irving is the most scholarly of the Holocaust deniers, and few people have searched the wartime archives as thoroughly — and benefited as well from the recollections and diaries of old Nazis whom he befriended.

His memory is prodigious. Rampton produces relatively obscure archival documents, and Irving rattles on at length about minor Nazi bureaucrats mentioned in them, or says with great confidence this is a document he has never seen.

... During one break in the proceedings, a woman accosts him and says her parents were gassed at Auschwitz.

"You may be pleased to know that they almost certainly died of typhus, as did Anne Frank," Irving replies.

Cyanide Was 'Used to Kill Lice' Claims Irving

Michael Horsnell

The Times (London), January 24, 2000

Traces of cyanide in human hair recovered from Auschwitz and on metal ventilation grilles over the concentration camp's gas chambers were evidence of a delousing program by the Nazis and not of mass extermination, David Irving, the Hitler historian, said yesterday.

Mr. Irving told a High Court judge that the SS used the gas chambers simply to fumigate bodies and clothing and hair shorn after death from inmates of the Polish concentration camp in the face of a plague of lice.

... Yesterday Mr. Irving said that he stood by the man whose work had persuaded him that mass extermination never took place at Auschwitz. Fred Leuchter, a consultant in the design of execution facilities in America, had visited the camp in 1988 on behalf of a German, Ernst Zündel, who was on trial in Canada for publishing material that denied the existence of homicidal gas chambers at Auschwitz.

Holocaust Skeptic Admits Use of Flawed Evidence

Bert Roughton Jr.

Atlanta Journal-Constitution, January 25, 2000

... David Irving said he still believes no Jews were gassed at Auschwitz because he is unimpressed with evidence supporting the traditional account. "We are entitled to at least one unambiguous, not read-between-the-lines, document that would give us a clear smoking gun," Irving testified

Monday. "That document does not exist."

... When asked about the overwhelming body of documents, physical evidence and eyewitness accounts of the mass killings at the infamous Nazi concentration camp, Irving said he did not accept the conclusion that Nazis systematically killed as many as 2 million Jews in gas chambers at the camp and then burned their bodies in specially built furnaces.

"No, I don't agree with this," Irving said. "There are other arguments that are just as plausible."

Irving, who has never visited Auschwitz, said it was more likely the structures identified as gas chambers were used as air raid shelters or as places to administer poison gas to corpses to kill typhus-carrying fleas and lice.

Auschwitz Had No Gas Chambers, Says Historian

Daily Telegraph (London), January 27, 2000

Eyewitness evidence of the existence of homicidal gas chambers at Auschwitz was "totally demolished" because there were no holes in the roof through which to insert poison, the historian David Irving told the High Court yesterday.

Mr. Irving, the 62-year-old author of *Hitler's War*, who is seeking libel damages for being called a "Holocaust denier," said his theory "blows holes in the whole gas chambers story." He said a number of "revisionist" researchers had entered the ruins of Crematorium Two at Auschwitz, in which Holocaust historians say 500,000 died.

They photographed the collapsed underside of the roof but found no holes. He said: "I do not accept that the Nazis, in the last frantic days of the camp, would have gone around filling the holes that they were going to dynamite."

... Mr. Irving said the defense's "so-called" eyewitnesses were a relatively small number for the large proposition at stake. Apart from that, he said, there was not "a single document of any credible worth" which explicitly set out the defense case in all the "hundreds of thousands" of papers in the Auschwitz museum and the Moscow archives. He submitted that his position on the Holocaust was justifiable and not perverse.

Irving Disputes 'Lurid' Atrocity Stories

Michael Horsnell

The Times (London), January 27, 2000

David Irving, the Hitler historian, challenged in the High Court yesterday the credibility of evidence of Auschwitz survivors.

The veracity of Henryk Tauber, a Jew forced to work in the crematoriums, stretched "a reasonable

historian's credibility," he claimed. Mr. Irving, 62, who is suing Deborah Lipstadt, an American academic, and her publisher, Penguin Books, for libel over her claim that he is a Holocaust-denier, pointed to Tauber's eye-witness accounts of one Jew set alight with petrol by the SS and another thrown into a pit of boiling human fat.

This was the sort of "lurid" evidence that should be open to more than normal scrutiny, Mr. Irving said during his cross-examination of Robert Van Pelt, a Dutch Auschwitz expert. Mr. Irving suggested that Tauber's "precision" was prompted by the Polish authorities.

Judge Warns Irving

Lee Levitt

Jewish Chronicle (London), January 28, 2000

Historian David Irving railed on Wednesday against what he termed the "well-funded ... Holocaust education business" as his libel action against Professor Deborah Lipstadt and Penguin Books continued in the High Court.

Mr. Irving launched his attack while cross-examining Dutch historian Professor Robert van Pelt, co-author of a history of Auschwitz with American academic Professor Debórah Dwork.

He claimed that Professor Dwork, at Clark University, had obtained \$5 million to finance her chair, and for library, student and other grants.

"It has become big business, and it's not just me who has said this. The Chief Rabbi of England said it once," Mr. Irving claimed. "There are all sorts of profitable sidelines."

Difficult to Counter the Deniers

Per Nygren

Goteborgs-Posten (Sweden), January 28, 2000

... Stéphan Bruchfeld, Sweden's foremost expert on the deniers, tells that after a ten weeks course he gave notes with the arguments of the deniers to the students, and asked them to answer them. The outcome was a disaster, he said. Not because there are no substance in the arguments of the deniers....

Auschwitz Document 'Shows Genocidal Use,' Court Told

LineOne News (Britain), January 28, 2000

... Prof. van Pelt agreed that none of the blueprints showed any modification to create holes in the roof necessary for the introduction of cyanide into the chambers.

Mr. Irving, who says that the apparent lack of such holes means that genocidal gassing did not occur, said that he would abandon his action tomorrow if the Auschwitz authorities would agree to

clear the rubble from the ruined crematoria and find the holes.

Such a move, he said, would thwart neo-Nazis who currently benefited from the existence of doubts over the gas chambers.

Irving Not anti-Semitic, Libel Case Told

Daily Telegraph (London), February 1, 2000

An expert in Judaism told the High Court yesterday that he did not consider David Irving, the historian who denies the mass gassing of Jews in concentration camps, to be anti-Semitic.

Denial Isn't Out of Style

Yoram Bronowski

Ha'aretz (Israel), February 1, 2000

A television critic who works for this newspaper recently wrote that wallowing in the Holocaust is hard for him and on ordinary days (any day that is not Holocaust Day), the Holocaust interests him less than last Monday's rainstorm. Although one doubts he would dare to write, let alone feel such a thing, about genocide in Rwanda, what was most impressive about this confession was its unquestionable sincerity, duly rewarded by a letter of praise from a Holocaust survivor. From the sound of it, it was just the bluster of a very young man being negative, and it would be an exaggeration and surely unfair to associate such a pronouncement with anything as serious as Holocaust denial. Nevertheless, I could not help being reminded of this as I watched Yaakov Achimeir ("World News Magazine," Channel One, Saturday, 20:00) briefly interviewing the prime minister of Sweden, Goran Persson, who opened the International Forum on the Holocaust this week in Stockholm. The Forum is devoted to the dangers of denying or forgetting the Holocaust. "There is no need for denial. Indifference and forgetfulness are enough," said the Swede.

... There are all kinds of motives behind Holocaust denial, including the argument that the subject is simply not interesting. Israeli supporters of this view like to hint that through no fault of their own, they already know too much about it, and are plain sick of it. This, in spite of the fact that the Holocaust really takes up very little space in the national agenda or in school curricula.

It seems logical enough that as time goes by, the children of various nations, our own included (the signs are there) will not believe the stories of their parents or grandparents, and demand more and more proof, becoming increasingly disbelieving of what is already so hard to believe. The fears of the Swedish prime minister, it seems, are no joke. The day may come when people will argue about

whether the Holocaust happened or not, in the same way that they argue today about the flood in the time of Noah.

The Holocaust on Trial

D. D. Guttenplan

The Atlantic Monthly (Boston), February 1, 2000

"First they came for the Jews ..."

Of all the "lessons" of the Holocaust, Pastor Martin Niemöller's unsparing account of his own complicity in the escalating brutality of life in Nazi Germany is probably the best known. When Americans talk about the Holocaust — from Vice President Al Gore speaking at a Holocaust remembrance ceremony in Washington, DC, to the AIDS activist Mary Fisher at the 1992 Republican Convention — Niemöller's litany of indifference, "but I was not a Jew ...," almost always comes up. It is one of the things everybody knows about the Holocaust, along with the bars of soap made from the fat of murdered Jews, and the gas chambers at Dachau and Belsen.

The problem is, what everybody knows about the Holocaust isn't always true. Although the grisly tale of human beings rendered into soap figured in some of the earliest accounts of events inside Nazi-occupied Europe, it is now universally rejected by historians as a fabrication — similar to the atrocity stories that were a staple of Allied propaganda during the First World War. The concentration camp at Dachau did have a gas chamber, but it was never used. There were no gas chambers at Belsen.

Nor, as it happens, did the Nazis come first for the Jews. In fact, as Peter Novick explains in his brilliant and provocative new book, *The Holocaust in American Life*, "First they came for the Communists" — a circumstance acknowledged by Niemöller, who continued,

but I was not a Communist — so I said nothing. Then they came for the Social Democrats, but I was not a Social Democrats — so I did nothing. Then came the trade unionists, but I was not a trade unionist. And then they came for the Jews, but I was not a Jew — so I did little. Then when they came for me, there was no one left who could stand up for me.

Novick describes Gore, Fisher, and the Holocaust Museum in Washington, D.C., as "prudently omitting Communists" from their versions of Niemöller's homily. But as Novick makes clear, prudence and political calculation have influenced our knowledge of the Holocaust from the very beginning.

David Irving Repeats 'Holocaust Denier' Accusations against Himself on his Web Site

Dan Grove

National Post (Toronto), February 3, 2000

... The dispute has posed a difficult question for observers: Is Irving's mission to win, or to force Holocaust historians to engage him in a theatrical debate on even ground? Irving's limited assets and vulnerability are bound to make any win for Lipsadt and Penguin a pyrrhic one, allowing a martyred Irving to broadcast, via the courts, the newspapers and the Internet, a kind of virtual history no mainstream publisher would be likely to touch.

'I Find the Holocaust Endlessly Boring'

Tom Segev

Ha'aretz (Israel), February 4, 2000

British historian David Irving says that, had the Jews not been allowed to set up a state in Palestine but were sent to Madagascar instead, as proposed in the plan he attributes to Nazi Germany, "the world would be a happier place."

... Irving added that the Jews should ask themselves why they are hated so much, and always have been, everywhere. "What is it in them that generates this hatred? They would do well to think about that."

"There is no doubt that they are hated today in part because of all the 'Holocaust propaganda' they are constantly spreading. It's become impossible to open a newspaper or see a television program these days without coming across the Holocaust. Holocaust, Holocaust, everywhere Holocaust. The Holocaust has 'hijacked' all the media, all of Western culture. The world is fed up with it. People are losing their patience and are liable to resort to acts of violence against Jews. If the Jews don't stop, they can expect a genuine Holocaust."

Where Are All Their Holes?

Tom Segev

Ha'aretz (Israel), February 4, 2000

... What interested him [Irving] more than anything else were the holes that were supposed to be in the ceiling of the chambers, which were ostensibly used for introducing the poison gas. No holes were marked on the plans displayed by the defense witness. Perhaps these were not suffocation chambers, but rather shelters to protect from aerial bombing, suggested Irving, and dramatically promised to withdraw his libel suit if he could only be shown the holes. Where are the holes, he asked

again and again. "We had so much fun that day," he said later, because it turned out that there were no holes....

David Irving v. the Dead

Geoffrey Wheatcroft

National Post (Toronto), February 5, 2000

... There are broader points at issue beyond one man and his reputation. Like any other historical episode, the Shoah — the Hebrew word for catastrophe, which some of us prefer to "Holocaust," the Greek word for "burnt offering" — is a legitimate subject for historical inquiry. Only Nazis and nutters deny the Shoah, but there is another serious, though sadly envenomed, debate between historians who believe Hitler was all along determined to exterminate the Jews and those who think it was a form of improvisation.

... While Irving is conducting his own case, the defendants have a full legal team, solicitors, Queen's Counsel and junior, all costing many thousands a day. Taking part in a case like this is catching a cab from Toronto to Vancouver and watching the meter tick over. Since Irving cannot possibly pay even part of the defense costs, he will presumably go bankrupt if he loses, and the defendants can whistle for their money.

And this case shows once again how heavily weighted in the defendant's favor the libel law is. He doesn't have to prove "actual damage" or financial loss, only to assert that his feelings are hurt, as aren't ours all from time to time. The burden of proof is effectively on the defendant. She has no public interest defense, and the plaintiff is not obliged to show (as in American law) that she acted recklessly and with malice.

... It is indeed possible to detest Holocaust deniers while also having grave misgivings about what has been called the Holocaust industry, or "Shoah business," about which Hal Niedzviecki wrote in the *National Post* last Saturday (Turning the Horror of History into Fun)....

That great man Isaiah Berlin was an acutely conscious Jew, who identified passionately with his people and their fate. And in the words of his biographer Michael Ignatieff, "he actively despised the Holocaust industry and kept his distance from rhetorical invocations of his people's horrible fate. Silence seemed more truthful." While knowing what I think about David Irving, I also know what Isaiah Berlin meant.

Court 73 — Where History Is on Trial

Jonathan Freedland

The Guardian (London), February 5, 2000

... Irving ... reckons he knows enough to deny three key, defining aspects of the Holocaust:

- first, that Jews were killed in gas chambers at Auschwitz,
- second, that Hitler directly ordered their slaughter and
- third that there was any systematic plan to destroy European Jewry.

The defense will have to prove Irving wrong. Not to a jury — both sides agreed to dispense with that — but to the satisfaction of Charles Gray, former libel lawyer and now high court judge.

You would think that would be a simple enough task. We've all seen the archive footage of the camps, the shocking images of human skeletons bulldozed into pits. Surely that evidence settles the matter? Not quite. For Irving looks at those bodies and sees the victims of typhus, an epidemic that thrived in what he admits were the "ghastly" conditions of the concentration camps. He claims these victims were not gassed, but died of "natural causes."

What of the countless volumes of testimony provided by the survivors of the Holocaust, the Primo Levis, Elie Wiesels and Hugo Gryn who, along with thousands of others, described the same, deathly process? They all witnessed the train rides that ended in "selection," with those deemed unfit to work herded away for "delousing," into showers that proved to be gas chambers. What of them? No, Irving would say, the Jews have made it all up. Either these accounts are "a matter for psychiatric evaluation" — the witnesses were out of their minds — or the more sinister fruit of a worldwide Jewish plot to guilt-trip the human race.

So the defense offers the evidence of the Nazi themselves. On Wednesday, Rampton raised Hans Almeyers [Aumeier], the second highest-ranking Nazi officer at Auschwitz. In his interrogation by British intelligence Almeyers, too, corroborated the witnesses' account of the extermination process.

But that is not good enough for Irving either. "British Army officers ... had ways of making people talk," the plaintiff said, happily reversing the cliché. If a Nazi confesses to the Holocaust then, according to Irving, his words were obviously beaten out of him. They are worthless.

That leaves two types of evidence, physical and documentary. Physical evidence is hard, since the

Nazis took great pains to destroy the death camps ...

All that remains are the documents. Here Irving, acknowledged as a near-obsessive student of Nazi paperwork, takes over. This week he took great delight in cross-examining Robert Jan van Pelt, a Dutch architectural historian who is an authority on the gas chambers. Van Pelt's testimony was crucial to the defense, because he has studied architects' drawings — recently made available — which leave little doubt as to the chambers' function.

Irving grilled van Pelt on one document in particular, questioning its authenticity. He rattled off questions: about a serial number out of sequence, an incorrect rank for the signing officer, the initials of the typist (which Irving said exist on no other document), even the precise location of the margin. All these discrepancies, bragged Irving, suggested a forgery.

This is where Irving is happiest, rolling around in swastika-embossed paper. He knows these documents so well, he knows their mannerisms. On this terrain, Irving can be frighteningly convincing.

After 40 Years, Eichmann Diary Released

Michael S. Arnold

Newsday (New York), February 28, 2000

Jerusalem — Israel's attorney general last night authorized the release of the prison memoir of Adolf Eichmann, architect of the Nazis' "Final Solution" for the extermination of European Jewry.

Attorney General Elyakim Rubinstein also agreed to rush a copy to American scholar Deborah Lipstadt during her libel trial in London ...

The memoir has been locked away in Israeli state archives since Eichmann was hanged in 1962, the only time that Israel has imposed the death penalty. According to the few researchers who have had access to the document, Eichmann offers a detailed description of the systematic attempt to exterminate European Jews. He minimizes his role in the operation, describing himself as a minor cog in the Nazi killing machine.

Forgotten over four decades, the document resurfaced last summer when one of Eichmann's sons demanded the memoir. Rubinstein, son of Holocaust survivors, decided instead that the handwritten notes would be opened to the public....

Holocaust experts in Israel say the document could be crucial to Lipstadt's defense ...

Holocaust Can't Be Denied

Eric Fettmann

New York Post, March 8, 2000

Although the evidence of Irving's decades-long historical distortions is overwhelming, he may yet

prevail in court, thanks to the complexities of British libel law and his own clever wordplay. That would be a devastating blow — for Irving has been in the forefront of a sinister and dangerous campaign that has allowed Holocaust denial to slowly, but surely, creep into otherwise respectable institutions....

If he wins in court — and the legal onus is on Lipstadt and Penguin to prove their accusations — Irving and his revisionist soulmates will have been handed a license to rewrite history and distort the truth.

"A statesman is an easy man
He tells his lies by rote
A journalist makes up his lies
And takes you by the throat
So stay at home and drink your beer
And let the neighbors vote.

— William Butler Yeats

"What is so sad today is that people think that things you find in Hollywood and soap operas are Western culture, therefore decadent and objectionable."

— Gwee Yee-Hean, president of the Academy of Arts, Singapore. Quoted in *Los Angeles Times*, August 4, 1991.



Even Japan has learned what happens to those who commit sacrilege against the secular religion of the Holocaust. "Holocaust Pressure Groups Shut Down Japan's *Marco Polo* Magazine," a 30-page IHR Special Report, includes a translation of Dr. Nishioka's headline-making *Marco Polo* article, facsimile copies of numerous reports from American and Japanese English-language newspapers on the *Marco Polo* furor, a feature article from the March-April 1995 *Journal*, and more.

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From the Trial Proceedings

Exceptrs from the Irving-Lipstadt Trial Transcripts

COMPILED BY GREG RAVEN

IHR Journal Provides 'Wake Up Call'

January 25, p. 23

Judge Gray: What puzzles me about this is that one of the documents Mr. Irving just handed in says that this further Polish or Auschwitz investigation has been published in the summer 1991 *Journal of Historical Review*. ["An Official Polish Report on the Auschwitz 'Gas Chambers'"]

[Professor Robert Jan] Van Pelt [a defense witness]: Yes. The history of that report was kind of a rude wake-up call for the people at Auschwitz [State] Museum, because what happened was that, one way or another, the document, which had not been finalized as far as I know, was leaked to people of the Institute for Historical Review and then immediately published rather triumphantly as a Polish investigation and/or sister Leuchter investigation. It was this kind of experience which then made both the people at the [Auschwitz State] Museum and the people at the Jan Sehn Institute to decide to move with greater care in the future.

Prof. van Pelt on Qualifications

January 25, p. 38

Irving: ... Professor van Pelt, you are a Dutch citizen or Canadian citizen now?

Van Pelt: I am a Dutch citizen.

Irving: ... And you are now Professor of the History of Architecture at the University of Waterloo in Toronto?

Van Pelt: No.... I am in the Department of Architecture and hence I am officially a Professor of Architecture. Your title as professor depends on the department you are in. However, I teach in what we call the Cultural History stream, so normally, in order to prevent confusion in ordinary usage, I would call myself Professor of Cultural History because, both in my background, my PhD and my teaching duties, I teach cultural history in the architectural school. However, when I was advised about the way I had to create my curriculum vitae for this proceeding, I was told that I had been to be extremely precise in the legal sense of what I was, so again I put in Professor of Architecture.

Judge Gray: So you are really a cultural historian?

Van Pelt: I am really a cultural historian.

Irving: This is a point of some substance, my Lord. We need to know precisely what your qualifications are to offer your expertise to the court.... In Britain, of course, we have the Royal Institute of British Architects. Are you familiar with the fact that it is illegal in England to call yourself an architect unless you are registered with the RIBA?

Van Pelt: That is in most countries like that, yes, I know.

Irving: In Holland, the equivalent is the Bond van Nederlandse Architecten, am I correct?...

Van Pelt: Yes, Bond van Nederlandse Architecten.

Irving: ... Am I right in saying that you are not registered with the Bond van Nederlandse Architecten?

Van Pelt: I have never had any reason to do so since I never studied in an architectural school.

Irving: So you cannot legally pretend to be an architect, if I can put it like that?

Van Pelt: No, I could be prosecuted.

Irving: ... Rather like Mr. Leuchter was prosecuted in Massachusetts for pretending to be an engineer?

Van Pelt: Yes.

Irving: ... In other words, your expertise, as an architect, is the same as Mr. Leuchter's expertise was an engineer?

Van Pelt: I do not really know. I have been teaching in architecture school now since 1984. I have taught design courses, specially in small architecture schools one needs to chip in wherever one does. I have been on architectural juries and quick sessions, mostly on a weekly, bi-weekly, kind of frequency. I did —

Irving: You have never learned architecture? You have never studied architecture at university? You have never taken a degree in architecture?

Van Pelt: I do not have a degree in it, but I have been confronted with the architectural practice and, apart from that, I have worked for various architects, one of them, Sir Dennis Leston, here in England, when he was designing the Synagogue in Jerusalem. I have worked with Jack Diamond in Toronto. So I have been in architectural offices very often and other practices.

Irving: ... Very well. So if I am called a pseudo historian, then you are a pseudo architect, if I can

put it like that?

Van Pelt: Yes, except I have never claimed to be either an architect or a pseudo architect.

Irving: Except that you are a professor of architecture, you announce you are a professor of architecture, you leave people with the impression that you are an expert on architecture, and yet you have never studied it and you have never qualified and you are not registered as such?

Van Pelt: I must say that I probably would prefer to be called a professor of cultural history, but the fact of the matter is that the university has given me an appointment as professor of architecture. So —

Irving: But you are not giving evidence here on the culture of Auschwitz; you are giving evidence on the architecture of Auschwitz.

Van Pelt: ... I think, as an historian, you can talk about various forms of evidence and the architectural documents is one of these forms of evidence.

Irving: I do not mean these questions in the least sense as a put down, but I think it is important to draw his Lordship's attention to the fact that your qualifications as an architect are, in fact, no greater or lesser than mine?

Van Pelt: I agree that my formal qualifications are exactly the same as yours.

Irving: So when you look at light switches or architectural drawings or blue prints, as you call them, you are no better qualified than I am?

Van Pelt: No ...

The Intimidating Carlo Mattogno

January 25, p. 110

Irving: ... Professor van Pelt, you are probably the world's leading authority on Auschwitz. There is no need to be humble or modest about this. Is this correct?

Van Pelt: It is difficult to say that. I think that the history of Auschwitz is a very big history, a very complex history.... I would say that [I am] probably one of the two people, yes, who was most comfortable with all the material.

Irving: You are certainly the best that money can buy ... Is it true that most of these Auschwitz files have now been microfilmed and provided to the US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington DC?

Van Pelt: The Auschwitz files from Moscow have all been unblocked microfilmed, and the Museum is now working on a microfilm collection of the files in Auschwitz itself.

Irving: So there are probably not many pages of those archives that have not recently been turned by one researcher or another?

Van Pelt: I do not know what other researchers are doing. I have read in some of, I think in material which comes from your web site, I think, Mr. [Carlo]

Mattogno [Italian revisionist] has done a lot of [archival] work in Moscow. I think that, a number of people in the Holocaust Museum seem to have been intimidated by this book and thinks there is no more work to do, but I tell them that there is enough work to do still.

Irving: It is a very well written book, if I may say so....

Thin Gas Chamber Evidence

February 15, pp. 91-92

Judge Gray: I expect you would accept, Professor [Richard] Evans [a defense witness] ... the number of overtly incriminating documents, wartime documents, as regards gas chambers is actually pretty few and far between?

Evans: Gas chambers, other things such as the systematic nature of the extermination, I am referring to the whole package of evidence....

Irving: Professor Evans, you accept that we cannot do things that way in this court.... As his Lordship has said, you do accept that the documentary basis for the gassings, the gas chambers and for the systematic nature of that is thin compared with the documentation of the Eastern Front shootings?

Evans: Yes ...

"Few men have virtue to withstand the highest bidder."

— George Washington

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Dr. MacDonald's Testimony in the Irving-Lipstadt Trial

An American Professor to Responds to a 'Jewish Activist'

KEVIN MACDONALD

On Monday, January 31, 2000, American professor Kevin MacDonald took the stand at an expert witness in the London libel case of David Irving vs. Deborah Lipstadt and Penguin Books. (Irving, a prominent British historian, had sued Lipstadt, and her British publisher, for hostile statements made about him in her book, Denying the Holocaust. For more on the case, see the Sept.-Dec. 1999 Journal, pp. 16-17, including Irving's Opening Statement in the trial.) MacDonald, the only witness to testify voluntarily on Irving's behalf, was not in the stand for long because the defense declined to question him on cross-examination.

Not surprisingly, MacDonald quickly came under fire for his testimony in the case. In addition to carping from the Jewish weekly Forward and the influential German daily Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, probably the most detailed and vehement broadside came from Judith Shulevitz in the online magazine Slate.

Here is the text of Prof. MacDonald's statement on his trial testimony, submitted to the court before his appearance, and then considerably revised and expanded for public distribution. It is adapted slightly for publication here. Following that is "My Decision to Testify for Irving," which is excerpted from a statement MacDonald posted online in response to criticisms of his decision to testify.

— The Editor

Kevin MacDonald, a Professor of Psychology at California State University-Long Beach. He is editor of the scholarly journal *Population and Environment*, and is a member of the Executive Board of the Human Behavior and Evolution Society. He is the author of numerous scholarly articles and several books, including *A People That Shall Dwell Alone: Judaism as a Group Evolutionary Strategy* (1994), *Separation and Its Discontents: Toward an Evolutionary Theory of Anti-Semitism* (1998), and, *The Culture of Critique: An Evolutionary Analysis of Jewish Involvement in Twentieth-Century Intellectual and Political Movements* (1998). Web site: <http://www.csulb.edu/~kmacd/> E-mail: kmacd@csulb.edu

Statement on Trial Testimony

Irving in the Context of Jewish Intellectual and Political Activism

I am not a historian. Although the history of Judaism is important to my work, I can offer no expert opinion on the work of David Irving except to the extent that I have noted that his work has been favorably reviewed by a considerable number of academic experts on World War II, including Gordon Craig, A. J. P. Taylor, and Hugh Trevor-Roper.

I believe that my background as an evolutionary psychologist and my research into Jewish-gentile relations equips me to describe to the court some competitive features of those relations. Anti-Jewish tactics are widely known, and it is widely accepted that active anti-Semites have and still do exist. But competitive behavior on the part of Jewish organizations is not as widely known. In my research I have reviewed the writings and activities of both Jews and their opponents, and I think I can help place the actions of Dr. Lipstadt and some Jewish organizations against Mr. Irving into a wider context.

The main point of my testimony is that the attacks made on David Irving by Deborah Lipstadt and Jewish organizations such as the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) should be viewed in the long-term context of Jewish-gentile interactions. As indicated by the summaries of my books, my training as an evolutionist as well as the evidence compiled by historians leads me to conceptualize Judaism as self-interested groups whose interests often conflict with segments of the gentile community. Anti-Jewish attitudes and behavior have been a pervasive feature of the Jewish experience since the beginnings of the Diaspora well over 2000 years ago. While anti-Jewish attitudes and behavior have undoubtedly often been colored by myths and fantasies about Jews, there is a great deal of anti-Jewish writing that reflects, just as an evolutionist would expect, the reality of between-group competition. Particularly important have been the themes of separatism: (1) Jewish groups have typically existed as

recognizably distinct groups, and have been unwilling to assimilate either culturally or through marriage; (2) the theme of economic, political, and cultural domination; (3) the theme of disloyalty.

Because anti-Jewish attitudes and behavior have been such a common response to Jews as a Diaspora group, Jewish groups have developed a wide variety of strategies to cope with their enemies. *Separation and Its Discontents* discusses a great many of these strategies, including a very long history of apologia dating to the ancient world. In the last century there have been a great many intellectual activities, most notably many examples of Jewish historiography which present Jews and Judaism in a positive light and their enemies in a negative light, often with little regard for historical accuracy.

Most importantly for the situation of David Irving, Jewish groups have engaged in a wide range of political activities to further their interests. In general, Jews have been active agents rather than passive martyrs; they have been highly flexible strategists in the political arena. The effectiveness of Jewish strategizing has been facilitated by several key features of Judaism as group evolutionary strategy — particularly that the IQ of Ashkenazi Jews is at least one standard deviation above the Caucasian mean. In all historical eras, Jews as a group have been highly organized, highly intelligent, and politically astute, and they have been able to command a high level of financial, political, and intellectual resources in pursuing their group goals.

For example, Jews engaged in a very wide range of activities to combat anti-Semitism in Germany in the period from 1870 to 1914, including the formation of self-defense committees, lobbying the government, utilizing and influencing the legal system (for example, taking advantage of libel and slander laws to force anti-Jewish organizations into bankruptcy), writing apologies and tracts for distribution to the masses of gentile Germans, and funding organizations opposed to anti-Semitism composed mainly of sympathetic gentiles. Jewish organizations commissioned writings in opposition to “scientific anti-Semitism,” as exemplified by academically respectable publications that portrayed Judaism in negative terms. Academic works were monitored for such material, and Jewish organizations sometimes succeeded in banning offending books and getting publishers to alter offensive passages. The result was to render such ideas academically and intellectually disreputable. (See: R.S. Levy, *The Downfall of the Anti-Semitic Political Parties in Imperial Germany* [1975], and, S. Ragins, *Jewish Responses to Anti-Semitism in Germany* [1980].)

Jewish organizations have used their power to make the discussion of Jewish interests off limits.



Kevin MacDonald

Individuals who have made remarks critical of Jews have been forced to make public apologies and suffered professional difficulties as a result. Quite often the opinions in question are quite reasonable — statements that are empirically verifiable, and the sort of thing that may permissibly be said about other groups or members of other groups.

The main point of my testimony is to discuss Mr. Irving's difficulties which he argues have been brought about by Jewish organizations and with the defendant, Deborah Lipstadt who has contributed to the effort to ban Mr. Irving from publishing his work with reputable publishers. This is a major part of Irving's complaint. As evidence I call your attention to Lipstadt's comments, quoted in *The Washington Post* of April 3, 1996:

In the Passover Haggadah, it says in every generation there are those who rise up to destroy us. David Irving is not physically destroying us, but is trying to destroy the memory of those who have already perished at the hands of tyrants.

They say they don't publish reputations, they publish books ... But would they publish a book by Jeffrey Dahmer on man-boy relationships? Of course the reputation of the author counts. And no legitimate historian takes David Irving's work seriously.



Marlon Brando makes a point to host Larry King during his much-discussed CNN television interview, April 5, 1996. "I am very angry with some of the Jews," said the 72-year-old actor. "They know perfectly well what their responsibilities are ... Hollywood is run by Jews. It is owned by Jews, and they should have a greater sensitivity about the issue of people who are suffering." Brando's career has included legendary roles in such films as "A Streetcar Named Desire," "On the Waterfront," and "The Godfather."

These remarks were made in reaction to the decision by St. Martin's Press to cancel publication of Irving's book, *Goebbels: Mastermind of the Third Reich*, and were clearly intended to support that decision. Irving himself decided to sue Lipstadt only after St. Martin's Press had rescinded publication of the book, and only after Lipstadt's public support for that decision. (See D. D. Guttenplan, "The Holocaust on Trial," *The Atlantic Monthly*, Feb. 2000, p. 53.)

Moreover, as Mr. Irving noted in his Opening Statement [Sept.-Dec. 1999 *Journal*, pp. 16-35], the intense pressure brought to bear by certain Jewish groups against him goes far beyond preventing publishers from issuing his work. Mr. Irving has been prevented from traveling to certain countries, his speaking engagements have been disrupted and canceled, his contracts with other publishers have been voided, and he has been subjected to physical intimidation.

While David Irving has to my knowledge been a target of these organizations far more than any other author, Jewish organizations in the United States, and particularly the Anti-Defamation League, have also attempted to censor books critical of Israel and the pro-Israel lobby in the US. These books include Paul Findley's *They Dare to Speak Out* (L. Wilcox, 1996, p. 82), dealing with the activities of the pro-Israel lobby in the United States, Victor Ostrovsky's *By Way of Deception* which deals with Israeli intelligence operations, including recruitment of Jews in foreign lands to act as spies for Israel, and *Assault on the Liberty* by James

Ennes on the role of Israel in the attack on the USS Liberty during the 1967 war (recounted in *They Dare to Speak Out* by Paul Findley). For example, an ADL official claimed that Findley's book "is a work of Holocaust revisionism seeking to spread the claim that the Nazi slaughter of Jews was a hoax," although in fact it made no such claim (L. Wilcox, 1996, p. 82). The ADL is also actively trying to censor the internet (*Boston Globe*, March 25, 1999).

Moreover, the ADL has flouted the law by engaging in "espionage, disinformation and destabilization operations, not only against neo-Nazis and Ku Klux Klansmen, but against leftist and progressive groups as well." These activities include illegal penetration of confidential police files in San Francisco and elsewhere. (This story broke in early 1993. See: L. Wilcox, *Crying Wolf*, 1996, p. 7.)

Another example of behavior by Jewish organizations that tends to chill free expression involved the Canadian teacher Luba Fedorkiw. Running for the Canadian Parliament in 1984, she "discovered to her utter amazement that B'nai B'rith Canada ... had circulated an internal memo which accused her of 'Jew-baiting!'" (L. Wilcox, 1996, pp. 81-82). The allegation was repeated in the *Winnipeg Sun* along with the assertion that she was being investigated by B'nai B'rith on suspicion of anti-Semitism. The resulting defamation cost her the election to David Orlikow, and subjected her to malicious harassment. According to Ms. Fedorkiw, when the investigation was publicized, she received obscene and harassing telephone calls, a swastika was spray-painted on her campaign office, and a number of her political supporters withdrew their backing. She sued for libel and won a \$400,000 judgment on the basis that a claim that she had said her opponent was "controlled by the Jews" was not true.

In my book, *Separation and Its Discontents*, I discuss several other examples of Jewish activism aimed at suppressing criticism of Jews, Judaism, or Israel. Media critic William Cash, writing in the British magazine *The Spectator* (Oct. 29, 1994), described the Jewish media elite as "culturally nihilist," suggesting that he believed Jewish media influence reflects a Jewish lack of concern for traditional cultural values. Kevin Myers, a columnist for the British *Sunday Telegraph* (Jan. 5, 1997), wrote that

we should really be able to discuss Jews and their Jewishness, their virtues or their vices, as one can any other identifiable group, without being called anti-Semitic. Frankness does not feed anti-Semitism; secrecy, however, does. The silence of sympathetic discretion can easily be misunderstood as a conspiracy. It is time to be frank about Jews.

Myers went on to note that *The Spectator* was accused of anti-Semitism when it published the 1994 article by William Cash (mentioned above). Myers emphasized the point that Cash's offense was that he had written that the cultural leaders of the United States were Jews whose Jewishness had effectively been beyond public discussion.

Cash wrote that there is a double standard operating, by which a Jewish writer like Neal Gabler may refer to a "Jewish cabal," while his own use of the phrase is described as anti-Semitic. He also noted that while movies regularly present negative, stereotyped portrayals of other ethnic groups, Cash's description of Jews as "fiercely competitive" was regarded as anti-Semitic. As another example, actor Marlon Brando repeated in 1996 statements (originally made in 1979) on a nationally televised interview program to the effect that "Hollywood is run by Jews. It's owned by Jews." The focus of the complaint was that Hollywood regularly portrays negative stereotypes of other ethnic groups but not of Jews. Brando's remarks were viewed as anti-Semitic by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (ADL) and the Jewish Defense League (*Los Angeles Times*, April 9, 1996, p. F4).

These claims regarding the Jewish role in Hollywood are empirically verifiable, but the response of major Jewish organizations has been to label such claims "anti-Semitic," and to try to ruin the careers of those who make them. Both Cash and Brando apologized for their remarks and, as part of their public contrition, visited the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles (*Forward*, April 26, 1996). (Cash's apology came some two years after publication of his remarks.) The *Forward* article suggests that Cash has had trouble publishing his work in the wake of the incident. Moreover, the same *Forward* issue reported that the publisher of Cash's comments, Dominic Lawson, editor of the London *Spectator*, was prevented from publishing an article on the birth of his Down Syndrome daughter in *The New Republic* when Martin Peretz, the owner, and Leon Wieseltier, the literary editor, complained about Lawson's publishing of Cash's article. There is abundant evidence that Peretz strongly identifies as a Jew, and that he has an unabashed policy of slanting his journal toward positions favorable to Israel.

Noam Chomsky, the famous MIT linguist, describes (in his 1988 book, *Language and Politics*, pp. 642-3), his own, similar experience with the ADL:

In the United States a rather effective system of intimidation has been developed to silence critique ... Take the Anti-Defamation League... It's actually an organization devoted to trying to defame and intimidate and silence people

who criticize current Israeli policies, whatever they may be. For example, I myself, through a leak in the new England office of the Anti-Defamation League, was able to obtain a copy of my file there. It's 150 pages, just like an FBI file, [consisting of] interoffice memos warning that I'm going to show up here and there, surveillance of talks that I give, comments and alleged transcripts of talks ... [T]his material has been circulated [and] ... would be sent to some local group which would use it to extract defamatory material which would then be circulated, usually in unsigned pamphlets outside the place where I'd be speaking ... If there's any comment in the press which they regard as insufficiently subservient to the party line, there'll be a flood of letters, delegations, protests, threats to withdraw advertising, etc. The politicians of course are directly subjected to this, and they are also subjected to substantial financial penalties if they don't go along... This totally one-sided pressure and this, by now, very effective system of vilification, lying, defamation, and judicious use of funds in the political system ... has created a highly biased approach to the whole matter.

Consider also the comments (from a 1995 essay) of columnist Joseph Sobran, who was forced out of his position as senior editor at *National Review* for remarks critical of Israel:

The full story of [Pat Buchanan's 1996 presidential] campaign is impossible to tell as long as it's taboo to discuss Jewish interests as freely as we discuss those of the Christian Right. Talking about American politics without mentioning the Jews is a little like talking about the NBA without mentioning the Chicago Bulls. Not that the Jews are all-powerful, let alone all bad. But they are successful, and therefore powerful enough: and their power is unique in being off-limits to normal criticism even when it's highly visible. They themselves behave as if their success were a guilty secret, and they panic, and resort to accusations, as soon as the subject is raised. Jewish control of the major media in the media age makes the enforced silence both paradoxical and paralyzing. Survival in public life requires that you know all about it, but never refer to it. A hypocritical etiquette forces us to pretend that the Jews are powerless victims; and if you don't respect their victimhood, they'll destroy you. It's a phenomenal display not of wickedness, really, but of fierce ethnocentrism, a sort of furtive racial superpatriotism.

Deborah Lipstadt as a Jewish Activist

I regard Deborah Lipstadt more as an ethnic activist than a scholar. It is highly significant that Lipstadt's book *Denying the Holocaust* was written with extensive aid from various Jewish activist organizations, including the ADL. Lipstadt's book was commissioned and published by The Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Anti-Semitism [sic] of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. In her acknowledgments, she credits the research department of the ADL, the Simon Wiesenthal Center, the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, the Institute for Jewish Affairs (London), the Canadian Jewish Congress, and the American Jewish Committee — all activist organizations.

Lipstadt is the Chair of the Institute for Jewish Studies at Emory University. Historian Jacob Katz finds that academic departments of Jewish studies are often linked to Jewish nationalism: "The inhibitions of traditionalism, on the one hand, and a tendency toward apologetics, on the other, can function as deterrents to scholarly objectivity." The work of Jewish historians, he continues, exhibits "a defensiveness that continues to haunt so much of contemporary Jewish activity" (J. Katz, 1986, pp. 84-85).

Similarly the preeminent scholar of the Jewish religion, Jacob Neusner, notes that "scholars drawn to the subject by ethnic affiliation — Jews studying and teaching Jewish things to Jews — turn themselves into ethnic cheer-leaders. The Jewish Studies classroom is a place where Jews tell Jews why they should be Jewish (stressing "the Holocaust" as a powerful reason) or rehearse the self-evident virtue of being Jewish." (*Times Literary Supplement*, March 5, 1999).

Perhaps the best expression of Lipstadt's activism is in her work as Senior Editorial Contributor of the *Jewish Spectator*, a periodical for conservative, religiously observant Jews. Her column, "Tomer Devorah" (Hebrew: "Under Deborah's Palm Tree"), appears in every issue, and touches on a wide range of Jewish issues, including anti-Semitism, relations among Jews, and interpreting religious holidays. In her column she has advocated greater understanding and usage of Hebrew to promote Jewish identification, and, like many Jewish ethnic activists, she is strongly opposed to intermarriage. "We must say to young people 'intermarriage is something that poses a dire threat to the future of the Jewish community'." She also writes that Conservative Rabbi Jack Moline was "very brave" for saying that number one on a list of ten things Jewish parents should say to their children is "I expect you to marry a Jew." Lipstadt suggests a number of strategies to prevent intermarriage, including trips to Israel for teenagers and subsidizing tuition at Jewish day schools. (*Jewish Spectator*, Fall 1991, p. 63).

In his recent book, *The Holocaust in American Life*, Peter Novick clearly thinks of Lipstadt as an activist, although not as extreme as some. He repeatedly cites her as an example of a Holocaust propagandizer. He notes that in her book *Beyond Belief: The American Press and the Coming of the Holocaust 1933-1945*, Lipstadt says Allied Policy "bordered on complicity" motivated by "deep antipathy" toward "contemptible Jews." Novick says (p. 48) that while there is no scholarly consensus on the subject, "most professional historians agree that 'the comfortable morality tale... is simply bad history: estimates of the number of those who might have been saved have been greatly inflated, and the moralistic version ignores real constraints at the time.'" Also, Novick goes on to note (p. 65), Lipstadt attributes the failure of the American press to emphasize Jewish suffering as motivated by "willful blindness, the result of inexcusable ignorance — or malice," despite the fact that the concentration camp survivors encountered by Western journalists (Dachau, Buchenwald) were 80 percent non-Jewish.

Lipstadt is described (Novick, 1999, p. 229) as an implacable pursuer of Nazi war criminals, stating that she would "prosecute them if they had to be wheeled into the courtroom on a stretcher." In a discussion of the well-recognized unreliability of eyewitness testimony, Novick writes: "When evidence emerged that one Holocaust memoir [*Fragments*, by Benjamin Wilkomirski], highly praised for its authenticity, might have been completely invented, Deborah Lipstadt, who used the memoir in her teaching of the Holocaust, acknowledged that if this turned out to be the case, it 'might complicate matters somewhat,' but insisted that it would still be 'powerful as a novel'." [See: "Holocaust Memoir Exposed as Fraud," Sept.-Oct. 1998 *Journal*, pp. 15-16.] Truth is less important than the effectiveness of the message.

The intrusion of ethnocentrism into historical scholarship is a well-recognized problem in Jewish historiography, discussed at length in *Separation and Its Discontents*. Historians such as Jacob Katz (1986) and Albert Lindemann (1997) have noted that this type of behavior is commonplace in Jewish historiography. A central theme of Katz's analysis — massively corroborated by Albert Lindemann's recent work, *Esau's Tears* — is that historians of Judaism have often falsely portrayed the beliefs of gentiles as irrational fantasies while portraying the behavior of Jews as irrelevant to anti-Semitism. To quote the well-known political scientist Michael Walzer: "Living so long in exile and so often in danger, we have cultivated a defensive and apologetic account, a censored story, of Jewish religion and culture" (Walzer, 1994, p. 6).

The salient point for me is that Jewish histori-

ans who have been reasonably accused of bringing an ethnocentric bias to their writing nevertheless are able to publish their work with prestigious mainstream academic and commercial publishers, and they often obtain jobs at prestigious academic institutions. A good example is Daniel Goldhagen. In his written submission to the court on behalf of Deborah Lipstadt, historian Richard Evans describes Goldhagen's *Hitler's Willing Executioners*, as a book that argues



Daniel Goldhagen

in a crude and dogmatic fashion that virtually all Germans had been murderous antisemites since the Middle Ages, had been longing to exterminate the Jews for decades before Hitler came to power, and actively enjoyed participating in the extermination when it began. The book has since been exposed as a tissue of misrepresentation and misinterpretation, written in shocking ignorance of the huge historical literature on the topic and making numerous elementary mistakes in its interpretation of the documents.

These are exactly the types of accusations that Lipstadt levels at Irving. Yet Goldhagen maintains a position at Harvard university, he is lionized in many quarters, and his work has been massively promoted in the media — while his critics have come under pressure from Jewish activist organizations. (See: D.D. Guttenplan in *The Atlantic Monthly*, Feb. 2000)

In this regard, historian Ruth Bettina Birn comments — in an interview in the German magazine *Der Spiegel* (Nov. 17, 1997) — on the “unparalleled campaign since 1995 to promote the Goldhagen book. A literary first effort becomes a world sensation, and immediately the newspapers start hinting that there’s a Harvard professorship waiting for the views his book propagates.” She also comments on “the attempts to stifle the criticism voiced by me and [her co-author, Norman] Finkelstein,” including efforts to pressure her publisher to rescind publication of a book critical of Goldhagen. The contrast between the treatment of Goldhagen and the persecution of David Irving speaks volumes.

Because I am not a historian, I am reluctant to pass judgment on the competence and integrity of Mr. Irving as a historian. However, as indicated by my written statement to the court, I have taken notice of the fact that some well-known historians have praised his work, and have been dismayed at the efforts to censor him — that it is simply false that, as Lipstadt claims, “no legitimate historian takes David Irving’s work seriously.” Indeed, based

on my own reading of Irving, I would venture the opinion that whatever the faults of books like *Goebbels: Mastermind of the Third Reich* or *Hitler’s War* in dealing with certain issues, such as the role of Hitler in the Holocaust, there is no question in my mind that any student of World War II would benefit from reading this work — that, quite simply, it is an indispensable resource for scholars.

What I find deeply distressing as a scholar is that the pressure on St. Martin’s Press exerted by Lipstadt

and Jewish organizations like the ADL occurred independently of the content of the volume. The same *Washington Post* article referred to earlier (April 3, 1996) in quoting Lipstadt’s support for the actions of St. Martin’s Press noted that several other companies had rejected the manuscript without having read it. The effort to pressure St. Martin’s press was spearheaded by Jewish ethnic activist organizations and by newspaper columnists, such as Frank Rich of the *New York Times* [especially his April 3, 1996, column], who are not professional historians, and by people like Deborah Lipstadt who do not have the expertise to evaluate a manuscript on Goebbels. In other words, the effort occurred independently of the analytic content of the manuscript and was therefore an illegitimate intrusion on free speech.

Therefore, even if the court comes to believe that the scholarly objections raised, for example, in Richard Evans’s report are valid, the fact remains that this book was rescinded because of who Irving is — because his ideology conflicts with that of some Jewish activist organizations, not because of its scholarship. I find that utterly appalling.

Besides promoting Goldhagen and attempting to censor his opponents, the ADL has also condemned responsible scholarship that deviates from its version of the Holocaust. The ADL condemned Hannah Arendt’s *Eichmann in Jerusalem* as an “evil book”, presumably because, as Peter Novick notes (p. 137), her depiction of Eichmann “could be read as trivializing the Israeli accomplishment and undermining the claim that he was an appropriate symbol of eternal anti-Semitism.” Similarly, the ADL included Arno Mayer, author of *Why Did the Heavens Not Darken*, as a “Hitler apologist” because of his view that Hitler was motivated more by anti-Bolshevism than anti-Semitism. The ADL claimed that Mayer’s was an example of “legitimate scholarship which relativizes the genocide of the Jews.” Clearly Holocaust scholarship has been politicized to the point that there are received dogmas whose truth is jealously defended by Jewish activist organizations.

Lipstadt and the Uniqueness of the Holocaust

One such politicized dogma is that the Holocaust is unique. In his 1995 book, *Why Should Jews Survive?* (p. 48), Jewish scholar and rabbi Michael Goldberg writes:

Civil Judaism's belief in the Holocaust's uniqueness as being ultimately significant per se ... thus epitomizes the type of belief for which religious faith is both famous and infamous — a dogma. And like all such dogmatic beliefs, the more it is challenged, the fiercer the faithful become in its defense. For them, the first of the Ten Commandments has been revised [quoting Lapote, p. 56]: "The Holocaust is a jealous God; thou shalt draw no parallels to it."

American Jewish scholar Peter Novick (p. 195) similarly writes:

The most commonly expressed grievance was the use of the words "Holocaust" and "genocide" to describe other catastrophes. This sense of grievance was rooted in the conviction, axiomatic in at least "official" Jewish discourse, that the Holocaust was unique. Since Jews recognized the Holocaust's uniqueness — that it was "incomparable," beyond any analogy — they had no occasion to compete with others; there could be no contest over the incontestable.

As Novick notes, one can always find ways in which any historical event is unique. However, in Lipstadt's eyes, any comparison of the Holocaust with other genocidal actions is not only factually wrong but also morally impermissible, and therefore an appropriate target of censorship. Lipstadt clearly places herself among those who would not merely criticize, but censor scholarship that places the Holocaust in a comparative framework — that is, scholarship that questions the uniqueness of the Holocaust (Novick, 1999, pp. 196, 259).

"By accepting the type of censorship promoted by Lipstadt's writings, we are literally entering a new period of the Inquisition wherein religious dogma rather than open scientific debate is the criterion of truth."

Novick (p. 330, n. 107) quotes Lipstadt as follows: Denial of the uniqueness of the Holocaust is "far more insidious than outright denial. It nurtures

and is nurtured by Holocaust-denial." In *Denying the Holocaust* (p. 211), Lipstadt castigates Ernst Nolte and other historians who have "compared the Holocaust to a variety of other 20th-century outrages, including the Armenian massacres that began in 1915, Stalin's gulags, US policies in Vietnam, the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, and the Pol Pot atrocities in the former Kampuchea." Lipstadt calls these "historians' attempt[s] to create such immoral equivalencies." In the section on the uniqueness of the Holocaust, she cites (p. 212) approvingly the claim that "the Nazis' annihilation of the Jews... was 'a gratuitous [that is, without cause or justification] act carried out by a prosperous, advanced industrial nation at the height of its power'." (The inner quote here is from *In Hitler's Shadow*, a book by Richard Evans, who was also an expert witness for Lipstadt in the Irving-Lipstadt trial.)

While there are different meanings one might attribute to this statement by Evans, I take it as an attempt to make the actions of the Nazis completely independent of the behavior of Jews. In my view, such a position is untenable, and is part of a common tendency among Jewish historians of Judaism to ignore, minimize, or rationalize the role of Jewish behavior in producing anti-Semitism. This is a major theme of my book, *Separation and Its Discontents*.

From my perspective as an evolutionist, bloody and violent ethnic conflict has been a recurrent theme throughout history. The attempt to say that the Holocaust is unique is an attempt to remove it from the sphere of scholarly research, interpretation and debate, and instead remove it to the realm of religious dogma, much as the resurrection of Jesus is an article of faith for Christians. By accepting the type of censorship promoted by Lipstadt's writings, we are literally entering a new period of the Inquisition wherein religious dogma rather than open scientific debate is the criterion of truth.

Peter Novick presents (pp. 211-212) much interesting material on the political campaign for the uniqueness of the Holocaust. In the same discussion in where he comments on Lipstadt's statements on the uniqueness of the Holocaust, he notes Elie Wiesel's idea of the Holocaust

as a sacred mystery, whose secrets were confined to a priesthood of survivors. In a diffuse way, however, the assertion that the Holocaust was a holy event that resisted profane representation, that it was uniquely inaccessible to explanation or understanding, that survivors had privileged interpretive authority — all these themes [have] continued to resonate.

Novick also describes a massive campaign to

make the Holocaust a specifically Jewish event, and to play down the victim status of other groups. To speak of 11 million victims, Novick writes (p. 219),

was clearly unacceptable to [Elie] Wiesel and others for whom the “big truth” about the Holocaust was its Jewish specificity. They responded to the expansion of the victims of the Holocaust to eleven million the way devout Christians would respond to the expansion of the victims of the Crucifixion to three — the Son of God and two thieves. Wiesel’s forces mobilized, both inside and outside the Holocaust Council, to ensure that, despite the executive order, their definition would prevail. Though Jewish survivors of the Holocaust had no role in the initiative that created the museum, they came, under the leadership of Wiesel, to dominate the council — morally, if not numerically. When one survivor, Sigmund Strochlitz, was sworn in as a Council member, he announced that it was “unreasonable and inappropriate to ask survivors to share the term Holocaust ... to equate our suffering ... with others.” At one Council meeting, another survivor, Kalman Sultanik, was asked whether Daniel Trocme, murdered at Majdanek for rescuing Jews and honored at Yad Vashem as a Righteous Gentile, could be remembered in the museum’s Hall of Remembrance. “No,” said Sultanik, because “he didn’t die as a Jew ... The six million Jews ... died differently.”

Jewish activists have insisted on the “incomprehensibility and inexplicability of the Holocaust,” Novick writes (p. 178). He continues (p. 200):

Even many observant Jews are often willing to discuss the founding myths of Judaism naturalistically — subject them to rational, scholarly analysis. But they’re unwilling to adopt this mode of thought when it comes to the “inexplicable mystery” of the Holocaust, where rational analysis is seen as inappropriate or sacrilegious.

Elie Wiesel “sees the Holocaust as ‘equal to the revelation at Sinai’ in its religious significance; attempts to ‘desanctify’ or ‘demystify’ the Holocaust are, he says, a subtle form of anti-Semitism” (Novick, p. 201). A 1998 survey showed that Jews regarded “remembrance of the Holocaust” as “extremely important” or “very important” to Jewish identity — far more often than synagogue attendance, travel to Israel, or anything else.

Reflecting this insistence on the uniqueness of the Holocaust, Jewish organizations and Israeli diplomats cooperated to block the US Congress from commemorating the Armenian genocide. “Since

Jews recognized the Holocaust’s uniqueness — that it was ‘incomparable,’ beyond any analogy — they had no occasion to compete with others; there could be no contest over the incontestable.” Abraham Foxman, head of the ADL, has written that Holocaust 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” (Novick, pp. 195, 199).

Novick also shows how the Holocaust successfully serves Jewish political interests. As he points out (p. 155), the Holocaust was originally promoted to rally support for Israel following the 1967 and 1973 Arab-Israeli wars:

Jewish organizations ... [portrayed] Israel’s difficulties as stemming from the world’s having forgotten the Holocaust. The Holocaust framework allowed one to put aside as irrelevant any legitimate ground for criticizing Israel, to avoid even considering the possibility that the rights and wrongs were complex.

As the military threat to Israel subsided, the Holocaust was promoted as the main source of Jewish identity, and as part of the effort to combat assimilation and intermarriage among Jews. It was also promoted among gentiles as an antidote to anti-Semitism. In recent years this campaign has involved a large scale educational effort (including mandated courses in the public schools of several states) spearheaded by Jewish organizations and manned by thousands of Holocaust professionals aimed at conveying the lesson that “tolerance and diversity [are] good; hate [is] bad, the overall rubric [is] ‘man’s inhumanity to man’” (Novick, pp. 258-259). The Holocaust has thus become an instrument of Jewish ethnic interests as a symbol intended to create moral revulsion at violence directed at minority ethnic groups — prototypically the Jews.

A Plea for Tolerance of Heterodoxy

Irving, like many historians, may indeed see events through a filter of personal political and intellectual convictions, and this may even lead him, perhaps unconsciously, to interpret his data in a particular way. This is a commonly acknowledged difficulty that afflicts all of the social sciences, and Jewish social scientists have certainly not been immune from these tendencies. I have already commented on the many examples of clear apologetic tendencies by Jewish historians in writing about Jewish history — tendencies to view the Jewish ingroup in a favorable manner, and to pathologize anti-Semitism as irrational and completely unrelated to the actual behavior of Jews. These works have been published by the most prestigious academic and commercial presses.

It is noteworthy that among the examples of

biased historical research cited by Albert Lindemann in his study *Esau's Tears*, he includes the work of Jewish Holocaust historians Lucy Dawidowicz and Daniel J. Goldhagen — a clear indication that the area of Holocaust studies remains politically charged. Moreover, in *The Culture of Critique* I describe several highly influential intellectual movements (Boasian anthropology, Freudian psychoanalysis, the Frankfurt School of Social Research) that presented themselves as science but were strongly influenced the Jewish ethnic agendas of their founders, particularly combating anti-Semitism.

Intellectual blinders and political agendas are a fact of academic life. However, even were it to be proved that David Irving does indeed bring a certain set of biases to his work, even the most biased researchers may well contribute invaluable scholarship. Science emerges when the work of all investigators becomes part of the marketplace of ideas and when scholars are not vilified and their scholarship censored simply because their conclusions fly in the face of contemporary orthodoxy.

My Decision to Testify for Irving

The decision to testify for David Irving was an agonizing one for me, and I want to make clear exactly why I did so. Irving approached me to testify in the trial because I had included the suppression of his *Goebbels* biography as an example of Jewish tactics for combating anti-Semitism in *Separation and Its Discontents*. Actually the suppression of Irving goes far beyond what I included in my book. Irving has been prevented from publishing his original archival research, from traveling to several countries, and even from giving lectures.

The second defendant in the case, Deborah Lipstadt, has contributed to this effort at censorship. My statement to the court and my entire testimony in court involved this issue, not the Holocaust or the culpability of Hitler. Irving's book on Goebbels was rescinded by St. Martin's Press not because of its scientific merit. (It had passed their review process.) The effort to pressure St. Martin's press was spearheaded by certain Jewish ethnic activist organizations, especially the Anti-Defamation League, and by newspaper columnists, such as Frank Rich of *The New York Times* ...

This is part of a pattern in which certain Jewish activist organizations have attempted to prevent the publication of writings conflicting with their constructions of reality, including books critical of Israel (see L. Wilcox, 1996, and, *Separation and Its*

Discontents, Chaps. 2 and 6), and they have condemned books, such as those by Hannah Arendt, Arno Mayer, and even Raul Hilberg, that take disapproved positions on certain aspects of the Holocaust (see D.D. Guttenplan in *The Atlantic Monthly*, Feb. 2000). I am completely unpersuaded by the argument that free speech issues only relate to government actions, not private corporations like St. Martin's Press. Killing books by private organizations, while not government censorship, is blacklisting. This is exactly what McCarthyite groups did during the anti-Communist hysteria following World War II.

Despite the fact that David Irving contacted me because I had discussed the suppression of his book, I continued to be concerned that this issue might not really be central to Irving's case, and that my purported expertise on Judaism might be irrelevant. The link to the case was that Deborah Lipstadt had joined the effort at suppression despite her lack of scholarly expertise on Goebbels.

In the trial, the defense argued that my testimony was irrelevant, and the judge at first seemed to agree. However, he changed his mind when the link with Lipstadt was made clear. Irving's complaint goes beyond simple libel against him to the assertion of an organized campaign of suppression. Evolutionary theory did not enter into my testimony, and it only entered my written statement to the court in a general way — that I saw in Jewish-gentile relations examples of competition between ethnic groups.

David Irving is in many ways not an ideal person. There is no doubt in my mind that he has strongly held political views — although the extent to which this is a reaction to his demonization by Jewish activist organizations is at least open to conjecture. Whenever a person has strong political views, it is reasonable to assume that these views may color one's perception of reality. Since I am not a professional historian, I am in no position to judge the validity of his archival research. I am very impressed by the fact that Irving is a recognized expert on certain aspects of World War II — recognized by several noted authorities, none of whom are Holocaust deniers or revisionists, for having made original contributions to knowledge in the field. These include Gordon Craig, A. J. P. Taylor, Hugh Trevor-Roper, and John Keegan.

I also felt that Lipstadt exaggerated the extent to which Irving denied the Holocaust, since there are many places in his writings where Irving describes Nazis engaged in organized killing of Jews. I was also swayed by my knowledge that Irving's *Goebbels* biography had received a positive but critical review in *The New York Review of Books* (Sept. 19, 1996) by Stanford historian Gordon Craig,

who cautioned against censoring people like Irving. And finally, after having read *Goebbels* myself, I decided that, whatever faults a close analysis might reveal, it was highly informative on many points — an indispensable source of information on the man and the period. Obviously I would not trust only my own feelings on this issue, but I had satisfied myself that this is indeed a major contribution to the field.

I was also swayed by finding that Lipstadt is a Jewish ethnic activist whose own writings have been criticized by a well-recognized historian as exaggerating the role of anti-Semitism in the Western response to the Holocaust during World War II. Lipstadt is thus part of a pattern discussed extensively in *Separation and Its Discontents*, in which Jewish historians engage in ethnocentric interpretations of history.

I should mention that after I agreed to testify on behalf of Irving, I was horrified to read the report about Irving written by Cambridge University historian Richard Evans and several research associates. This massive report, written on behalf of the defense, is a scathing summary of alleged misrepresentations and misinterpretations by Irving spanning his entire career. I expressed my reservations to Irving and he assured me that he would be able to defend himself against these allegations. In his reply, he stated that “I have a clean conscience, but I am not sure how to bring that across,” and then provided me with several detailed examples where the Evans report misrepresented his writings. As a result, I felt that he was playing by the rules of scholarly discourse.

Moreover, as indicated above, I was also aware of many examples in which the historiography of Jewish history has been influenced by the ethnic agendas of Jewish writers — I devoted an entire chapter to this sort of thing. Goldhagen is only the tip of a very large iceberg. I reasoned that even if the Evans report was correct, these facts could not have been known by Lipstadt when she made her claims against Irving, and in any case she went way too far when she asserted that “no legitimate historian takes David Irving seriously” and when she claimed that he was not a historian at all. Finally, I developed a reason to distrust Richard Evans after reading sections of his book, *In Hitler's Shadow: West German Historians and the Attempt to Escape the Nazi Past* (Pantheon, 1989). In her book, *Denying the Holocaust*, Lipstadt cites Evans' claim that Nazi anti-Semitism was gratuitous. The relevant quote, from Evans' *In Hitler's Shadow* (p. 40) is:

Nazi anti-Semitism was gratuitous: It was not provoked by anything, it was not a response to anything. It was born out of a political fantasy, in which the Jews, without a shred of justifica-

tion, were held responsible for all that the Nazis believed was wrong with the modern world.

This is not the sort of nuanced treatment of anti-Semitism that one would expect from a prominent historian but rather a dogmatic statement that takes the behavior of Jews completely outside of their own history. There is no attempt to determine the factual basis — the truths, the half-truths and the pure fantasies — that have always been characteristic of anti-Semitism over the ages. Seeing passages such as this in Evans and seeing Lipstadt cite Evans reinforced my decision to testify for Irving.

During the same period I received the following message about the Goebbels book from a prominent mainstream historian:

I just re-read my own notes to Irving's Goebbels, which strongly confirmed my memory that there is much more richness and less partisanship in that book than many would be willing to believe — and that few of his detractors seem to recognize. I'll also have to say that Evans seems to be taking a strongly polemical position, whereas I would have preferred to see him recognize at least some of Irving's strong points as well as his weak. But I have not read enough of Evans yet to determine if there are things he later covers that explain why he is so strongly against Irving, so unwilling to recognize anything of merit.

Having read almost the entire Evans report, I was convinced that in fact Evans had nothing positive at all to say about Irving. Indeed, Evans reiterates Lipstadt's assertion that Irving is not a historian at all. Again, I was confirmed in my belief that testifying for Irving was entirely appropriate.

My view is that political, personal, and ethnic biases are ubiquitous in the social sciences. If the situation were reversed, I would be more than willing to testify on behalf of a Jewish historian suing an anti-Semite because there had been an analogous campaign of suppression against his work.

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Thanks

We've stirred up things a lot since the first issue of the *Journal of Historical Review* came out in the spring of 1980 — 20 years ago. Without the staunch support of you, our subscribers, it couldn't have survived. So please keep sending those clippings, the helpful and critical comments on our work, the informative articles, and the extra boost over and above the subscription price. It's our life blood. To everyone who has helped keep the *Journal* alive, our sincerest thanks.

"I had rather starve and rot and keep the privilege of speaking the truth as I see it, than of holding all the offices that capital has to give, from the presidency down."

— Brooks Adams

'One-Sided War Criminal Hunt'

Certain people are again calling for the arrest of naturalized Australian citizen Konrad Kalejs for his suspected involvement in war crimes during World War II.

What worries me is the question, when do we stop? Also, it appears to be only people from the German side who are still being hunted nearly 60 years after the alleged crimes. We should either charge everyone from all sides, or forget about it.

What about charging all the Russians who in 1943 murdered thousands of Polish officers in the Katyn Forest? I find it disgusting that the British and Americans knew at the time that the Russians had committed this monstrous crime, yet falsely blamed the Germans. The Soviets only admitted to their involvement in 1990.

How about charging all the Japanese who committed the most terrible crimes against the civilian populations in lands they had conquered? What about charging the Poles who murdered hundreds of Jews in a pogrom just after the war had ended in 1945? Are we going to charge the Czechs for being involved in the death of an estimated 40,000 Sudeten Germans between 1945 and 1946 through lynchings, starvation and disease? Will the Russians who over-ran German field hospitals and then murdered the staff and patients be tracked down, arrested and tried?

The American Judge, Edward L. Van Roden, stated [in 1949] that [trial] confessions were extracted from [German] prisoners of war by the use of torture, saying that "burning matches were driven under fingernails, teeth were knocked out, jaws broken, and in 139 cases investigated, the prisoners had been kicked so hard in the testicles that they were beyond repair." Will these Americans be tracked down and charged? Will British soldiers who did the same thing be charged?

Will the French and Americans who let at least 793,239 German soldiers in the prison camps they controlled die of starvation and neglect between 1945 and 1948 ever be called upon to answer for their brutal actions? What's the old saying? — those who live in glass houses shouldn't throw stones.

— Edgar Penzig, of Blackheath, Australia.
Reader's letter published in *The Daily Telegraph* (Sydney, Australia), January 7, 2000.

"What the best of statesman can do is listen to the rustle of God's mantle through history and try to catch the hem of it for a few steps."

— Bismarck

Labels And Libels: David Irving and 'Holocaust Denial'

JOSEPH SOBRAN

An important libel suit is under way in London. David Irving, the controversial British historian of World War II, is suing an American scholar, Deborah Lipstadt of Emory University, for calling him "one of the most dangerous spokespersons for Holocaust denial." Since she wrote this in a 1993 book *Denying The Holocaust*, Irving says, his career has suffered badly, and he charges that this was exactly what she intended. He compares being accused of Holocaust denial to being called a wife-beater or a pedophile — a defamation that results in social and professional ostracism, not to mention death threats.

The label became actionable when Mrs. Lipstadt's book was published in England, where libel law places the burden of proof on the defendant. Such invidious descriptions of public figures may be flung freely in the United States, and she apparently didn't stop to consider the difference between the two countries' legal standards when the British edition of her book went to press.

Supported by various Jewish organizations, Mrs. Lipstadt has gathered an expensive team of lawyers and scholars, including Anthony Julius, who served as attorney for the late Princess Diana in her divorce. Irving, who lacks similar support, is representing himself in court. Under British rules of discovery, he has gained access to Mrs. Lipstadt's correspondence with these organizations and he intends to expose the methods by which he says Jewish groups conspire to destroy heretics like him. Under assorted laws against "hate speech," he has already been harassed, banned, and threatened with arrest in several countries where "Holocaust denial" is a crime; Germany is seeking to extradite him for criminal prosecution during the lawsuit!

The Holocaust debate is a strange one, since the Jewish side insists that there is no "other side" (since there is nothing to debate about) while trying

not only to ruin those on the nonexistent other side, but to put them in jail — over a difference about historical fact. Forty years ago the British historians A. J. P. Taylor and Hugh Trevor-Roper had a famous

and bitter debate over Hitler's responsibility for World War II; but it never occurred to either man to try to get the other fired from his academic position, let alone thrown into prison!

Irving says he has never denied that during World War II the Germans persecuted Jews and killed many of them. But he has disputed many details of the standard account, including the number of the dead and the existence of gas chambers at



Joseph Sobran

Auschwitz. Whether these modifications add up to "Holocaust denial" is one point at issue; another is whether he is "dangerous." Dangerous to whom? More dangerous than laws limiting the freedom of speech? More dangerous than Mrs. Lipstadt's words about Irving himself?

In any case there is no doubt that powerful forces, especially Jewish ones, have been out to get Irving for many years. But until now, the combative and fearless historian, never one to back down, has been able to do little to defend himself.

The verdict in the trial will probably neither affirm nor refute the occurrence of the Holocaust. The question before the court is whether Mrs. Lipstadt deliberately damaged Irving's career with false statements. Living as she does in a country where libel is pretty much legal, thanks to the US Supreme Court's peculiar reading of the First Amendment, it must come as a shock to her to find herself forced, for once, to back up her charges.

Jewish groups are afraid that a verdict in Irving's favor will amount to an official ruling that the Holocaust never happened. But it need not mean that at all. It could mean no more than that Mrs. Lipstadt committed libel by imputing Holocaust

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denial — and a “dangerous” version of it at that — to Irving.

Irving, a nonacademic freelance historian, has written many books on World War II, the most famous of which is *Hitler's War*, in which he argued that Hitler never ordered the destruction of the Jews. The book caused an uproar beyond academe. He has also unearthed important documents and interviewed many of Hitler's close associates; even many professional historians who don't share Irving's German sympathies and his scorn for Winston Churchill agree that his work is indispensable. Most recently the publication of his biography of Joseph Goebbels by St. Martin's Press was canceled under pressure from Jewish groups.

I haven't read Irving's work and would be unable to assess it, but I have met the man himself. A couple of years ago we had lunch in Virginia and I found him a stimulating and captivating conversationalist. He described himself as “a Holocaust skeptic, not a Holocaust denier,” amazed at the proliferation of Holocaust memorials in this country. We agreed that the subject has become a topic of alarming thought control, both of us having experienced forms of it, including personal smears by Jewish fanatics.

I myself have been accused of Holocaust denial by a Jewish academic in California; but the truth is that I have never denied it, for the simple reason that I don't know enough to have a firm opinion on the matter. I lack the qualifications to be a Holocaust denier. I don't read German; I don't know anything about gas chambers and Zyklon B; I wouldn't know how to weigh the evidence. None of which suffices to protect me from being libeled.

But I certainly do distrust those who want to punish others for the impertinence of disagreeing; the Lipstadts don't act as if they believe in the Holocaust themselves. If you have a real conviction about a factual matter, why would you want to punish a man for differing with you? If you think his view is absurdly wrong, you're serenely content to confute him; locking him up would add absolutely nothing to your case and could only raise suspicions about its inherent strength. Neither side in the heated Shakespeare authorship debate, for example, seeks the incarceration of the other side.

And of course Irving and I aren't the only targets: everyone is a potential target. Canada, France, Germany, Israel, and several other countries have criminalized Holocaust heresy. The Israeli writer Amos Elon marvels that opinions about historical events can still be made illegal. It's hard to believe that this sort of thing can happen in the modern world, but it does happen. A few years ago the Israelis even tried to block publication in the United States of a book critical of the Mossad; and in fact a

Jewish judge in New York did order its suppression. His order was immediately reversed; but for a few hours, a book was actually banned in this country for offending organized Jewish interests.

Such restrictions on opinion are insults to the freedom of a whole society. They violate not only David Irving's right to speak, but everyone else's right to hear him and assess his arguments for themselves. Even those who think Irving is seriously wrong, and even dishonest, should enjoy the exercise of grappling with his criticisms; that is how historical study constantly progresses. In a sense, all serious history is “revisionism,” an endless process of refining knowledge.

As for views that are just bizarrely wrong, why bother with them? If a man argues that Napoleon never existed, or that Joe Stalin and Pol Pot were basically decent chaps, society can afford to let him walk the streets.

In a recent article on the Irving-Lipstadt suit in *The Atlantic Monthly*, D. D. Guttenplan discusses the often bitter differences over the Holocaust among Jewish scholars, noting that many things that “everyone knows” about the Holocaust have been discredited — such as the grisly fables that the Nazis made soap and lampshades out of the remains of murdered Jews. Yet some people have been imprisoned for denying what no scholar now believes. The Israeli scholar Yehuda Bauer has argued that “only” a million Jews, not four million as officially asserted, were murdered at Auschwitz. Irving has forced Lipstadt's expert witnesses to concede that the alleged gas chamber at Auschwitz is not authentic, but a postwar reconstruction.

One complication, of course, is that the standard account of the Holocaust serves political interests. Though Israel didn't exist until Hitler had been destroyed, it has claimed enormous cash reparations from Germany; and it has enjoyed great indulgence from the United States by justifying its violence against its Arab neighbors, and its abuses of its Arab minority, as necessary defensive measures by a people still traumatized by persecution and threatened by annihilation. The very term “Holocaust” became current long after World War II — during the late 1960s, in fact, when Israel won the Six-Day War with Egypt, Syria, and Jordan. It was then that the Zionist lobby became one of the most powerful forces in American politics and ethnic “Jewishness,” as distinct from religious Judaism, became, for the first time, openly militant in American culture, and any criticism of Jews or Israel became “anti-Semitism.” It wasn't long before “Holocaust denial” became a capital thought-crime.

Jewish guilt-merchants have also used the Holocaust as a stick to beat other parties with. Christianity, from the Gospel writers to Pius XII, has

been blamed for inspiring genocide against the Jews; the Holocaust is often described as the culmination of “2,000 years of Christian anti-Semitism.” Those who make these charges are deeply resentful when Christians reject them. Last year’s Vatican statement exonerating Pius XII provoked further angry attacks by some Jews. The nominal Catholic John Cornwell has found favor among such Jews by smearing Pius as “Hitler’s Pope.”

On the other hand, a number of more temperate Jews have deplored these wild indictments. Unfortunately, the incentive system still favors the shrillest. Cornwell stands to lose nothing by lying about Pius; if he had praised him, his book would have been published (if at all) by some obscure Catholic press.

The Jewish lobby (though “lobby” seems an inadequate term for it) now inspires enormous fear because of its power to ruin politicians, writers, and businesses. It wields such dreaded labels as “anti-Semite” and “bigot” with abandon and — and here is the real point — with impunity. This is the background against which Mrs. Lipstadt made her charges against Irving.

Far from being persecuted, or remotely threatened with persecution, Jews in the modern democracies are very powerful. That is precisely why they are feared, and why their labels terrify. If they were really helpless victims, there would obviously be no reason to fear them; nobody in Hitler’s Germany (or Jefferson’s America, for that matter) had to fear being called anti-Semitic. Most Jews of course take no active part in the thought-control campaign, and many would oppose it if they considered it seriously; but the major secular Jewish organizations are determined to silence any public discourse that is not to their liking, as witness the fate of people as disparate as Irving, Louis Farrakhan, and Pat Buchanan.

The test is this. What is the penalty for making false or reckless charges of anti-Semitism? The plain fact is that there is no penalty at all. That is why the Irving-Lipstadt suit is so startling. In this country we aren’t used to seeing people — especially members of the mighty “victim” groups — held responsible for ruining others’ reputations.

If anti-Semitism is a serious matter, you might think it would be in the interest of the Jewish lobby itself to define the term carefully and to discourage its promiscuous use. But neither has happened. Why not?

For the simple reason that the function of the word is not to identify and disarm real hostility to Jews, but to terrorize. For the purpose of creating fear, as Stalin understood, a false charge is as good as a true one — better, in fact, since the power to stigmatize arbitrarily, without well-defined rules

and safeguards against abuse, is the perfect way to intimidate the general population.

Even a false charge reinforces the power of the lobby. After all, if people only had to beware of true accusations — strictly defined charges in which the burden of proof was on the accuser, who would put himself at risk by making charges he couldn’t support — there would be little to worry about. You don’t fear being falsely accused of murder, because you know you can defend yourself against it and see your accuser punished. If the crime is serious, so is the false imputation of it. That’s the ordinary rule of life.

But when nobody pays a price for making false accusations, there are going to be a lot of false accusations. Joe McCarthy really didn’t get it. When he spoke of “card-carrying Communists,” he was too specific for his own good. His charges were too well-defined and therefore subject to falsification. Everyone knows what a “card-carrying Communist” is; when you use that phrase, you’d better be able to make it stick. But nobody really knows what an “anti-Semite” is, so the charge of anti-Semitism can’t be falsified, and nobody has to worry about being penalized for using it. It’s a thoroughly perverse incentive system, worthy of the Soviet Union.

If Deborah Lipstadt winds up paying damages to David Irving, it will be partly because she, like Joe McCarthy, was imprudently specific. Dangerous may be a little vague, but “Holocaust denier” isn’t. It can be proved or disproved.

A ruling in Irving’s favor might even tend to confirm the standard account of the Holocaust, if it transpires that he agrees with its central contention in spite of his skepticism about certain of its features. But such a ruling would certainly show that there is still one island on earth where you lie about people at your own peril.

“The press is the hired agent of the monied system, and set up for no other purpose than to tell lies where the interests are involved. One can trust nobody and nothing.”

— Henry Adams

“The men the American people admire most extravagantly are the most daring liars; the men they detest most violently are those who try to tell them the truth.”

— H. L. Mencken

“Those who don’t read good books have no advantage over those who can’t.”

— Mark Twain

Did the 'Wrong Side' Win?

In his recent Opening Statement to the London Court, David Irving said: "I shall not argue, and have never argued, that the wrong side won the [Second World] war, for example, or that the history of the war needs to be grossly rewritten." I cannot go along with that. As I see it, in reality we were fighting the wrong enemy, or so it seems by the state of the world today.

Of all those who have been hounded and punished for bringing to light facts that are unpalatable for the "exterminationists," Fred Leuchter, the subject of the "Mr. Death" film (reviewed by Greg Raven in the Sept.-Dec. 1999 *Journal*) probably deserves more sympathy than any other, because his travails were not of his own making. In light of what happened to him and others, it is not altogether surprising that some revisionists might sometimes appear to be back-pedaling.

Whenever I have nothing especially pressing to read, I pull out back copies of the *Journal*, where I always find articles of interest. Quite often I get more out of a second reading. As I write this, I am thinking of the talk given by historian John Toland at the Tenth IHR Conference, "Living History" [published in the Spring 1991 *Journal*], in which he reminisces about his friendships with Leon Degrelle, Hans-Ulrich Rudel, Otto Skorzeny, and so forth — each of whose books I have read.

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'Myths' About Stalin and the Ukrainian Famine

In a letter in the Sept.-Dec. 1999 *Journal*, "One-Sided Revisionism?," K. W. charges that Mark Weber "uncritically" repeats

"myths about socialist" regimes. He questions Weber's statement (in a previous *Journal* issue) that "by all accounts, the victims of Stalin, America's ally, vastly outnumbered those of Hitler, America's enemy." K. W. asks, "By whose accounts?," and rejects as unreliable such sources the "anti-Communist Hearst newspapers" and "the Hitler regime." These, he goes on, are responsible for "spreading the hoax of a massive famine in the Ukraine in the 1930s."

But was this a hoax? Was it, as K. W. would have us believe, a "myth" about socialism?

Malcolm Muggeridge, Moscow correspondent for the British daily *Manchester Guardian*, was one of the few Western journalists to visit the famine regions of Ukraine. In a 1933 report, he wrote:

On a recent visit to the Northern Caucasus and the Ukraine, I saw something of the battle that is going on between the government and the peasants. The battlefield is as desolate as in any war and stretches wider; stretches over a large part of Russia. On the one side, millions of starving peasants, their bodies often swollen from lack of food; on the other hand, soldier members of the GPU carrying out the instructions of the dictatorship of the proletariat. They had gone over the country like a swarm of locusts and taken away everything edible; they shot and exiled thousands of peasants, sometimes whole villages; they have reduced some of the most fertile land in the whole world to a melancholy desert.

Years later Marco Carynnyk asked Muggeridge about all this during a visit at his cottage in Sussex. (This interview was pub-

lished in October 1983 by the Ukrainian Canadian Committee.) When he arrived by train in the Ukrainian countryside, Muggeridge recounted, "one could sense the state of affairs. Ukraine was starving, and you only had to venture out to smaller places to see derelict fields and abandoned villages ... First of all, one feels a deep, deep, deep sympathy with and pity for the sufferers. Human beings look very tragic when they are starving."

The famine, Muggeridge recalled, "was the big story in all our talks in Moscow. Everybody knew about it. Anyone you were talking to knew that there was a terrible famine going on." This horror was not a natural phenomenon, he continued. "The novelty of this particular famine, what made it so diabolical, is that it was not the result of some catastrophe like a drought or an epidemic. It was the deliberate creation of a bureaucratic mind which demanded the collectivization of agriculture, immediately, as a purely theoretical proposition, without any consideration whatever of the consequences of human suffering."

Historian Bohdan Krawchenko, in "Collectivization and the Famine" (also published by the Ukrainian Canadian Committee), explains that Stalin's motive in brutally imposing collectivization was to industrialize the country as quickly as possible. For this he needed large quantities of grain that could be exchanged with the West for machinery and expertise. The collectivization process involved mass confiscation of peasants' land, livestock and grain reserves. With ever more ruthless seizures of grain from the farms, famine hit hard in 1932.

Accompanying this was mass

repression by the semi-military GPU or NKVD of the "kulaks" — that is, the more diligent and successful peasant farmers who were also the leaders in resisting Soviet collectivization. Masses of kulaks were shot or deported to Siberia, where most perished in the horrendous cold and deprivation.

During the height of the famine, Krawchenko notes, Stalin ordered a massive "purge" in Ukraine. This brutal campaign continued virtually uninterrupted until 1938, "claiming the lives of 80 per cent of Ukraine's creative intelligentsia. Thousands of priests of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church were killed, as were that church's 35 bishops." [See also: Valentyn Moroz, "Nationalism and Genocide: The Origin of the Artificial Famine of 1932-1933 in Ukraine," in the Summer 1985 *Journal*.]

What was the toll in human lives? In his detailed 1986 study, *The Harvest of Sorrow: Soviet Collectivization and the Terror-Famine* (pp. 301-306), historian Robert Conquest carefully concluded that "the total peasant dead as a result of the dekulakization and famine" was "about 14.5 million." About half of this incredible total were famine victims, some three million of them children, and half were victims of "dekulakization" and forced "collectivization," of whom some 3.5 million perished in the camps. About five million of the seven million famine victims were Ukrainians, or about 19 per cent of the entire Ukrainian population.

Joseph Sobran wrote in his column of May 20, 1997, "The Forgiven Holocaust": "Soviet Communism eventually killed tens of millions of people — nearly 62 million, according to Professor R.J. Rummel of the University of Hawaii, a specialist in the study of 'democide' (his term for government mass murder) [in his 1990 book *Lethal Politics: Soviet Genocide and Mass Murder Since 1917*]. In 1933 its record was already so bloody that Central Europe was terrified of the Com-

munist threat that so many Western intellectuals preferred to see as the Great Progressive Hope."

Contrary to what K. W. asserts, the imposed mass famine in Ukraine is no "hoax," and the millions of victims of Soviet rule, especially under Stalin, is no "myth." These authentic horrors are well documented.

J. C. M.
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[by e-mail]

Not 'Reconstruction' But Falsification

In the Sept.-Dec. 1999 *Journal*, page 13, the caption to the photograph of the "gas chamber" at the Auschwitz main camp, shown to many hundreds of thousands of tourists over the years, tells readers that this "is actually a postwar reconstruction." (Similarly, on page 67 of this same *Journal* issue, readers are told that this "alleged gas chamber ... is not in its original state.")

This is, or could be, misleading because it implies that this room might be a faithful "reconstruction" of an original wartime homicidal "gas chamber."

Over the years, "exterminationists" have called this a "reconstruction" because they have wanted to suggest that it is faithful to the original. For example, in a 1992 video entitled "David Cole Interviews Dr. Franciszek Piper," the Auschwitz State Museum senior curator said that today's Auschwitz main camp "gas chamber" was "very similar" to the original one. Piper was lying: it was not "very similar," but rather crudely falsified.

David Cole, the young Jewish-American researcher who conducted the interview, could himself have immediately demonstrated this by showing Piper the authentic original blueprints that I discovered in 1976 and published in 1979.

For more than 20 years, I have repeatedly demonstrated that this "reconstructed" Auschwitz main camp "gas chamber" is really a *falsification*. I made this

point most recently in the article "The 'Gas Chamber' of Auschwitz I," published in this very same Sept.-Dec. 1999 *Journal* issue (pp. 12-13). In that article I quoted two anti-revisionist historians who themselves have used the terms "false," "falsifications," "falsified" and "falsifying" in describing this "gas chamber."

More than 25 years ago, in a letter of October 11, 1975, to the famous writer André Malraux, I wrote:

"I have just returned from Poland. I visited, Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek. There the 'museographical frenzy' [a term used by French-Jewish historian Olga Wormser-Migot], in the matter of 'reconstructed' gas chambers, reaches proportions that I would have to describe as stunning if I were still subject to surprise at the base crassness that Man can invent when he lies."

Robert Faurisson
Vichy, France

For Continued Pursuit

Thank you one and all for the great work, and for your continued pursuit of truth. I wish I could help more financially.

H. F. H
Baltimore, Md.

Outstanding Work

Please accept my thanks for the documentation and source references you provided last year for a letter I sent to the *Journal of Forensic Sciences* in regard to a psychoanalytical study of Hitler based, in part, on the spurious reminiscences of Hermann Rauschning. As you know, this collection of invented quotations and events, which was accepted as evidence by the Nuremberg Tribunal, has been proven to be the concoctions of a disaffected National Socialist Party member. Unfortunately, though, this fraudulent document [published in the US under the title *The Voice of Destruction*] is often still cited as an authentic historical source.

A recent *Journal* item refers to

"Opole, in southern Poland." Your readers may be interested to know that until the massive ethnic cleansing of eastern Germany in 1945-46, this Silesian city of Oppeln was as German as Berlin or Leipzig. Over the years the IHR has courageously upheld the memory of this terrible episode of the Second World War, certainly its greatest war crime. It is ironic indeed that this unprecedented mass expulsion of twelve million human beings — most of them women and children — is eradicated from our collective memory, while the distorted history of another people is relentlessly pounded into us. Today even standard reference works misleadingly refer to such formerly German cities as Stettin, Breslau and Danzig as having been "returned" to the Poles after "liberation" from the Germans.

As the IHR has repeatedly pointed out, history does have fundamental implications for the future. Russo-Germans are being resettled in northern East Prussia, the Königsberg cathedral is being rebuilt, and twice the Russian government has offered to sell this region back to Germany. According to a recent poll, one-third of Poles living in eastern German lands expressed approval of a restoration of German suzerainty.

Allow me to congratulate the *Journal* on consistently outstanding work. Your articles (really, our articles) are practically unique.

Eric Rachut, M.D.
Moody, Texas

White Builders of Indian Civilizations?

In his complaint about "one sided history" (March-April 1999 *Journal*), Zoltán Bruckner laments the "disgraceful picture" given in an earlier issue by Mark Twain, "The Noble Red Man," and Kevin Beary, "Lifestyles: Native and Imposed." Just these two modest articles in a single issue of the *Journal*, it seems, are enough to upset Bruckner's notion of "balanced history." Although I am

nearly 50 years old, the first critical or derogatory description of the American Indian I read anywhere was Twain's essay, as reprinted in the May-June 1998 *Journal*.

Accompanying Bruckner's article is a beautiful drawing of the Aztec capital, Tenochtitlán. What is not mentioned is that this magnificent city wasn't built by the Aztecs. While archaeologists disagree about just who did build it (some believe it was the Olmecs, and others the Toltecs or the Cholutas), they all agree that it was built centuries before the coming of the Aztecs.

The Aztecs themselves — along with the Mayas and the Incas — ascribed the establishment of their civilizations to "bearded white men" from the East. The leader of these white men was called Quetzacoatl by the Aztecs, Kukulcan by the Mayas and Viracochá by the Incas.

It is well known that the spectacular victories of Cortés over the Aztecs, and of Pizarro over the Incas, each with a small band of conquistadors, were greatly helped by the natives' expectation of the return of the white "gods." In support of these stories, ancient sculptures and paintings of white, bearded men have been found throughout the Americas, particularly in the Mayan cities. Ancient mummies found in Peru also bear distinctly Caucasian features. [For more on all this, see, for example, *Early Man and the Ocean*, by Norwegian anthropologist and explorer Thor Heyerdahl.]

Even in North America some Indian tribes had similar myths of ancient white men, called "the Old Ones," described as tall, white-skinned and having red hair. Adding further weight to this thesis is the much-publicized discovery in 1996, on the north bank of the Columbia river, of the remains of a 9,300-year-old Caucasoid. With his long, narrow skull, this "Kennewick Man" is racially unlike the Indians of today.

In response to Bruckner's flattering portrayal of the Aztecs, it hardly seems necessary to add to the abundant evidence of their practices of mass human sacrifice and ritual cannibalism. It is estimated that the number of sacrificial victims in the Aztec empire as a whole reached about 250,000 per year by the beginning of the 16th century. (J. Milton, R. A. Orsi and N. Harrison, *The Feathered Serpent and the Cross*, p. 55.)

As for the popular notion of Indians living "in harmony with nature," it was only due to their backwardness that they did not ravage the environment. No Indian today, of course, dispenses with such products of "evil" European civilization as automobiles or televisions.

While granting that Indians received the dubious "gift" of alcohol from Europeans, let's not forget that Europeans received the similarly questionable "gift" of tobacco from Indians. Who can really say who got the worst of the exchange?

M. H.
Fargo, North Dakota

A Reliable Source

Not only do I read every single line of each *Journal* issue with pleasure, but I never miss an opportunity to pass along copies of items to my journalist friends. I get on very well with all the "friendly press" here in France. Let me tell you that they know very well that any information coming from the Institute for Historical Review is reliable. Such a level of trustworthiness is itself a victory in the revisionist struggle.

Y.S.
Le Vesinet, France

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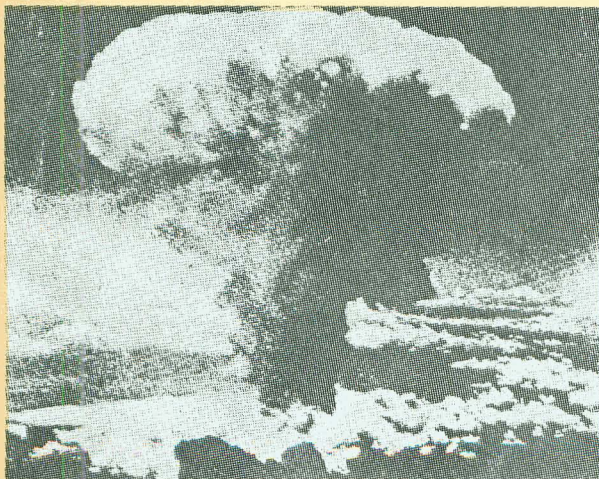
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The Journal of Historical Review

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March/April 2000

After the Irving-Lipstadt Trial: New Dangers and Challenges

Mark Weber

Final Address in the London Trial

David Irving

Prison Term for Swiss 'Holocaust Denier'

Jewish Identity: Religious or Ethnic?

Officially Sanctioned Fraud at Dachau

— Reviews —

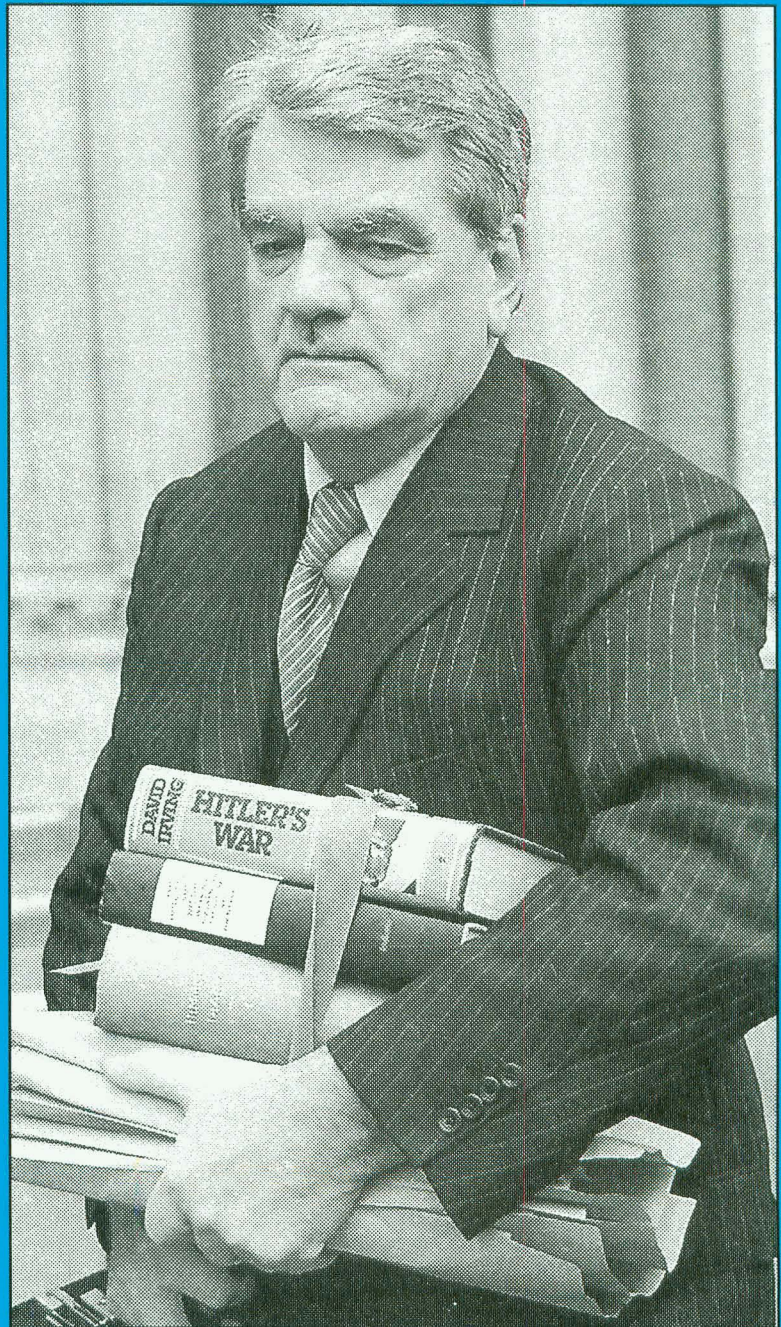
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Stoddard on Third Reich Germany

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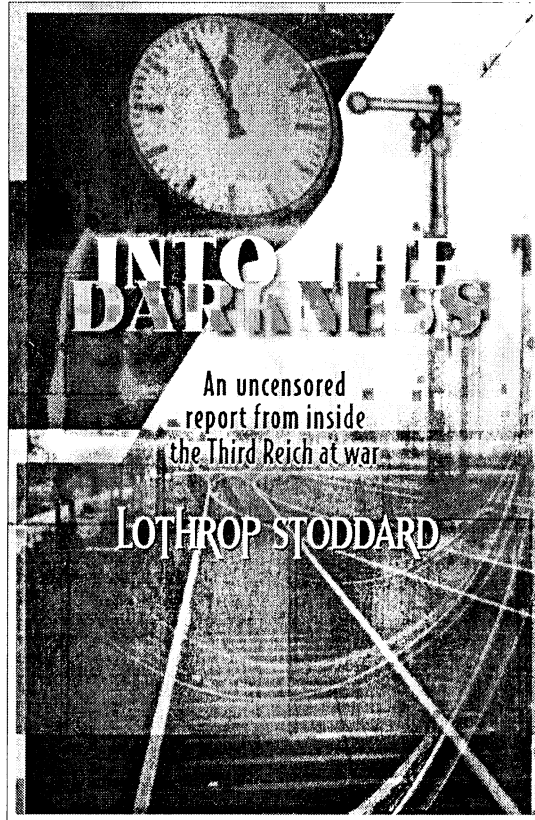
FIRST SUPPRESSED, THEN FORGOTTEN FOR SIXTY YEARS

Lothrop Stoddard's Sympathetic Report from Hitler's Wartime Reich

Twentieth-century America's most perceptive, influential, and prophetic writer on race — Lothrop Stoddard — spent four months in late 1939-early 1940 covering National Socialist Germany, as its leaders and its people girded for total war. Stoddard criss-crossed the Third Reich to observe nearly every aspect of its political, social, economic, and military life, and he talked with men and women from all walks of life, from Adolf Hitler, Heinrich Himmler, and Joseph Goebbels to taxi drivers and chambermaids.

The result — *Into the Darkness* — is not only a classic of World War II reportage, but a unique evaluation of Germany's National Socialist experiment. For Stoddard was no ordinary journalist. A Harvard Ph.D in history, the author of *The Rising Tide of Color* and other works that played a key role in the enactment of America's 1924 immigration act, fluent in German and deeply versed in European politics and culture, Stoddard brought to *Into the Darkness* a sophistication and a sympathy impossible for William Shirer and a myriad of other journalistic hacks.

To be sure, the New England Yankee Stoddard was no supporter of the Hitler dictatorship, but he was deeply interested in National Socialist policies, above all in the social and the racial sphere. Reading *Into the Darkness* brings you to hearings before



a German eugenics court, to an ancestral farm in Westphalia, to the headquarters of the National Labor Service, to German markets, factories, medical clinics, and welfare offices, as keenly observed and analyzed by Stoddard. You'll read, too, of Stoddard's conversations with German policy makers in all fields: Hans F. K. Günther and Fritz Lenz on race and eugenics; Walther Darré on agriculture; Robert Ley on labor; Gertrud Scholz-Klink on women in the Third Reich; General Alexander Löhr on the Luftwaffe's Polish campaign, as well as Hitler, Himmler, Goebbels and many other leaders. And you'll travel with Stoddard to Slovakia, where he interviews Monsignor Tiso, the national leader

later put to death by the Communists, and to Hungary, where the Magyars, still at peace, gaze apprehensively at Soviet Russia.

Into the Darkness (so named from the mandatory air-defense blackout that Stoddard found so vexing) shines a torch of sanity and truth against the vituperation of all things National Socialist that has been practically obligatory for the past sixty years. Knowledgeable, urbane, skeptical, and above all fair, Stoddard's book is a unique, an indispensable historical document, a time capsule for truth, and a stimulating page-turner for everyone interested in the Third Reich and the German people.

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On the cover: David Irving enters the London court building for another day of arguments in the Irving-Lipstadt libel trial.

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Judge Gray's Harsh But Predictable Ruling

After the Irving-Lipstadt Trial: New Dangers and Challenges

MARK WEBER

A verdict has finally been reached in the much publicized Irving-Lipstadt libel trial in London. Judge Charles Gray, in a lengthy ruling made public on April 11, 2000, called David Irving an anti-Semitic and racist "Holocaust denier" who has "deliberately misrepresented and manipulated historical evidence." The judgment could hardly have been more severe. The 62-year-old British historian is now obliged to pay some \$3 million in legal costs to the two defendants: Jewish American writer Deborah Lipstadt, and Penguin Books, the British publisher of her anti-revisionist work, *Denying the Holocaust*.

Irving, now reportedly facing bankruptcy and confiscation of his spacious London apartment, was ordered on May 5 to pay some \$250,000 by June 16 "on account," as a kind of down payment toward the total he must eventually turn over. Describing himself as "defeated but unbowed," he announced that he is appealing the verdict.

In his lengthy judgment, Judge Gray harshly concluded:

The charges which I have found to be substantially true include the charges that Mr. Irving has, for his own ideological reasons, persistently and deliberately misrepresented and manipulated historical evidence; that for the same reasons he has portrayed Hitler in an unwarrantedly favorable light, principally in relation to his attitude towards and responsibility for the treatment of the Jews; that he is an active Holocaust denier; that he is anti-Semitic and racist, and that he associates with Right-wing extremists who promote neo-Nazism.

Actually, and as several Jewish commentators had implicitly acknowledged during the trial, the evidence was not at all as clear cut as Judge Gray's judgment suggested. He could have decided in favor of either Irving or the defendants, depending on how he chose to look at the evidence. Thus, before the April 11 ruling, Jewish commentators engaged in a form of preliminary "damage control" by warning that an Irving victory would not really matter because, after all, the trial wasn't about the Holocaust story itself.



David Irving: 'Defeated But Unbowed'

Several British newspapers commented that the judgment demolishes Irving's reputation as a credible historian, and thoroughly discredits Holocaust revisionism (or "Holocaust denial"). "Never again," wrote *The Guardian*, "will the deniers' claims to standing have even the sliver of credibility that attached to Irving before he took action against Professor Lipstadt."

Jewish leaders around the world were, of course, pleased. New York City's Yeshiva University, for example, a bastion of Jewish orthodoxy, hailed the London court's verdict as a "victory on behalf of the Jewish people." (*Forward*, April 21, p. 4). In a congratulatory message to Lipstadt, Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak, writing in the "name of the Israeli people and the Jewish people," commented: "The strength of Israel today ensures that today no

second Holocaust will take place, and no one in the world will dare rise against the Jewish nation. But in parallel, a determined struggle is going on against the people who deny the Holocaust that brought the death of a third of our nation."

Irving himself described the ruling as "perverse," adding that it "is so laden with historical inaccuracies the grounds for an appeal in the public interest are very evident ... The judge picks up the bucket of slime prepared by the defense counsel and tips it over me."

A Predictable Defeat

As harsh as it was, Judge Gray's verdict should not have been surprising. As Irving put it: "The leaders of the Jewish communities around the world have used the most horrific methods to try and destroy me. They had bottomless pockets to afford justice and say go ahead and destroy that bastard — which they just did."

Irving initiated his libel suit knowing that he faced a formidable and ruthless adversary with vastly greater financial resources. But throughout the grueling nine-week courtroom ordeal, he showed tremendous psychological and physical stamina. "I have been able to take them all on single-handed and give them a very good run for their money," he said.

As he acknowledges, Irving is himself largely to blame for the scope of this defeat. "At the end, I suppose, it is my own fault for having explained myself with insufficient clarity," he commented. And however great his fortitude and endurance in the courtroom, he risked additional problems by acting as his own lawyer.

Some fundamental weaknesses of Irving's case became ever more apparent during the course of the trial. However effectively he was able to show that he had been a victim of an international Jewish-Zionist campaign to silence him, he failed to show convincingly that Lipstadt's book, *Denying the Holocaust* (much less Penguin Books) had caused any of the specific damages he cited, such as the April 1996 decision by St. Martin's Press to abandon publication of his *Goebbels* biography, or his banning from Germany and other countries. Irving never proved that he had been blackballed by the publishing industry or banned from various countries specifically because of Lipstadt's book. In truth, her *Denying the Holocaust* was only a small part of the vast anti-Irving campaign.

This weakness of Irving's argument was reflected in the judgment. While Judge Gray agreed that Lipstadt's book "does indeed represent a deliberate attack on Irving, mounted in order to discredit him as an historian," he rejected, with justification, Irving's claim "to have been the victim of a conspir-



Deborah Lipstadt with a supporter following the announcement of the verdict, April 11. Lipstadt, says historian John Keegan, is "as dull as only the self-righteously politically correct can be."

acy in which both Defendants were implicated." Irving failed to link Penguin Books to the campaign against him.

Irving's decision to forego a jury trial and instead let Judge Gray alone decide the case was, in hindsight, clearly a major error. No jury verdict could have been any harsher than the one that was rendered. More important, a jury would not have been able to issue a lengthy, scathing written judgment like that of Judge Gray.

The severe verdict was all the more predictable given the personality of the man who decided his fate. Irving could hardly have had a more unsympathetic judge than Charles Gray. In the words of one knowledgeable observer, Edward Garnier, Queens Counsel and shadow attorney general: "I don't think I've heard of a judge speaking in such terms before ... [Irving] is the most unattractive person that can have come in front of that particular judge."

'Denier'?

Irving almost certainly damaged his credibility during the course of the trial in abandoning, or seeming to abandon, revisionist positions he had once embraced. While acknowledging that he had revised some of his views during the trial, he said that his overall opinion on the Holocaust and Hitler's role in it had not changed.

Precisely defining "the Holocaust" and "Holocaust denial" proved a key point of contention in the trial. Insisting that he is not a "denier," Irving told the court:

The word "denier" is particularly evil, because no person in full command of his mental faculties, and with even the slightest understanding

of what happened in World War Two, can deny that the tragedy actually happened, however much we dissident historians may wish to quibble about the means, the scale, the dates and other minutiae.

All the same, Irving reaffirmed — before Judge Gray and the world — some of his most controversial views on specific aspects of the Holocaust issue. For example, he rejected the familiar Six Million figure of Jewish wartime dead, instead expressing the view that between one and four million Jews lost their lives under German or Axis rule during the war. “Do you deny the Nazi killed millions of Jews in gas chambers in purpose-built establishments?” he was asked. “Yes. It’s logistically impossible,” Irving responded. “I deny that it was possible to liquidate millions of people in gas chambers as presented by historians so far.” Such statements sufficed for Judge Gray to label him a “Holocaust denier.”

Lipstadt’s Defamation of Irving

In spite of the outcome, there is no question but that Irving was libeled by Lipstadt in her book *Denying the Holocaust*. Even the judge acknowledged that at least two or three of the claims made against Irving in her book were not true. As Gray wrote in his judgment:

... There are certain defamatory imputations [in Lipstadt’s book] which I have found to be defamatory of Irving, but which have not been proved to be true. The Defendants made no attempt to prove the truth of Lipstadt’s claim that Irving was scheduled to speak at an anti-Zionist conference in Sweden in 1992, which was also to be attended by various representatives of terrorist organizations ... Nor did they seek to justify Lipstadt’s claim that Irving has a self-portrait by Hitler hanging over his desk. Furthermore, the Defendants have, as I have held, failed in their attempt to justify the defamatory imputations made against Irving in relation to the Goebbels diaries in the Moscow archive.

Nevertheless, Gray went on, these false and defamatory claims did “not have any material effect on Irving’s reputation.”

In contrast to David Irving’s willingness to make available to the defendants his records, including his voluminous correspondence and exhaustive diary, in all their enormous (and sometimes embarrassing) detail, the defendants were loath to turn over records and documents. This reticence was perhaps most glaring in Deborah Lipstadt’s refusal to testify in court. She would not submit to close questioning by Irving because, obviously, she and her

lawyers calculated that doing so would prove harmful to their case.

Important Evidence

Regardless of the verdict, much good has come of the trial. For one thing, it has encouraged greater public awareness of the Holocaust controversy. For another, Irving managed to compile and present crucially important facts that — while they may be temporarily overlooked in the celebratory aftermath of the trial — are now permanently on the public record.

As cogently laid out in his Closing Statement (published elsewhere in this *Journal* issue), he highlighted two broad issues of particular significance:

First, Irving carefully assembled and forcefully presented a mass of evidence showing — perhaps more clearly than has ever been done before — just how the formidable “international endeavor” of Jewish activist organizations operates to smear and silence those who, like Irving, are regarded as threats to Jewish-Zionist interests. He traced a network of secretive collaboration involving the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), the Simon Wiesenthal Center, Israel’s Yad Vashem center, the Board of Deputies of British Jews, and even the US taxpayer-funded US Holocaust Memorial Museum.

“It is quite evident,” Irving told the court, “that the ADL set itself the task of destroying my career, in concert with other similar organizations around the world, many of whom, if not all, collaborated with the Second Defendant [Lipstadt] in writing her book.” Unfortunately, he went on, “the real defendants in this case are not represented in this court.” Irving spoke bitterly of “this secret common enterprise, this frantic international endeavor to destroy my legitimacy as an historian and to deprive me of free speech ...” This “hidden network of Orwellian organizations,” he went on to warn, is “determined to ensure that no version of history of these matters of which they disapproved was [is] given currency, or indeed allowed to survive.”

A concrete and well-publicized expression of this “international endeavor” was the February 29 release by the Israeli government of a long-suppressed memoir written by Adolf Eichmann in 1960-62 while he was awaiting death in an Israeli prison. This memoir of some 1,300 pages (which, in spite of great media hype, contains nothing really new) was made public, at an opportune moment during the trial, at the request of Lipstadt and her legal team.

In dissecting the machinations of this global network, Irving has performed a great public service on behalf of free speech and free historical inquiry — benefiting even many who revile him.

Second, Irving brought out important evidence,

some of it new, that challenges key aspects of the Holocaust extermination story. Building on earlier work of pioneer revisionist scholars, he took aim especially at claims of mass killings in the “gas chamber” of Auschwitz-Birkenau *Krema II*. All this has doubtless encouraged intelligent skepticism on the part of many around the world who had never before seriously questioned the Auschwitz gassing stories.

Evaluating Gas Chamber Evidence

“I have never held myself out to be a Holocaust expert,” Irving announced at the outset of the trial. “I have never claimed to be a Holocaust historian.” And Judge Gray, at the beginning of his April 11 ruling, declared that it is not “part of my function as the trial judge to make findings of fact as to what did and what did not occur during the Nazi regime.” But he then proceeded, page after page, to do precisely that. In the words of one London daily paper: “The judge started by saying it was not his job to decide what happened under the Nazis; he was a trial judge and not an historian. But, as he hurried through his main findings, that was exactly the role he assumed.” (*The Independent*, April 12)

Gray did grant that at the outset of the trial he had assumed that evidence of mass gassing in German wartime camps was abundant and compelling. “I have to confess,” he wrote in his judgment, “that, in common I suspect with most other people, I had supposed that the evidence of mass extermination of Jews in the gas chambers of Auschwitz was compelling. I have, however, set aside this preconception when assessing the evidence adduced by the parties in these proceedings.”

But in examining and evaluating the sometimes complex specific historical questions at issue in the trial, Judge Gray proved unable entirely to “set aside” his well-entrenched preconceptions and, as his own disclaimer might suggest, showed himself unequal to the task.

Thus, he concluded:

Having considered the various arguments advanced by Irving to assail the effect of the convergent evidence relied upon by the defendants, it is my conclusion that no objective, fair-minded historian would have serious cause to doubt that there were gas chambers at Auschwitz, and that they were operated on a substantial scale to kill hundreds of thousands of Jews.

In his Opening Statement to the court, David Irving related that, at a meeting in Munich in April 1990, he had said that the “gas chamber” shown for decades to tourists in the Auschwitz I main camp is a fake. (Sept.-Dec. 1999 *Journal*, p. 22). Even

though he was later fined by a German court for this provocative statement, it is, in fact, completely true. Remarkably, even Robert Van Pelt, a major defense witness in the Irving-Lipstadt trial, himself has acknowledged that this infamous “gas chamber” is actually a fraudulent postwar reconstruction. (See: R. Faurisson, “The ‘Gas Chamber’ of Auschwitz I,” Sept.-Dec. 1999 *Journal*, pp. 12-13.) In his detailed April 11 ruling, Judge Gray took no notice of the Auschwitz I “gas chamber” fraud — passing it over in silence.

Forensic Examinations of Auschwitz

A good portion of the trial proceedings, and of Judge Gray’s judgment, dealt with the Leuchter Report, the path-breaking 1988 on-site forensic examination of the alleged “gas chamber” facilities at Auschwitz (including Birkenau) by American gas chamber expert Fred Leuchter. (For more on this, see the Winter 1992-93 *Journal of Historical Review*.) When Irving testified as a witness for Ernst Zündel in the 1988 “Holocaust trial” in Toronto, the British historian cited the Leuchter Report as a crucial factor in his “conversion” to the view that there were no wartime homicidal German gas chambers.

An important aspect of the London courtroom debate on the Report focused on the crucial chemical-technical issue of blue “staining” in the brickwork of the alleged “gas chambers” at Birkenau camp produced by the interaction of hydrocyanic acid (from Zyklon) and iron compounds. Gray accepted as valid the defense contention that this “staining” could not have penetrated the brickwork more than the depth of a human hair. This contention is demonstrably incorrect. As several independent specialists have affirmed, similar blue “staining” visibly penetrated through the entire depth of brick walls of Auschwitz-Birkenau delousing (non-homicidal) gas chambers.

“I have not overlooked the fact,” Gray continued, “that Irving claimed that Leuchter’s findings have been replicated, notably in a report by German chemist Germar Rudolf. But that report was not produced at the trial so it is impossible for me to assess its evidential value.” Gray also mentioned that Irving had “produced a letter from the Institute for Historical Review” noting that other independent specialists had arrived at conclusions similar to those of Leuchter and Rudolf.

As Judge Gray pointed out, both Irving and defense witness Van Pelt agreed that in “about 1989” Polish authorities carried out forensic tests at Auschwitz that confirmed essential points of the Leuchter and Rudolf investigations. Judge Gray went on to state: “The results of these tests were not published.” In fact, the complete text of this secret Polish forensic institute investigation, with the test

results, was published in the Summer 1991 *Journal of Historical Review* (as Gray himself had acknowledged in passing during the trial [Jan.-Feb. 2000 *Journal*, p. 54]).

No Roof Holes

Consistent with familiar Holocaust claims, expert witnesses for the defense testified that hundreds of thousands of Jewish prisoners were killed with poison gas (from Zyklon) in a "gas chamber" in "morgue cellar" 1 of Birkenau crematory building (*Krema*) II. In rejecting this and similar claims of mass killings with poison gas at Birkenau, Irving stressed that there are no roof holes or vents through which deadly Zyklon could have been introduced into the infamous "gas chamber." Even defense witness Van Pelt acknowledged this crucial point, as Judge Gray noted in his judgment: "Irving produced a photograph which appears to show no sign of any hole in the roof. Van Pelt conceded in one of his supplementary reports that there is no sign of the holes."

On this point alone, a key element of the Auschwitz extermination story collapses. As Irving so colorfully put it:

They [the defendants] know, and they knew from the outset, that I was right about that roof. Their entire case on *Krema* II — the untruth that it was used as a factory of death, with SS guards tipping canisters of cyanide-soaked pellets into the building through those four (non-existent) manholes — has caved in, as surely as has that roof.

Amazingly, though, Judge Gray nonetheless concluded:

... I consider that an objective historian, taking account of all the evidence, would conclude that the apparent absence of evidence of holes in the roof of [the] morgue at crematorium 2 falls far short of being a good reason for rejecting the cumulative effect of the evidence on which the defendants rely.

A David-Goliath Battle

In terms of manpower and financial resources, the Irving-Lipstadt clash was a David-Goliath battle. Whereas Irving acted as his own attorney, the Lipstadt-Penguin side employed some 20 courtroom lawyers and legal experts.

Irving's adversaries were also fabulously better funded. According to British press reports, generous financial aid for the Lipstadt-Penguin defense came from the American Jewish Committee, Edgar Bronfman, Sr. (co-chairman of the giant Seagram's company, and president of the World Jewish Congress),

and Steven Spielberg (filmmaker and Jewish activist). "If that is not evidence of the global scale of the endeavor to destroy me," commented Irving wryly, "I do not know what is."

More than 543,000 pounds (about \$841,650) was paid to defense experts and researchers for their testimony, reports and other help. Of this amount, Robert Jan Van Pelt received a staggering 109,244 pounds (\$169,330), while Richard Evans, a Cambridge University historian, was paid 70,181 pounds (\$109,482), and Peter Longerich received 76,195 pounds (\$118,102). In addition, courtroom lawyer (barrister) fees totalled some 509,989 pounds (\$790,482), of which Richard Rampton alone reportedly received half a million dollars.

Racist?

Responding to Judge Gray's finding that he is a racist, Irving said:

My own feelings about race are precisely the same as 95 percent of the people of my generation ... If the British soldiers on the beaches of Normandy in 1944 could look forward to the end of the century and see what England has become, they would not have bothered to advance another 40 yards up the beach.

But by any objective measure of the term, Deborah Lipstadt must herself be considered a "racist." As undisputed evidence presented during the trial established, she publicly opposes Jews marrying non-Jews, and supports discriminatory Jewish-Zionist supremacy in Israel.

Demonstrable Falsehoods

Even before the London trial, Lipstadt's career had been flourishing. In addition to her position as a professor of "Modern Jewish and Holocaust Studies" at Emory University in Atlanta, she recently served as an advisor to US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright. Now, in the wake of her London courtroom victory, this 53-year-old Jewish scholar-activist is being awarded an honorary doctoral degree by New York City's Yeshiva University for her "distinguished ... academic career and scholarship."

In fact, she is a sloppy academic — more polemicist than scholar. "I regard Deborah Lipstadt more as an ethnic activist than a scholar," said American professor Kevin MacDonald in his trial testimony. (See "An American Professor Responds to a 'Jewish Activist'," Jan.-Feb. 2000 *Journal*.)

Her *Denying the Holocaust* book is strewn with factual errors. In the London proceedings, Lipstadt and her lawyers made no effort to defend the more outrageous of her book's falsehoods about Irving. In addition, the book is littered with many other

demonstrably untrue statements. In her brief half-page discussion of Holocaust revisionism in Australia, for example, *Denying the Holocaust* contains several factual errors, as Australian civil rights attorney John Bennett has detailed. ("Lipstadt's 'Fine Scholarship,'" Nov.-Dec. 1993 *Journal*, pp. 48-49.)

A Threat to Historians

As Jewish writer D. D. Guttenplan pointed out in a recent *Atlantic Monthly* article on the Irving-Lipstadt clash, Jewish activist organizations such as the Anti-Defamation League have for decades routinely sought to stifle and punish historians — even such Jewish scholars as Raul Hilberg, Hannah Arendt and Arno Mayer — who deviate from the Jewish-Zionist "party line" on 20th century history. (*Atlantic Monthly*, Feb. 200, pp. 60-62.) As a result of such efforts, notes Guttenplan, "certain aspects of the Holocaust and its aftermath ... became not just controversial but unmentionable."

"It isn't only Holocaust deniers who twist facts [and] obscure the truth," he added. "Time and time again those who insist on the truth in all its 'complex, unsentimental,' paradoxical, and ambiguous detail are shouted down."

Now, in the wake of Irving's courtroom defeat, Jewish activists are more emboldened than ever to intimidate or smear dissident scholars, and otherwise rigorously enforce the prevailing Zionist dogmatism. "A judgment rendered against me," warned Irving in his Closing Statement, "will make this paralysis in the writing of history definitive ... Every historian will know that his critique needs to stop sharply at boundaries defined by certain authorities...."

He is not alone in sensing danger. "The news that David Irving has lost his libel case will send a tremor through the community of 20th-century historians," wrote John Keegan, a prominent and prolific British Second World War historian, and military affairs editor for the London *Daily Telegraph* (April 12).

Suggesting that Judge Gray could have ruled either way in the case, depending on his own basic attitude toward to the dispute, Keegan wrote:

For more than a year now, the gossip between them [historians] has been about whether he [Irving] would lose or not ... "It all depends whether the judge goes for Holocaust denial or slurs on the reputation," was the general view. "If the first he'll lose, if the second he might get away with it." What this insider talk meant was that Mr. Irving might well persuade the judge of the unfairness of Professor Lipstadt's accusations of his bad historical method ...

"... Nothing but trouble comes of taking sides over Irving," Keegan continued. "Decide against him, and his associates accuse one of prejudice Decide for him, and the smears start. I have written complimentary reviews of Irving's work as a military historian to find myself posted on the Internet as a Nazi sympathizer."

In spite of the opprobrium being heaped on Irving, Keegan had the courage to write:

... Mr. Irving's performance [in court] was very impressive. He is a large, strong, handsome man, excellently dressed, with the appearance of a leading QC ["Queens Counsel" lawyer]. He performs well as a QC also, asking, in a firm but courteous voice, precise questions which demonstrate his detailed knowledge of an enormous body of material ... His skill as an archivist cannot be contested."

... There are really two Irvings. There is Irving the researcher and most of Irving the writer, who sticks to the facts and makes eloquent sense of them. Then there is Irving the thinker, who lets insecurities, imagined slights and youthful resentments bubble up from within him to cloud his mind ... He has, in short, many of the qualities of the most creative historians. He is certainly never dull.

Prof. Lipstadt, by contrast, seems as dull as only the self-righteously politically correct can be. Few other historians had ever heard of her before this case. Most will not want to hear from her again. Mr. Irving, if he will only learn from this case, still has much that it interesting to tell us.

Donald Cameron Watt, another eminent British historian (author, for example, of the detailed study, *How War Came: The Immediate Origins of the Second World War*) echoed Keegan's assessment, specifically noting that historians are uneasy about the trial, that Penguin had been "out for blood," and that "the truth needs Irving's challenges to keep it alive." Remarking on the close scrutiny to which Irving and his writings had been subjected, Watt commented: "Show me one historian who has not broken out into a cold sweat at the thought of undergoing similar treatment."

"For what it is worth," Watt went on, "I admire some of Mr. Irving's work as a historian ... He has ... an encyclopedic knowledge of the truly enormous mass of German documentation ... No book of his has ever failed to come up with new evidence."

Keegan and Watt were not the only historians to reject the assertion loudly and repeatedly made by Lipstadt and Jewish activist organizations that Irving does not deserve to be regarded as a historian.

As Watt noted, a recent survey of leading American and British historians found that a "large majority" agreed that Irving is "a historian 'of repute'." Only "those who identify with the victims of the Holocaust" disagreed, added Watt. The eminent American scholar of German history, Gordon Craig (as well as British-American writer Christopher Hitchens) also hold that, in spite of his eccentricities and sometimes annoyingly contrarian views, Irving is an valuable historian.

John Charmley, one of Britain's finest younger generation historians, recently wrote to Irving: "... In the area I am competent to talk about, namely Churchill, although I don't always agree with your conclusions, I am always impressed by the rigor and range of your scholarship ... there are few historians with your record for turning up new and relevant documents."

Even Judge Gray expressed admiration for his ability as a historian and his skill in the court room. "As a military historian," declared Gray in his judgment,

Irving has much to commend him. For his works of military history Irving has undertaken thorough and painstaking research into the archives.... It was plain from the way in which he conducted his case and dealt with a sustained and penetrating cross-examination that his knowledge of World War Two is unparalleled. His mastery of the detail of the historical documents is remarkable. He is beyond question able and intelligent. He is invariably quick to spot the significance of documents which he had not previously seen. Moreover, he writes his military history in a clear and vivid style. I accept the favorable assessment by Professor Watt and Sir John Keegan of the caliber of Irving's military history ...

Implacable Hatred

As he entered the courtroom on April 11 to hear Judge Gray read out his ruling, enraged bystanders threw several eggs at Irving, one of which hit him. In his ruling, Gray seemed to excuse or justify just such incidents. "I can well understand too, that because of his perceived views, Irving and his family have from time to time been subjected to extreme pressure, for example, when his flat was besieged by rioters in 1994."

Much more ominous than the relatively harmless egg-throwing incident is the implacable hatred harbored by many Jews against Irving and all those who openly defy Jewish-Zionist interests. At a recent meeting in Los Angeles, Deborah Lipstadt called Irving "a contemporary Amalek," referring to the traditional biblical foe of the Jews. (*Jerusalem*

Post, May 2). Similarly, in an essay about the trial distributed worldwide by a major Jewish news agency, Rela Mintz Geffen, who teaches at Gratz College near Philadelphia, wrote: "Deborah Lipstadt's work reminds us, as the Torah does in its passage about Amalek, of the importance of memory. In my opinion, it is David Irving and his ilk who should beware." (JTA dispatch, March 21).

For devout Jews, such words are very serious. According to the Torah (Exodus 17:16, Deuteronomy 25:17, 1 Samuel 15:3-20), the Jewish god called on the ancient Hebrews to "smite Amalek, and utterly destroy all that they have, and spare them not; but slay both man and women, infant and suckling, ox and sheep, camel and ass." Accordingly, we are told, the early Jews "utterly destroyed all the people with the edge of the sword." Even today, Jews are admonished never to forget their emblematic enemy, and to wage "war with Amalek from generation to generation" — that is, forever. The inference some will surely (and reasonably) draw here is that Irving and "his ilk" deserve to be killed.

In this same spirit, a high-ranking Israeli government official has publicly suggested that "Holocaust deniers" deserve to be put to death. Rabbi Michael Melchior, Israel's Minister "for Israeli Society and World Jewish Communities," said that Judge Gray's judgment "delivered the message that Holocaust deniers should be regarded alongside the worst of the Nazis." (*London Times*, April 12) As the world knows, "the worst of the Nazis" were shot or hanged.

Another high-level Zionist official called for what amounts to a worldwide travel ban on anyone who publicly disputes Holocaust extermination claims. Israel's ambassador to Britain, Dror Zeigerman called on Australia and other countries to bar Irving and "other members of the Holocaust denial movement." (AAP dispatch, *The Australian*, April 13.)

While the judgment in the Irving-Lipstadt trial is certainly a heavy blow for Irving personally, it is only a temporary setback for the ultimately unstoppable march of revisionist scholarship. Irving's courtroom defeat and its resulting worldwide publicity underscore the vital importance of the work done by the Institute for Historical Review and by those heroic scholars who, at sometimes great personal cost, have been fighting for truth and accuracy in history — even its most politicized, emotion-laden chapters — and struggling against the efforts of those who, for whatever tribal or sectarian concerns, seek to stifle free historical inquiry.

David Irving's Final Address in the London Libel Trial

On March 15, 2000, British historian David Irving rose before the High Court of Justice in London to deliver his Closing Statement in a dramatic legal battle that had generated enormous media attention.

At the center of the case is a 278-page book by Jewish-American scholar Deborah Lipstadt, *Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory*, a detailed polemic against Irving and other revisionists who dispute familiar Holocaust claims. As the plaintiff ("claimant") in the case, Irving charged that Lipstadt and Penguin Books, the British publisher of *Denying the Holocaust*, had libeled him. (For more on this, see the Jan.-Feb. 2000 Journal issue, which includes extensive press reports and commentary on the trial. Extensive coverage of the case, including texts of important trial documents, can be found on Irving's web site: <http://www.fpp.co.uk>.)

Much of the grueling nine-week, non-jury trial dealt with such emotion-laden historical issues as Hitler's role in wartime Germany's "final solution" policies, and the evidence, or lack of it, for mass killings of Jews in gas chambers at Auschwitz-Birkenau. This historical debate is reflected in Irving's final address to the court, which differs markedly in tone and focus from his Opening Statement of January 11 (published in the Sept.-Dec. 1999 Journal, pp. 16-35).

At least as importantly, Irving's final address provides astonishing details of the concerted global campaign by Jewish organizations to destroy his career and silence him. He traces the secretive activities of this widely feared but little-understood international cabal.

In the defendants' final statement to the court, attorney Richard Rampton — who had spoken on behalf of Lipstadt and Penguin Books throughout the proceedings — echoed claims made at the outset of the trial. "As the evidence in this court has shown," he said, "Irving is a right-wing extremist, a racist and, in particular, a rabid anti-Semite." Rampton said that Irving had chosen "to prostitute his reputation as a serious historian ... for the sake of a bogus rehabilitation of Hitler and the dissemination of his virulent anti-Semitic propaganda."

Judge Gray largely agreed with the defendants, and his detailed judgment (made public on April 11) accordingly was a devastatingly severe condemnation of Irving. Understandably, the resulting worldwide jubilation by Lipstadt and her allies has

overshadowed the valuable evidence and arguments presented by Irving during the proceedings, and summed up eloquently in his Closing Statement. It is, therefore, all the more important that the text of this address be made widely available.

Here, then, is Irving's March 15 Closing Statement. (The original text, including reference notes, can be found on Irving's web site.) This text has been slightly edited for style. Deletions are indicated by ellipses. Brief explanatory or elucidating remarks have been added in brackets.

— The Editor

The Defendants in this action — the publisher Penguin Books, and the American scholar Deborah Lipstadt — have sought to cast this trial as being about the reputation of the Holocaust. It is not.

The world's press have also reported it in this way. Again, it is not.

This trial is about my reputation as a human being, as an historian of integrity, and — thanks to the remarks made by [defense lawyer] Mr. Rampton — as a father. The Defendants are saying, and have so convinced many people, that I am not entitled to continue to earn a living in the way that I have earned it for nearly 40 years. A judgment in my favor is no more than a judgment that disputed points which I have made about some aspects of the narrative are not so absurd, given the evidence, as to disqualify me from the ranks of historians. Under the laws of defamation in this country, it could not be anything else; nor must the defense team, no matter how powerful, or moneyed, or eloquent, or numerous, be allowed by their tactics to skew it in any other way.

I may add that the points I have made do not necessarily, lessen the horror or the burden of guilt. I always have accepted that Adolf Hitler, as head of state and government, was responsible for the Holocaust. I said, in the Introduction to my flagship biography, *Hitler's War*:

If this biography were simply a history of the rise and fall of Hitler's Reich, it would be legitimate to conclude: "Hitler killed the Jews." But my years of investigation suggested that many others were responsible, that the chain of responsibility was not as clear cut as that.



David Irving addresses an IHR meeting in southern California, September 7, 1996.

Nothing that I have heard in this Court since January 11 has persuaded me that I was wrong on this account.

These latter points lead to another consideration. Your Lordship will have heard of the — largely successful — effort to drive me out of business as a historian. This Court has seen the timidity with which historians have already been fraught once the Holocaust is questioned: one notable historian, ordered by summons to attend, showed himself reluctant even to confirm what he had written in my favor, repeatedly, over the last 20 years. A judgment rendered against me will make this paralysis in the writing of history definitive; from then on, no-one will dare to discuss who exactly was involved in each stage of the Holocaust, or how extensive it was. From then, on discussion will revolve around “safe” subjects — sacred texts in the Middle Ages, or Marx in the old USSR, or the Koran in a fundamentalist state today. Every historian will know that his critique needs to stop sharply at boundaries defined by certain authorities. He will have a choice: accept the official version, holus-bolus; or stop being a historian.

A judgment in my favor does not mean that the Holocaust never happened; it means only that in England today discussion is still permitted. My opponents would still be able, just as now, to pro-

duce other documents if they can; to expound alternative interpretations. They would be as free as ever to declare that they think I am wrong. They would be impeded in one way only: they would not be able to say in a loud and authoritative voice that I am not a historian, and that my books must be banned. As a result of my work (and of this case) the Holocaust has been researched more. Those who (rightly) believe that these crimes should never be forgotten should ask whether their case is battered by a compulsory — and dead — text imposed by law and intimidation, or by a live and on-going discussion.

Our Common Law has at its kernel an “adversarial” procedure whereby, it is believed, truth is best elicited by each side putting their case as strongly as possible. I agree with English Common Law.

I read in [the London daily] *The Independent*, in a lengthy and deeply libelous article published only last week, these words: “But if he wins, it will open the door for revisionists to rewrite any event in history without the requirement to consider evidence that does not suit them and without fear that they will be publicly denounced for their distortion.”

In bygone days, I venture to submit, such an article, published while an action was literally *sub judice* [under consideration by a court], would have been a clear contempt of Court. Your Lordship will have noticed that I wearied, after a few days, of drawing attention to the coverage of this trial. Allow me however to introduce one cautionary statistic: not including the fuss about the Eichmann manuscript, the British press have published no fewer than 167 reports during the seven days that I was on the witness stand, that is 24 per day; but just 58 reports during the 20 days when the boot was on the other foot and I was cross-examining Mr. Rampton’s witnesses, that is roughly three per day. That is a disparity of some eight to one against me. If Your Lordship has noticed any of these items, you will perhaps have observed that the reporting in both cases is almost exclusively devoted to the defense statements, or their questions to me, and not to the product of the examination. The Court however operates by different standards, and it will not allow public sentiment to guide its verdict. I believe it was Churchill who once said, “There is no such thing as public opinion, there is only published opinion.” Given such a baleful glare from the press gallery, My Lord, I am glad that Her Majesty has such a resolute officer presiding over this case. The outcome is in your hands, and ours alone, and I am confident that nothing that the Press has written, or may yet write, will deflect Your Lordship from arriving at a just conclusion.

The Defendants have sold around the world a book, *Denying the Holocaust*. May I say that I see here Penguin Books, to my sorrow, as they have published my own works in the past; but they are continuing even today to sell this book for profit, in the knowledge that it contains very defamatory allegations and that these allegations are held to be untrue. It is a reckless, even foolhardy posture.

Neither of these Defendants evidently bothered even to have the manuscript professionally read for libel. I say "evidently," because we do not know: they have not deigned to enter the witness box to answer even that straightforward and most elementary of questions. Nor have they answered this question when it was put to them in writing ...

Whatever other limited excuses — whether of sheer ignorance, or of innocent dissemination — that the publisher might have (quite wrongfully) deployed for publishing this malicious and deeply flawed work, these were destroyed from the moment when they received my writ in September of 1996, and were thus informed, if they did not in fact know already, of the nature and scope of the libels it contains. And, as said, they have continued to sell it, hoping no doubt to cash in on, to profit from, the notoriety gained by these libel proceedings, a textbook case of *Rookes vs. Barnard* if ever there was one, since the book they are selling still contains even the several libels which they have made no attempt here to justify.

They have to justify their allegations, or their defense fails; and as your Lordship is aware, where the defamations are particularly grave, a higher burden of proof falls upon them than the mere balance of probabilities that is normally acceptable. In both Defendants, moreover, there is clear evidence of malice, both in those few documents which the author of this work has disclosed, and in the fact that the same firm of publishers had previously distributed a work in which I was variously caricatured as Adolf Hitler, and wearing swastika eyeglasses.

The very worst of the libels are so blatant, that neither Defendant has insulted the intelligence of this Court by offering any justification for them. They hope instead to divert the court's attention by reference to distant and notorious matters of history. In consequence, for 30 days or more of this Court's time we have had to rake over the embers of what may be one of the greatest crimes known to Mankind: a harrowing, time-wasting, and needless effort, which has yielded even now few answers to great questions and mysteries which even the world's finest academics have so far not managed to unravel.

On page 14 of *Denying the Holocaust*, the Defendants published one of the gravest libels that can be

imagined for a respectable English citizen who lives a very public life, namely that I consort with the extremist anti-Semitic Russian group Pamyat, with violent anti-Israeli murderers, with extremist terrorists, and with Louis Farrakhan, a Black Power agitator who is known to be acting in the pay of a foreign power, namely the Libyan dictator. This is not just the simple allegation of associating with "extremists," about which they have made so much.

The words on page 14 are as follows — and I make no apology for reminding the Court of them:

The confluence between anti-Israel, anti-Semitic, and Holocaust denial forces was exemplified by a world anti-Zionist conference scheduled for Sweden in November 1992. Though cancelled at the last minute by the Swedish government, scheduled speakers included black Muslim leader Louis Farrakhan, Faurisson, Irving and Leuchter. Also scheduled to participate were representatives of a variety of anti-Semitic and anti-Israel organizations, including the Russian group Pamyat, the Iranian-backed Hezbollah, and the fundamentalist Islamic organization Hamas.

The whole statement was a reckless lie. It appears from their Discovery to have been based on a press release issued by the Jewish Telegraphic Agency (JTA), which neither that agency or the Defendants made any attempt to verify. The Court will have noticed in one of my bundles [of evidence] the letters which I sent to every Scandinavian embassy at the time, anxiously denying the malicious JTA allegation. I have pleaded, as Your Lordship is aware, that the innuendo was that I was

thereby agreeing to appear in public in support of and alongside violent and extremist speakers including representatives of the violent and extremist anti-Semitic Russian group Pamyat and of the Iranian-backed Hezbollah and of the fundamentalist Islamic organization Hamas and including the black Muslim minister Louis Farrakhan, born Louis Eugene Walcott, who is known as a Jew-baiting black agitator, as a leader of the US Nation of Islam, as an admirer of Hitler and who is in the pay of Colonel Muammar Gaddafi.

And

that the true or legal innuendo of the word "Hezbollah" is that used to refer to and describe a known international terrorist organization led by one Sayed Hassan Nasrallah from Beirut in the Lebanon also known as the Hezbollah whose guerrillas kill Israeli civilians

and soldiers thereby deliberately provoking retaliation, and which organization has been determined by President Clinton, at the international anti-terrorism conference in 1996, as being among the enemies of peace, and whose officials and armed activists are now being hunted down by ... the Israeli army.

As for the Hamas, I set out in paragraph 12 of my statement of claim that "the true or legal innuendo of the words 'Hamas' is that of an Islamic fundamentalist terrorist organization similar in nature to the Hezbollah."

In my pleadings, I also argued that by these allegations I had "been brought into hatred, ridicule, contempt, risk of personal injury, and/or assassination." The nature of the libel, and the damage that it caused, hardly need arguing in detail here. To put it in a domestic context, if the Defendants had equally untruthfully stated, for example on a Channel 4 television documentary, that I consorted with Ulster loyalist death squads who were part of a conspiracy to murder Roman Catholic nationalists, itself a grave accusation which also would put me at risk of assassination, and if the Defendants made no attempt to justify that libel, then I respectfully submit that Your Lordship would have no hesitation giving judgment in my favor. I submit that there is no difference between these examples.

The Defendants have relied however on Section 5 of the Defamation Act. In other words, they accuse a respectable Englishman of consorting with terrorists and murderers, and then plead the relative insignificance of the accusation when it turns out to be a reckless lie.

And there are other incendiary lies which they have stuffed into that particular sand-bucket, Section 5, in the hope that they will sputter out: the Defendants repeated the story — first published in *Izvestia* — that I placed a portrait of Hitler over my desk. For that lie too they have offered no justification. I read incidentally recently in *Literary Review*, January 2000, that Lloyd George had signed photographs of both Hitler and Mussolini on display. The only signed photograph in my apartment, as many journalists have observed, is one of Sir Winston Churchill.

I submit that Your Lordship should not accept the Defendants' contention that these allegations should be disregarded on the basis of Section 5. Even if they could sufficiently justify their claim that I deliberately bent history in favor of Hitler, and I submit that they have not, it would still "materially injure the plaintiff's reputation" (thus the wording of Section 5) to say that I had a portrait of Hitler above my desk. The claims which they do seek to justify suggest that I am culpably careless

and (perhaps unconsciously) sympathetic to Hitler; bad enough, but having a portrait over my desk implies a full-hearted, 100 percent conscious commitment to that man, which is very different.

I have provided to Your Lordship in one [evidence] bundle a number of passages quoted from A.J.P. Taylor's words. [British historian] Taylor himself accepted that they inevitably improved Hitler's image: maybe he did not originate the actual mass murders himself; maybe he did slip into war with Britain rather than planning it; maybe the *Anschluss* with Austria was more a stroke of good fortune, which he grasped, rather than long planned as a take-over; maybe the Nazis did not burn down the Reichstag in 1933. These views of Taylor have been criticized as being wrong, even as being too sympathetic to Hitler. But everybody would accept that to suggest that Taylor had a portrait of Hitler "over his desk" would suggest something far worse. So it should be for me too.

Again, for the purpose of Section 5, the allegation that I bend history in favor of Hitler because I am said to admire him, and that I consort with other people holding such views, is a very different kettle of fish from stating, as the Defendants do, that I consort with people who are widely regarded as violent and murderous terrorists. Indeed, the word used by the Defendants in the Hamas/ Hezbollah/ Pamyat context is "confluence," which suggests something even worse than "consort." The passage suggests that I provide support (maybe only theoretical support, but still support) for violence and murder — murder now and murder in the future. I ask therefore that Your Lordship not allow either of these matters to be discarded into Section 5.

My Lord, the Court will be aware that from the very outset I argued that this hearing should not, effectively, leave the four walls of my study, where I wrote my books; and that what happened 50 or 60 years ago was of less moment to the issues as pleaded. The matter at issue, as pleaded by the Defendants, is not what happened, but what I knew of it, and what I made of it, at the time I put pen to paper. To take a crude example: neglecting to use the Eichmann memoirs, released to us only a few days ago, had they contained startling revelations — which they did not — could not have been held against me because they were not available to me in the 1960s, 70s or 80s.

Your Lordship took a different view, and I respectfully submit that it was wrong. The Defendants have invested a sizeable fortune in re-researching the Holocaust, and possibly for that reason alone we have all been dragged through that vast and inhuman tragedy yet again, and quite needlessly in my submission. It would have sufficed for their purposes if they could have proved, on the

basis of the total disclosure of my files which I made to them and their experts, that I had indeed “distorted, misstated, misquoted, and falsified.” Fearing or finding, however, that they were unable to prove willful fraud, in effect, they have fallen back on the alternative plea in the tort of negligence: that “Mr. Irving ought to have known.” I respectfully submit that this unsubtle change of defense should not have been allowed to them, as it was not pleaded at the outset.

If my submission on the law is, however, wrong then Your Lordship must ask what effort would have been reasonable on the part of an individual historian, acting without institutional support like that of [the Israel government] Yad Vashem [center], and with the doors of archives increasingly being slammed against him because of the activities of the bodies to which I shall shortly refer. These Defendants have reportedly spent some six million dollars, and 20 man-years, or more, in researching this case: this blinding and expensive spotlight has been focused on the narrowest of issues, yet still it has generated more noise than illumination.

I heard the expert witnesses who were paraded before us use phrases like the “consensus of expert opinion” as their source so often — in fact the word

These Defendants have reportedly spent some six million dollars, and 20 man-years, or more, in researching this case: this blinding and expensive spotlight has been focused on the narrowest of issues, yet still it has generated more noise than illumination.

consensus occurs so far no fewer than 40 times in the daily transcripts of this trial — that I began to wonder what archives were for. I suggest that these experts were more expert in reporting each other’s opinions, and those of people who agree with them, than in what the archives actually contain — and do not contain.

The phrase “Holocaust Denier,” which the Second Defendant [Lipstadt] boasts of having invented, is an Orwellian stigma. It is not a very helpful phrase. It does not extend thought or knowledge on this tragic subject. Its universal adoption within the space of a few years by media, academia and government and even academics seems to indicate something of the international endeavor of which I shall make later mention. It is in my submission a

key to the whole case. Perhaps this Court should raise its gaze from the red and blue files and bundles for a brief moment, and re-read George Orwell’s brief appendix to *1984*, which seems to be very relevant to this case.

From the witness box, with its revelations of the “consensus of opinion,” “moral certainty,” and the mass male-voice choir of the “social sciences” or “social scientists,” on which the Defendants’ German expert Professor Hajo Funke [sociologist with the Free University in Berlin] relies for his certainty as to what is right-wing extremism, we seem to hear more than a vague echo of Orwellian Newspeak — a language that molds minds, and destroys reputations and livelihoods.

Orwell was however wrong in one point: he thought it would take the forces of the State to impose Newspeak: Professor Lipstadt and her reckless publisher, Penguin Books — I shall justify that adjective shortly — have sought to impose it through the machinery of the literary and media establishments. Only the Royal Courts or Justice, independent and proud, can protect the rights of the individual from now on. And those rights include the right, as Lord Justice Sedley recently put it in another Court in this same building, of any person to hold to, and to preach, unpopular views, perhaps even views that many might find repellent.

My Writings and Reputation as a Historian

I have not hesitated to stand in the witness box here, and to answer questions. Mr. Rampton rose to the occasion, and he — or indeed I — may yet regret it. Your Lordship will recall that when I brought a somewhat reluctant and even curmudgeonly Professor Donald Cameron Watt, doyen of the diplomatic historians, into the witness stand, he used these words:

I must say, I hope that I am never subjected to the kind of examination that Mr. Irving’s books have been subjected to by the Defense witnesses. I have a very strong feeling that there are other senior historical figures, including some to whom I owed a great deal of my own career, whose work would not stand up, or not all of whose work would stand up, to this kind of examination ...

When I invited him to mention some names, of course he declined. What he was saying was that whatever mistakes, or whatever unconventional interpretations of mine, the Defendants have revealed with their multi-million dollar research, this does not invalidate me as an historian, or my historical methods and conclusions.

Your Lordship will find that Professor Watt continued by suggesting that simply by facing the chal-

lenge of the views that I had put forward, “and basing them on historical research, rather than ideological conviction,” this had directly resulted in other historians devoting an “enormous burst of research” to the Nazi massacres of the Jews, an area which can in consequence now support journals and conferences. “This, I think, is a direct result of the challenge which Mr. Irving’s work [posed] and the consistency and the effort which he has put into maintaining it in public.” In other words, Watt stated that, far from being a “Holocaust denier,” my work has directly increased historical research into, and understanding of, the “Holocaust.”

Professor Eberhard Jäckel made the same controversial point in his essay in the book published by the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, namely that before my book *Hitler’s War* was published in 1977, there had been virtually no meaningful research into the tragedy at all. Professor Hans Mommsen, Professor Raul Hilberg, Professor Gordon C. Craig — all have more or less supported my claim to be regarded as a serious historian. The outcome of my research, my books, and my speaking is therefore that people in general are more, not less, aware of the horrors of the Holocaust, and they are certainly better informed.

One of the most damaging [of the defendants’] accusations is that the Plaintiff [Irving], driven by his obsession with Hitler, distorts, manipulates, and falsifies history in order to put Hitler in a more favorable light, thereby demonstrating a lack of the detachment, rationality and judgment necessary for an historian. I submit that in assessing whether I am an historian who “distorts, manipulates and falsifies,” Your Lordship should give most weight to my avowedly historical written works. I suggest that my speeches and the very occasional lapses of taste in them (Mr. Rampton has identified and mentioned, repeatedly, I think, three), are relevant purely as background material. Of those written historical works, I submit that your Lordship give most weight to my flagship work *Hitler’s War*. I ask that Your Lordship read (again, if Your Lordship has already done so) the Introduction to the 1991 edition: this was published well after the year when the Defendants (wrongly) assert that I “flipped over” to become what they call a Holocaust denier.

I have always differed from colleagues in my profession in insisting on using original documents, including where possible the authors’ drafts of books or memoirs rather than the heavily edited West German editions, later rewritings, or posthumous adaptations. I also make use of many more unpublished original documents than my historian colleagues. In the 1960s and 1970s this was more difficult than today.

I differ too from others, in making copies of the

original documents which I unearth freely available to others as soon as my own works are complete ... As page 14 of *Hitler’s War* shows, I donate these records regularly to publicly accessible archives, and I also make them available on microfilm. There are nearly 200 such microfilms, containing nearly half a million pages. I also devote time to corresponding with and assisting other historians and researchers. If, therefore, some of my interpretations are controversial, I also do all that is possible to let other people judge for themselves. This speaks strongly against the accusation that I distort, manipulate and falsify history.

On Hitler and the Holocaust I wrote [in *Hitler’s War*] the following words — after the time when I had supposedly become a Holocaust denier, obsessed with Hitler, and with exonerating him:

At page 2: “My conclusions ... startled even me. Hitler was a far less omnipotent Führer than had been believed ... His methods and tactics were profoundly opportunistic.”

At page 4: “... The more hermetically Hitler locked himself away behind the barbed wire and mine fields of his remote military headquarters, the more his Germany became a *Führer-Staat* without a Führer. Domestic policy was controlled by whoever was most powerful in each sector — by Hermann Göring ... Hans Lammers ... Martin Bormann ... Heinrich Himmler ...”

At page 17: “If this biography were simply a history of the rise and fall of Hitler’s Reich it would be legitimate to conclude: ‘Hitler killed the Jews.’ He after all had created the atmosphere of hatred with his speeches in the 1930s; he and Homelie had created the SS; his speeches, though never explicit, left the clear impression that ‘liquidate’ was what he meant.”

At pages 17-18: “For a full-length war biography of Hitler, I felt that a more analytical approach to the key questions of initiative, complicity and execution would be necessary. Remarkably, I found that Hitler’s *own* role in the ‘Final Solution’ — whatever that was — had never been examined.”

At page 18: “Every document actually linking Hitler with the treatment of the Jews invariably takes the form of an embargo.” (This is the famous “chain of documents,” and notwithstanding everything we have heard in Court I still adhere to this position.)

At page 19: “It is plausible to impute to him that not uncommon characteristic of heads of

state: a conscious desire 'not to know.' But the proof of this is beyond the powers of a historian."

At page 21: "... Dictatorships are fundamentally weak ... I concluded, the burden of guilt for the bloody and mindless massacres of the Jews rests on a large number of Germans (and non-Germans), many of them alive today, and not just on one 'mad dictator,' whose order had to be obeyed without question."

The similarity here with the thesis propagated by Dr. Daniel Goldhagen in his world-wide best-selling book *Hitler's Willing Executioners* will surely strike everybody in this Court. Allow me to rub this point in: What I actually wrote and printed and published in my "flagship study" *Hitler's War* was that Hitler was clearly responsible for the Holocaust both by being head of state, and by having done so much by his speeches and organization to start it off.

Where I differed from many historians was in denying that there was any documentary proof of detailed direction and initiation by Hitler of the mass murders. The view was considered to be heretical at the time. But this lack of wartime documentary evidence for Hitler's involvement is now widely accepted.

Indeed, on the narrower matter of the lack of wartime documentary evidence on "gas chambers," Your Lordship was already good enough to grant as follows, in an exchange [on February 15] with [defense witness] Professor [Richard] Evans:

Irving: If his Lordship is led to believe by a careless statement of the witnesses that there is a vast body of wartime documents, this would be unfair, would it not, because you are not referring to wartime documents? You are referring to post-war documents?

Evans: I am referring to all kinds of documents.

Irving: You are not referring to wartime documents?

Evans: I am referring to documents including wartime documents, the totality of the written evidence for the Holocaust, which you deny.

Irving: Are you saying there is a vast quantity of wartime documents?

Evans: What I am saying is that there is a vast quantity of documents and material for all aspects of the Holocaust.

Mr. Justice Gray: I expect you would accept, Professor Evans, just to move on, the number

of overtly incriminating documents, wartime documents, as regards gas chambers is actually pretty few and far between?

To summarize, in *Hitler's War* I differed from other historians in suggesting that the actual mass murders were not all or mainly initiated by Hitler. I pointed out that my sources were consistent with another explanation: A conscious desire "not to know." (I referred to a Richard Nixon kind of complex.)

I submit that I have not distorted, manipulated, and falsified. I have put all the cards on the table; I made the documents available to all comers, on microfilm and in the archives, and I have pointed to various possible interpretations.

I further submit that, while certainly "selling" my view, I have been much less manipulative than those historians, including some whom you have heard in Court, whose argument has in important part been simply this — that I ought not to be heard, because my views are too outlandish or extreme. Disgracefully, these scholars have cheered from the sidelines as I have been outlawed, arrested, harassed, and all but *vernichtet* [annihilated] as a professional historian; and they have put pressure on British publishers to destroy my works.

To assist Your Lordship in deciding how outlandish and extreme these views of mine are, I allow myself to quote from A. J. P. Taylor's *The War Lords*, published by Penguin — the First Defendants in this action — in London in 1978. Of Adolf Hitler he wrote (pages 55-57, 68-70):

... It was at this time that he became really a recluse, settling down in an underground bunker, running the war far from the front.

... He was a solitary man, though he sometimes accepted, of course, advice from others, sometimes *decisions* [my emphasis]. It is, I think, true, for instance, that the terrible massacre of the Jews was inspired more by Himmler than by Hitler, though Hitler took it up.

The following quotation is from the foreword ["Second Thoughts"] of A. J. P. Taylor's own flagship work, *The Origins of the Second World War*, [originally] published in 1963:

Little can be discovered so long as we go on attributing everything that happened to Hitler. He supplied a powerful dynamic element, but it was fuel to an existing machine ... He would have counted for nothing without the support and co-operation of the German people. It seems to be believed nowadays that Hitler did everything himself, even driving the trains and filling the gas chambers unaided. This was not



A. J. P. Taylor (1906-1990), one of Britain's most influential and controversial 20th-century historians, was noted for his non-conformist outlook, his flawless delivery as a public speaker and his clear, engaging writing style. Author of 28 books, his best known work was the 1961 revisionist study, *The Origins of the Second World War*, which was furiously attacked for supposedly "exonerating" Hitler.

so. Hitler was a sounding board for the German nation. Thousands, many hundred thousand, Germans carried out his evil orders without qualm or question.

What I wrote, with less felicity of style than Professor Taylor, was a reasonable interpretation of the information available to me at the time. I might add that my words are often accepted, quoted, and echoed by other historians far more eminent than I (including the government's Official Historians, like Professor Sir Frank Hinsley, in his volumes on British Intelligence). Some may regard my interpretations as not the most probable. But they are never perverse. For the Defendants to describe me as one who manipulates, distorts, and falsifies it would be necessary for them to satisfy Your Lordship that I willfully adopted perverse and ridiculous interpretations. I have not.

The Defendants' Historiographical Criticisms

I now turn to some of the particular matters which exercised Your Lordship, in the list of points at issue.

I trust that Your Lordship will bear in mind that the task facing a historian of my type — what I refer to as a "shirtsleeve historian," working in the field, from original records — is very different from the task facing the scholar or academic who sits in his book-lined study, plucking handy works of reference, printed in large type, translated into English, provided with easy indices, and often with nice illustrations too, off the shelves of a university library within arm's reach.

Your Lordship will recall that while researching the Goebbels diaries in Moscow during the first week in June 1992 I had to read those wartime Nazi glass microfiches through a magnifier the size of a nail clipper, with a lens smaller than a pea. [See D. Irving, "Revelations from the Goebbels' Diary," Jan.-Feb. 1995 *Journal*, pp. 2-17.] The Court will appreciate that reading even post-war microfilm of often poorly reproduced original documents on a mechanical reader is a tedious, time consuming, and unrewarding business. Notes have to be taken in handwriting, as there are no "pages" to be Xeroxed. In the 1960s Xerox copies were nothing like as good as they are now, as Your Lordship will have noticed from the blue-bound volumes brought in here from my own document archives. Mistakes undoubtedly occur: the mis-transcription of difficult German words pencilled in Gothic or Sütterlin-style script, a script which most modern German scholars find unreadable anyway; mistakes of copying; mistakes of omission (that is, a passage is not transcribed because at the time it appears of no moment). These are innocent mistakes, and with a book of the size of *Hitler's War*, currently running to 393,000 words, they are not surprising.

Your Lordship may recall one exchange I had with Professor Evans:

Irving: Professor Evans, when your researchers were researching in my files at the Institute of [Contemporary] History in Munich, did they come across a thick file there, which was about 1,000 pages long, consisting of the original annotated footnotes of *Hitler's War*, which were referenced by number to every single sentence in that book?

Evans: No.

Irving: It was not part of the published corpus. It was part of the original manuscript, but it was chopped out because of the length.

Evans: No, we did not see that.

Irving: Have you seen isolated pages of that in my *Discovery* in so far as it related to episodes which were of interest, like the *Reichskristallnacht*?

Evans: I do not, to be honest, recall, but that does not mean to say that we have not seen them.

Irving: You said that my footnotes are opaque because they do not always give the page reference. Do you agree that, on a page which we are going to come across in the course of this morning, of your own expert report, you put a footnote in just saying "See Van Pelt's report," that is, see the expert report by Robert van Pelt, and that expert report is about 769 pages long, is it not?

From this exchange it is plain that I was not just a conjurer producing quotations and documents out of a hat; I made my sources and references available in their totality to historians, even when they were not printed in the book.

The allegation that the mistakes are deliberate — that they are manipulations, or distortions, — is a foul one to make, and easily disposed of by general considerations. If I intended deliberately to mis-transcribe a handwritten word or text, I would hardly have furnished copies of the original texts to my critics, or published the text of the handwritten document as a facsimile in the same work (for example, the famous November 30, 1941, note [by Himmler of telephone conversations], which is illustrated as a facsimile in all [recent] editions of *Hitler's War*); or placed the entire collection of such documents without restriction in archives commonly frequented by critics.

And if I intended to mistranslate a document, would I have encouraged the publication of the resulting book, with the correct original quotation, in the German language, where my perversion of the text would easily be discovered? Yet, like all my others works, both *Hitler's War* and *Goebbels* have appeared in German-language editions with a full and correct transcription of the controversial texts. Is this is the action of a deliberate mistranslator?

As for the general allegation that the errors or exaggerations or distortions that were made were "all" of a common alignment, designed to exonerate Adolf Hitler, the test which Your Lordship must apply should surely be this: if the sentence that is complained of be removed from the surrounding paragraph or text (and in each book there are only one or two such sentences of which this wounding claim is made) does this in any way alter the book's general thrust, or the weight of the argument that is made?...

The allegation of the Defendants is that in order to "exonerate Hitler" I effectively concocted, or invented, a false version of events on *Kristallnacht*, namely that Hitler intervened between 1 and 2 a.m. [November 10, 1938] to halt the madness. I submit

that their refusal to accept this version is ingrained in their own political attitudes. There is evidence both in the archives, in reliable contemporary records like the Ulrich von Hassell, Alfred Rosenberg, and Hellmuth Groscurth diaries, and in the independent testimonies of those participants whom I myself carefully questioned, or whose private papers I obtained — Nicolaus von Below, Julius Schaub, Karl Wolff, and others — and which the Court has seen, to justify the version which I rendered. It was therefore not an invented story.

It may well be that my critics were unfamiliar with the sources that I used before they made their criticisms. The dishonesty lies not with me, for printing the "inside" story of Hitler's actions that night, as far as we can reconstruct them using these and other sources; but with those scholars who have studiously ignored them, and in particular the Rudolf Hess "stop arson" telegram of 2:56 a.m., issued "on orders from the highest level," which the Defendants' scholars have testified is a reference to Hitler.

Your Lordship may well have marvelled to hear the defendants' witnesses dismiss this message — like the Schlegelberger Document, referred to later — as being of no consequence.

The *Kristallnacht* diaries of Dr. Goebbels, which I obtained in Moscow in 1992, some years after I first drafted the episode, substantially bore out my version of events — namely that he, and not Hitler, was the prime instigator, and that Hitler was largely unaware and displeased by what came about. Your Lordship will recall that Professor Philippe Burrin, a Swiss Holocaust historian for whom all the witnesses expressed respect, comes to the same conclusion independently of me. Now, he is manifestly not a "Holocaust denier" either.

The Court will also recall that the Witness Evans admitted that, unlike myself, he had not read all through the available Goebbels diaries. He had not had the time, he said; and we must confess a certain sympathy with that position for an academic, time is certainly at a premium. Reading all of the available Goebbels diaries is, however, necessary, in order to establish and recognize the subterfuges that this Nazi minister used through his career as a diarist, in order to conceal when he was creating what I call alibis for his own wayward and evil behavior ...

There is no need to discuss here in detail my various narratives of the Nazis' shooting of Jews in the East. In my view, there is little dispute between the parties on what actually happened, and Your Lordship is aware that I have given these atrocities due and proper attention in the various biographies I have written; I would however add the one caveat, that they are not intended to be reference works on

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Herr Reichsminister Lammers teilte mir mit, der Führer habe ihm gegenüber wiederholt erklärt, daß er die Lösung der Judenfrage bis nach dem Kriege zurückgestellt wissen wolle. Demgemäß haben die gegenwärtigen Erörterungen nach Meinung von Herrn Reichsminister Lammers lediglich theoretischen Wert. Er werde aber auf alle Fälle dafür besorgt sein, daß nicht durch einen überraschenden Vortrag von anderer Stelle ohne sein Wissen grundsätzliche Entscheidungen gefällt werden.

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The "Schlegelberger note" generated heated discussion during the Irving-Lipstadt trial. This wartime memorandum was found after the war in the files of the Reich Justice Ministry. In the spring of 1942, State Secretary Franz Schlegelberger noted in this memo that Hitler's Chief of Chancellery, Dr. Hans Lammers, had informed him: "... The Führer has repeatedly declared to him [Lammers] that he wants to see the solution of the Jewish problem postponed until after the war." (This portion is shown here in facsimile.) Lammers confirmed the substance of this memo in postwar Nuremberg trial testimony. During the recent libel trial in London, David Irving argued that this document shows that the final destination of Europe's Jews was a matter that Hitler intended to deal with only after the end of the war. Judge Gray rejected this view, concluding that Irving had distorted or exaggerated the document's significance.

the Holocaust, but orthodox biographies.

I believe I was the first historian to discover and make use of the CSDIC reports relating further details of these killings, particularly the [General] Bruns Report, and I made them available to many other historians. (These are the British eavesdropping reports on German prisoners, using hidden microphones). It took many days to read them; there are thousands of pages in these files. Over the last 20 years I read these horrifying narratives out repeatedly to public audiences, including "right-wing" audiences. This fact alone entitles me to express my contempt at those who would term me a "Holocaust denier."

We have seen the Defendants scrabbling around at the end of the Bruns Report for its third-hand references by the SS murderer and braggart in Riga, Altemeyer, to an "order" he claimed to have received to carry out such mass shootings more circumspectly in future. But we know from the late 1941 police decodes — a much firmer source document than a snatch of conversation remembered years later, in April 1945 — precisely what orders had gone from Hitler's headquarters, radioed by Himmler himself, to the mass murderer SS *Obergruppenführer* Friedrich Jeckeln, stating explicitly that

these killings exceeded the authority that he, Himmler, himself had given, and by the *Reichssicherheitshauptamt* (RSHA) [Reich Security Main Office]. We know that the killings of all German Jews stopped at once, for many months.

When, in the 1970s, I first translated the word *Judentransport* (which can mean "transportation of Jews") as well as "transports of Jews," in the plural — being at the time unaware of the surrounding context of data which helps narrow the purport down to the one Riga-bound trainload from Berlin — I was thus inadvertently coming closer to the truth, not further from it: because the liquidation of all the trainloads from Germany was halted the next day, December 1, 1941, by the order radioed from Hitler's headquarters (whether initiated by Himmler or Hitler seems hair-splitting in this context) ...

Another most difficult piece of historical paper for my opponents is the Schlegelberger Document. In late March or early April 1942, after seeing Germany's top civil servant [Hans Lammers], who reported only to Hitler, Franz Schlegelberger dictated this famous memorandum, upon which all Holocaust historians, and the Defendants' expert witnesses in this case have hitherto turned enough

blind eyes to have won several battles of Trafalgar. For many years after the war it vanished: but that is another story.

Asked about this specific document after a lecture in the German Institute, here in London in November 1998, Dr. Peter Longerich, who is now the Defendants' expert witness, had the function's chairman rise to inform the audience that the speaker was not prepared to answer questions from David Irving.

It is a genuine document, referring in one breath both to Hitler and the "Solution of the Jewish Problem." Confronted with it in the witness box, he and his fellow experts have argued, either that it was totally unimportant; or that it concerned only the *Mischlinge*, the mixed race Jews, and not the Final Solution in any broader sense. Ingeniously, Dr. Longerich even tried to suggest that it originated in 1940 or 1941. The document has them in a breathless panic.

The document's own contents destroy their latter argument: In the first sentence, it says: "Mr. Reich Minister Lammers informed me that the Führer had repeatedly declared to him that he wants to hear that the Solution of the Jewish Problem has been adjourned [or postponed] until after the war." That this is the broader Final Solution is plain from the second sentence, which shows namely that the *Mischling* question was something different: "Accordingly," the memorandum continues, "the current deliberations have in the opinion of Mr. Lammers purely theoretical value." Those deliberations were, as my opponents themselves have argued, solely concerned with what to do with the *Mischlinge* and the like. The document is quite plain; and it was dictated by a lawyer, so he presumably knew what he was writing. There is no room for argument. My opponents have pretended for years that this document effectively does not exist.

I have dealt at length in my statements in the witness box, and while cross-examining the witnesses, with the other contentious items, namely the Goebbels diary entries for March 27 and May 30, 1942, the Himmler minute of September 22, 1942, and his note for his meeting with Hitler on December 10, 1942; meetings with Antonescu and with Horthy in April 1943; the deportation and murder of the Jews in Rome in October 1943, Himmler's speeches on October 4 and 6, 1943, and on May 15 and 24, 1944, and Hitler's speech on May 26, 1944, and Ribbentrop's testimony and evidence from his cell at Nuremberg. I contend that my use of these items was quite proper ...

As for the content of the Kurt [Hans] Aumeier dossier — his [postwar] manuscripts suggest, or confirm, the existence of limited-scale gassings at Auschwitz. The figures are unreliable, and many of

the other details conflict with those provided by the equally flawed writings of Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss. This is in my submission the most likely reason why the Defendants have not relied heavily on either source in their defense.

Nor for that matter have they made any use of the loudly trumpeted Eichmann memoirs prized out of the Israeli government archives [made public on February 29, 2000] — perhaps because in the entire document, although this former SS *Obersturmbannführer* is writing with brutal frankness, and describing the most appalling spectacles that he has seen, he does not refer even once to being shown a gas chamber during his official guided tours as "executioner in chief" of the Auschwitz and Birkenau camps ...

Hitler's Knowledge of the 'Solution of the Jewish Question'

This became the most controversial issue, both in this courtroom and stretching far back into my writing career; I wish, just because of this, that I had picked a different biographical subject.

Because of the inescapable conclusion — that Hitler had probably not ordered, or been aware until relatively late, of the ultimate fate of the European Jews — I forfeited, as my US agent predicted, perhaps half a million dollars or more of lucrative sub-licensing deals with major corporations — the *Reader's Digest*, paperback houses, reprints, *The Sunday Times*. After I completed a first draft of the book in about 1969-1970, I realized that there was this inexplicable — and unexpected — gap in the archives.

I hired a trusted friend, Dr. Elke Fröhlich of the [Munich] Institute for Contemporary History [IfZ], to go through all the then-available German archives again, with the specific task of looking for documents linking Hitler with the Final Solution. She did a conscientious and excellent job, working for me in the files of the Nuremberg state archives, the Institut für Zeitgeschichte [IfZ], the Berlin Document Center, the Bundesarchiv [German Federal Archives], and the military archives in Freiburg. Her resulting research materials, my correspondence with her, the index cards and photocopies, form a part of my Discovery in this action. It was she who produced for me for example the then-unpublished diary entry of Governor-General Hans Frank — actually a meeting transcript of December 13, 1941, currently being edited by her colleagues at the [Munich] Institute — to which I duly made reference.

I would incidentally rely on this episode as one further instance of my integrity as an independent historian: Inherently dissatisfied with the results of my own research, I hired and paid out of my own

pocket for this second opinion, as an *avocatus diaboli*, to trawl once more, and with a net of finer mesh, across the same fishing grounds for documents that might in fact destroy my, then still tentative, hypothesis. In a similar step, which I think I took to appease the now worried American publishers, I wrote in December 1975 to four or five of the major international Jewish historical research institutions, appealing for “evidence proving Hitler’s guilt in the extermination of the Jews.”

All of these inquiries by me drew a blank, except for one. As I summed up in a letter to *The Sunday Telegraph* on June 19, 1977, “... all offered their apologies, except Professor Raul Hilberg, author of the standard history on the subject, who honorably conceded that he too has come to the view that Hitler may not have known.” (His letter is in my *Discovery*). The other institutions stated that they had no such evidence, or they did not reply.

The International Endeavor to Destroy my Legitimacy as an Historian

Before I proceed to the problems with the accepted version of the history of Auschwitz, I turn first to the submissions that Your Lordship will allow me to make on the 30-year international endeavor by a group of organizations to destroy my legitimacy as an historian. I submit that I am entitled to draw these documents to Your Lordship’s attention, because these bodies, acting with that secret and common purpose, compiled dossiers and reports on me with the intention of destroying me. They did so exercising no proper care for accuracy; and, as is evident from the Second Defendant’s *Discovery*, and from the Introduction to her book [*Denying the Holocaust*] in which she explicitly acknowledges the assistance provided by many of these bodies, she drew upon these tainted wellsprings as the source for much of the poison she wrote about me.

We shall hear that, buried in the files of the Simon Wiesenthal Centre in Toronto, is a document, now also in Ms. Lipstadt’s files — they sent it to her — which forms something of a blueprint for the attempt to destroy my name. A researcher for the Centre, commissioned to investigate my life in detail, recommended in that compilation, after referring to my “thorough archival research” and “genuine historical insight” as follows: “Given this accurate version of reality, it is all the more clear why his activities must be curtailed, and why his [Irving’s] alleged legitimacy must be eradicated.”

I have been subjected since at least 1973, and probably before then, to what would be called in warfare a campaign of interdiction. I know of no other historian or writer who has been subjected to a campaign of vilification even one tenth as intense.

The book *Denying the Holocaust* was the climax of this campaign. There exist, as I said in my opening speech [published in the Sept.-Dec. 1999 *Journal*], various bodies in this country and around the world who have at heart the interests of special groups. I make no protest about that: but many other Englishmen have noticed, or found out, usually by chance, that these bodies keep files on us, which they use to our disadvantage if they believe we are a danger to their interests. Despite the best intentions of the Data Protection Act, it seems that we have no means of checking those files, or revising their content, let alone of cleansing them of libels. To give one particularly gross example: Under the cover provided by the United States First Amendment, the Jewish Telegraphic Agency accused me in 1995 of having supplied the trigger mechanism for the Oklahoma City bomb. That item was picked up by the American, and then faintly echoed by the British press. It was only months later that I found out who had started that lie.

But regrettably this has become a campaign to defame people whom they regard as a danger. A number of special bodies exist solely for this purpose. Some of them are listed on my website index as being “... some traditional enemies of Free Speech.” Professor Kevin MacDonald, of California State University-Long Beach, a sociologist who is the world’s leading expert on these things, expressed forceful opinions to this Court in his expert report [published in the Jan.-Feb. 2000 *Journal*] — on which he offered himself for cross-examination — and I urge Your Lordship not to disregard the substance of what he had to say.

These bodies will not endear themselves, if found out, to the victims of their campaigns.

Mr. Rampton made much of Mr. Ernst Zündel’s gross and ill-considered reference to the “*Juden-pack*” [“pack of Jews”] — as anti-Semitic a word as one might hear. In consequence, Mr. Rampton labels this man as an extremist and an anti-Semitic. The Court has been told nothing by Mr. Rampton of what, if any, remarks, or incidents, preceded the outburst by Mr. Zündel. We do know, and I can so inform this Court, that his home [in Toronto] has been attacked and torched. Such violent incidents certainly cannot excuse the violent remarks; but they can explain them.

Because they don’t like what he writes or publishes, these bodies have attempted to destroy his life with criminal prosecution in an attempt to have him deported or jailed. They have failed, and Canada’s highest Court has ruled that he is free of any criminal taint. Your Lordship may consider that this finding by a judicial body has some bearing on the label of extremism. Quite probably as the direct result of these bodies’ agitation against him, he was

subjected to violent assault. He was sent a large parcel bomb which the [Canadian] RCMP police authorities took away and detonated. The instigators were a British Columbia group of “anti-fascists.” Mr. Zündel ought not, of course, to have used such an expression. Apart from anything else, his opponents are not Jews in general, but self-appointed bodies of would-be censors. The Court will readily accept that I — Mr. Zündel is not the claimant here — have not used such language in all the thousands of pages, videos, and recordings which I have readily disclosed.

My own experience at the hands of these self-appointed censors has not been so very different. It began in 1963 when agents of *Searchlight* [a British “anti-fascist” periodical] raided my home and were caught red-handed in this criminal attempt. Ever since then that publication has tweaked my tail with a stream of defamatory articles: a 37-year onslaught, to which I as a good Christian turned the other cheek. After ten years this campaign had begun to threaten my livelihood.

Lord Weidenfeld, one of my favorite publishers — he published no fewer than three of my major works, including my best-selling *Rommel* biography — was the first publisher, first of a long and illustrious line, to come under clandestine pressure to tear up his publishing contract with me because my books offended these special-interest groups. He told me at the Frankfurt Book Fair on October 13, 1973, that “he had cancelled the book [*Hitler’s War*] under extreme outside pressure, he said, from officials of Zionist groups, and representations made by certain embassies.”

It might be said that the real Defendants in this case are not represented in this Court, but their presence has been with us throughout. These are the people who commissioned the work complained of, and provided much of the materials used in it. I understand they have provided considerable funds for the defense — I am talking primarily of the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League [ADL] of B’nai B’rith, a long-established American body.

I know very little about the former body, but I am aware that the latter [the ADL] has a \$50 million annual budget, substantially greater than an



Kevin MacDonald

author commands whose livelihood has been destroyed by their activities. When your Lordship comes to such things as costs and damages, I would respectfully submit that you bear these things in mind.

We have them to thank for the spectacle that has been presented in this courtroom since January. Without their financial assistance, it is unlikely that Mr. Rampton and his defense team and his instructing solicitors could have mounted this colossal onslaught on my name. One day in 1998 I was shown a letter written that morning by Mr. Julius [attorney for Lipstadt] to some of the country’s richest men, inviting them to bankroll this action. It had chanced into our hands. That is the other side of a piece of legal coinage that has recently come back into currency — champerty and maintenance. For over three years this well funded team sitting opposite me has drilled down deep into my private papers and burrowed on a broad front into the archives of the world, on a multi-pronged attack — trying to establish that what I have written over the last 35 years is distorted or mistranslated in pursuance of an agenda (namely the exoneration of Adolf Hitler); and trying to dig up every little morsel of dirt on me that they can.

My book *Hitler’s War* was published by the Viking Press in New York in April 1977, and by Hodder & Stoughton in this country in June of that year. What can be seen as a coordinated attack on the book began. The Viking Press was one of that nation’s most reputable publishers (and is now owner of the First Defendant company [Penguin]). Public attacks on the book in the press were concerted, with clandestine attempts to have my book squelched and me, as its author, ostracized.

The Anti-Defamation League (or ADL) — a body which turns out to have been closely in league with the Second Defendant [Lipstadt] in the current action — did what it could to disrupt my USA lecture-circuit and television tour promoting the book. The ADL had its Washington branch put pressure on the Channel 5 television network that was to carry a “Panorama” interview with me: we are rather well informed about how this American lobby of bigots carries out its duties, and I reproduce these extracts of its secret internal report on its efforts. Hearing of the booking for me to attend the program, the local ADL agent reported to headquarters: “As a consequence, I arranged with the show’s producer to place on the same show in a debate posture my associate, Randy Koch, which airing took place on April 18, 1:00 to 1:30 p.m. A cassette of the show is being sent to you under separate cover for your advice and analysis.” They added: “The following information is provided to you so that in addition to the cassette you may better appraise Irving’s

knowledgeability and toughness as an adversary in conjunction with ADL's "problems with him."

What were the ADL's "problems" with me, one wonders? I had had no dealings with them whatsoever. If we had been able to cross-examine Professor Lipstadt, we might have asked her, since her own *Discovery*, limited though it is, shows her to have been in cahoots with them.

With more fervor than accuracy, the ADL report continues with the remarkable disclosure:

David Irving is the *nom de plume* of John Cawdell, a revisionist historiographer of Adolf Hitler, particularly regarding Hitler's role in and knowledge of the mass extermination of European Jewry. His major premise is that Hitler was largely oblivious to the large-scale killing of Jews in the death camps. He alleges and underscores the lack of historical evidence in documentation form that will show any orders from Hitler to Himmler, Heydrich or others. Irving further maintains that no direct documentation exists of Hitler giving orders to liquidate Jews ...

The agent's report continues that the book [*Hitler's War*] is a work of over 900 pages, including 100 pages of footnotes. "It would appear from the quantity of research and time that Irving put into the work that the author appears knowledgeable and expert in subject area." The cause for ADL concern then follows:

My monitoring of the aforementioned telecast leads me to conclude that Irving comes through as an extremely knowledgeable and tough adversary although he is extremely defensive in debating his latest work ... I see no problem in our joining in debate situations with him provided our proponent does sufficient homework.

The report adds that they had questioned a local [Jewish] Board member, identified as James Jacobs, an atomic scientist who had allegedly befriended me when I was researching my book *The Virus House*, the history of the German atom bomb project. While I have to confess that I have no memory of that man, the 1977 report adds: "Jacobs states that Irving is definitely not anti-Semitic, that he is an excessive Germanophile ..."

This was no doubt an accurate report on my private conversations with the man. [The ADL agent's report continues:]

According to Jacobs, Irving is extremely thorough in his research and cites in this connection an inordinate amount of time spent by him in the United States going over the German

archives reports and time spent in discussions with eminent authorities in the field covering associate matter concerning Irving's writings. Jacob's appraisal concurs with mine that as a consequence of the foregoing, Irving does make a tough adversary.

The report concludes that Jacobs would "co-operate with you" — the addressee, evidently the ADL's London friends, the Board of Deputies [of British Jews], "in any way he can to further assist you in your appraisal."

When I then began my lecturing activities around the USA in the early 1980s, speaking at private functions, schools, and universities, the ADL headquarters sent out a secret circular, a "Backgrounder," to all their local agents. The backgrounder, dated July 6, 1983, began with the words: "British author David Irving has been of concern to ADL, as well as to the Jewish community generally, since the 1977 publication of his book *Hitler's War*," and it indicated that it was the controversy over Hitler and the Jews that was the reason. We have heard of similar such circulars being generated by them on other famous literary names, for example the *Daily Telegraph* writer Auberon Waugh, and Noam Chomsky, who though an eminent Harvard professor also found mysterious problems in getting material published. In my case the ADL instructed its "regional offices": "Should he [Irving] surface in your region, please notify the Fact Finding Department and your Civil Rights Coordinator."

It is quite plain that the ADL were not concerned with promoting civil rights, but in abrogating one of the most basic rights of all, the right to freedom of speech.

The circular about me was so defamatory and untrue that after a copy was passed to me I sent a written warning on October 15, 1983, to the then director of the ADL in New York to desist from spreading what I referred to even then as this "libelous garbage." I warned that I had prevailed in a number of defamation actions in the German law courts enforced against provincial newspapers, political groups, and trades unions, including the giant [German labor union] IG Metall, and that other people who innocently spread such legends, including the Israeli author Ephraim Kishon, had preferred to apologize to me in writing for mistakenly giving currency to such smears. The ADL did not reply, and they continued their illiberal campaign against me.

Correspondence with my literary agent showed by 1984 already that the international smear campaign was inflicting financial damage on me. It was at precisely this time, 1984, that the Second Defendant [Lipstadt], then teaching in the Near Eastern

Languages Center of the University of California at Los Angeles, offered her services to Yehuda Bauer in Jerusalem. She attached "A Proposal for Research: The Historical and Historiographic Methodology of the Holocaust Revisionists." I ask Your Lordship to note that on page 38 of this synopsis the Second Defendant mentioned my name in these words: "They [deniers] also find it expedient to associate themselves with those such as David Irving *who do not deny that the Holocaust took place* but seek to shift the blame to others." (My added emphasis).

To conclude this, on the matter of her employ-

In short, there was and is a hidden network of Orwellian organizations determined to ensure that no version of history of these matters of which they disapproved was given currency, or indeed allowed to survive.

ment: on May 31, 1988, she was awarded an additional \$16,000 agreement for research on this topic by the Vidal Sassoon Center for the Study of Anti-Semitism at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. This research, it should be added, was what finally bore fruit as the book complained of, *Denying the Holocaust*. The publisher at that time was to be Robert Maxwell, who was liaising with Professor Yehuda Bauer.

During this period the international campaign against me achieved some ugly successes. Through their Vienna collaborators, the Documentation Archive of the Austrian Resistance [DÖW], a recognized Communist-front organization, they prevailed upon Austria's Interior Minister, Karl Blecha, to have me illegally deported in June 1984. In July 1986 after an appeal by myself this was overturned, and Austria was ordered to pay me compensation. I have to admit that as a writer I was not prepared for this kind of campaign. I do not expect that any of the expert witnesses we have seen have ever had to experience anything like it.

When I toured universities and other speaking venues in Australia and New Zealand in 1986 and again in 1987, I learned that every organizer, every television producer had received an information pack from the ADL; and that every university library had received a letter from the corresponding Australian body pleading with them to take my books off the shelves. This may remind Your Lordship of where Professor Evans said he found my

book hidden in the British Library.

In short, there was and is a hidden network of Orwellian organizations determined to ensure that no version of history of these matters of which they disapproved was given currency, or indeed allowed to survive; the alternative history should be destroyed, its publishers ruined, and the writers themselves *ausgerottet* [eradicated].

The Second Defendant's Discovery, which includes such correspondence with, and items from, ADL as she [Lipstadt] has seen fit to provide, throws some interesting lights on the ADL's methods. When a local newspaper, *The Daily Pilot*, published in [Costa Mesa/Newport Beach] Orange County, south of Los Angeles, reported a function of the Institute for Historical Review (the IHR), the ADL was horrified, as the ADL regional office reported, to find that the reporter, "seems to find an air of legitimacy surrounding the group." The reporter, Bob Van Eyken, who evidently had not gotten the message, even described the IHR members [at the 9th IHR Conference, February 1989] as "neatly dressed ... evok[ing] a sense of reasoned dignity." This clearly clashed with the skinhead, jack-booted, extremist stereotype that the ADL, like the expert witnesses in this case, wished to project for the IHR and other "right-wing" groups. This material, though clearly discoverable in this action, was withheld from Discovery by the Second Defendant until a summons was issued to produce all her correspondence with the ADL.

We know that the Second Defendant [Lipstadt] has had extensive dealings with the ADL. Even from her own limited Discovery, about the deficiencies in which I shall have to say more later, we know that she was provided with smear dossiers by them. She thanks them in her introduction [to *Denying the Holocaust*]. She made no attempt to verify the contents of this material with me (or so far as this Court knows, with others), but recklessly published it raw and unchecked. A 25-cent phone call to me would have saved her endless trouble. Instead she preferred to rely on smear sheets like the "confidential" and defamatory four-page item dated October 23, 1986, headed: "Profile on David Irving," evidently supplied to her by a Canadian body. Characteristically, the "profile" was disclosed to me by her solicitors without any covering letter from its author or custodian and shorn of any identifying material; I wrote more than once in vain asking for missing pages to be provided.

It is quite evident that the ADL set itself the task of destroying my career, in concert with other similar organizations around the world, many of whom, if not all, collaborated with the Second Defendant in writing her book. The pinnacle of their achievement came in 1996, when the Second Defendant, as she



David Irving with Spanish publisher Pedro Varela at a protest demonstration on October 3, 1989, in front of Berlin's SFB radio station. In November 1998 Varela was sentenced to five years imprisonment for distributing revisionist publications. A terrorist mob attacked his Barcelona bookstore on January 16, 1999, destroying property and burning books. (See "Spanish Court Sentences 'Thought Criminal'," Nov.-Dec. 1998 *Journal*, pp. 21-23, and, "Free Speech Victory in 'Holocaust Denial' Case," March-April 1999 *Journal*, pp. 29-31.)

herself boasted to *The Washington Post*, was among those who put pressure on St. Martin's Press, who had been one of my US publishers for some 15 years, to violate their publishing agreement with me and [in April 1996] abandon publication of *Goebbels: Mastermind of the Third Reich*.

For a few days, these enemies of free speech stepped up the pressure. They publicized the private home addresses of St. Martin's Press (SMP) executives on the Internet. They staged street demonstrations in Manhattan. They organized a walk-out by SMP staff. When SMP refused to be intimidated, Lipstadt wheeled out the rhetoric: To Frank Rich, a columnist of *The New York Times*, she accused me of being a repeat killer: "What David Irving is doing ... is not the destruction of live people, but the destruction of people who already died.

It's killing them a second time. It's killing history" [*New York Times*, April 3, 1996.] This was not far distant from the outrageous claim on page 213 of her book, to which no justification has been pleaded, that I justified the incarceration of Jews in Nazi concentration camps. Quoted by *The Washington Post* on April 3, 1996, Deborah Lipstadt stated:

They say they don't publish reputations, they publish books. But would they publish a book by Jeffrey Dahmer on man-boy relations? Of course the reputation of the author counts. And no legitimate historian takes David Irving's work seriously.

We have heard quoted in this Court two tasteless remarks I am recorded as having made, about Chappaquiddick and about the Association of Spuri-

ous Survivors, and I do not deny that those words were tasteless. But bad taste is not what is in the pleadings, while express malice is: and the odiousness of Professor Lipstadt's comparison, in a mass circulation newspaper of record, of a British author with Jeffrey Dahmer, a madman who had recently murdered and cannibalized a dozen homosexuals in the mid-West of the USA, is surely compounded by the fact that Lipstadt had at that time not read a single book I had written, let alone the manuscript on Dr. Goebbels that she had joined in trying to suppress. It is clear that neither she nor the ADL was concerned with the merits, or otherwise, of the *Goebbels* biography. They wanted it put down, suppressed, *ausgerottet*: and me with it.

Having, like St. Martin's Press, thoroughly read it, the major US publisher Doubleday had selected this book as their May 1996 choice for History Book of the Month. But that deal depended on the SMP contract, and thus it too collapsed. The financial losses inflicted on me by this one episode in April 1996 were of the order of nearly half a million dollars (\$312,500), which might seem proper reward for the eight years' hard work that I had invested in writing this book, and hauling it through its five draft versions.

From the publication of *Hitler's War* onwards, the attitude of the print media to me changed. A strategically placed review written in one afternoon, by one man furnished with the appropriate dossier on me, could go a long way to destroy the product of six or eight years' research. That was why these dossiers had been created.

To the right journalists or writers, such as the Second Defendant, these dossiers were on tap. A fax from Professor Lipstadt to the Institute of Jewish Affairs in London, or to the ADL in New York, or to the Simon Wiesenthal Centre in Toronto, released to her a cornucopia of filth, which she had no need to double-check or verify, because in the United States such writings are protected by the authority of the First Amendment to the US Constitution, in the laudable name of the freedom of speech, or by the authority of *New York Times vs. Sullivan*, which effectively declares to libelers that it is open season on any public figure.

Thus my book *Uprising*, on the Hungarian uprising of 1956, published in 1981 by Hodder & Stoughton, was savaged by certain reviewers: Neal Ascherson, Arthur Koestler and others disliked it. Ion Trewin, then that firm's chief (and now head of Weidenfeld) wrote to me: "I must say I'm rather shocked by the abuse leveled at you from certain quarters — the obvious liberal ones of course." And Penguin Books, now Defendants in this action, wrote to me, "Criticism may have been occasionally necessary, but venom, though to be expected, was

not called for." (Had that same firm remembered that dictum 15 years later, we should not be here today).

This unfair attack on my works was a source of great concern to me. Reviews are an author's life blood, but the trend of lying reviews continued. When *The War Between the Generals* (the Eisenhower and Montgomery story) was published in New York in 1981, one review in *The New York Times* on March 8 of that year by John Lukacs, to which I referred in Court, sank the book without trace, and in fact destroyed the highly reputable American publisher, a close personal friend of mine, too. I will not weary the Court with the precise mechanism by which one such review can inflict so much damage, but such is the power of the press.

Whenever I now appeared in the United States to lecture, there were well-orchestrated tumults. Well-meaning bodies were tricked by the vile propaganda into organizing against me. At the University of California at Berkeley there was violence on October 14, 1994, encouraged openly by the "Hillel" [Jewish campus organization] in conjunction with the Marxist and Spartacist organizations — they boasted about this to the campus newspapers — which the campus and city police forces were quite unable to control. One building was comprehensively wrecked, with tens of thousands of dollars of damage being done and several elderly members of my audience hospitalized.

This Court will surely not take it amiss of me that I refused to be intimidated by these truly "Nazi" methods, and that I have on a very few occasions used perhaps tasteless language about the perpetrators. The violence spread around the world, and always it was orchestrated by the same organizations.

It would be otiose to list them all here. Some of them [have been] ... On November 5, 1989, the Israelite Community of Vienna, Austria, called for violent action to stop me speaking in that city. I initiated police prosecution of the leader of the Community for his public incitement to violence.

In 1990 the two Canadian bodies, the League of Human Rights of the B'nai B'rith Canada and the Canadian Jewish Congress, announced that they were to "monitor" my tour of that country. "Monitoring" turns out to be euphemism for a campaign of letters, pressure, and threats of violence and commercial pressure against hotels, halls, and lecture-theatres that had been hired, and against which every body, student society, military institute, or group that had invited me to speak. Attempts to force the prestigious Ottawa Congress Center to violate its contract failed, resulting in a violent demonstration organized by the same two bodies. One such letter came into my hands, from the League of

Human Rights of the B'nai B'rith Canada to an Ottawa restaurant owner written in September 1991. Its content, which I shall not quote here — it is in the evidence before Your Lordship — shows clearly the methods used to get hall owners to violate their contracts. They did this to us, acting as Jews; if we had done the same to them, as Jews, the uproar would have been intense.

To a visiting lecturer and writer like myself, a guest in their countries, finding myself up against powerful and wealthy political lobbies, the situation was deeply disturbing. My livelihood and personal safety were at stake, but I was determined not to be browbeaten or defeated. Seen from the outside, at first this campaign, this huge international endeavor against me, appeared to be coincidental; but eventually it began to bite. Perhaps publishers are made of less stern stuff than myself. After Andrew Lownie, my new UK literary agent, wrote warning me that four major UK publishers “just do not want to be associated” with me, on November 30, 1990, I wrote expressing astonishment and concern at how rapidly this situation had developed, and stating: “I have begun to suspect a concerted effort ... to rob me of my publishing basis, not just in the UK but worldwide.”

In England a parallel campaign was launched by the [Jewish] Board of Deputies, and by other organizations which we know to have collaborated with the Defendants in producing this libelous book. This had kicked into high gear after my own imprint [Focal Point] published an abridged edition of the Leuchter Report in June 1989. Pressure was put on the World Trade Centre in the City of London to repudiate our contract for the press conference. A picket was staged outside our front door to prevent journalists from attending when the conference was switched to my own home. The Board arranged an early day motion in the House of Commons, as a privileged way of publishing a smear on my name. On June 30 of that year the *Jewish Chronicle* revealed that representations had been made to my principal British and Commonwealth publisher, Macmillan, to drop me as an author.

Macmillan had already published several of my books, and were under contract to publish several more. I had no fears that they would succumb to this intimidation. They had informed me that *Hitler's War* was running so successfully that they intended to keep it permanently in print. I am entitled to mention this background, as I have mentioned the Board's other clandestine activities against me, because it was said by Mr. Rampton that I later made one public tasteless remark (in October 1991) about the Board of Deputies. If somebody attacks, using secretive and furtive means, the very basis of the existence of my family then it may be at least

understandable that I speak ill of them.

It is worth mentioning that when I invited Mr. Leuchter privately to address my Clarendon Club at Chelsea Town Hall in November 1991, the [Jewish] Board tried strenuously to have him gagged. They just do not understand the word “debate.” They piled pressure onto Kenneth Baker, then the Home Secretary, to stop him coming, and Ben Helfgott of the Holocaust Education Trust, of whom we will shortly hear more, threatened in July 1991 that “violence would greet the revisionists if they were allowed in.” Secretly, on July 17, 1991 — 50 years to the day after Hitler granted police powers to Himmler in the occupied Soviet Union — the Board of Deputies wrote to the president of Germany's Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution (BfV), a body of which we have heard greatly admiring words from [defendants' witness] Professor Funke; this English Board urged that they take steps to stop me, a British citizen like no doubt the members of the Board, from entering Germany.

Germany is a country on whose publishers and archives I have been heavily dependent, as the Court is aware. We have only the BfV's reply, dated August 9, 1991, to Neville Nagler of the Board of Deputies. I retrieved a copy of this letter from the files of the Prime Minister of Australia; so the same Board, in London, had evidently also secretly sent its dossiers to its collaborators in Canberra, and no doubt other countries, in its efforts to gag me worldwide. That is an indication of the world-wide networking that went on, this secret common enterprise, this frantic international endeavor to destroy my legitimacy as an historian and to deprive me of free speech, of which the Defendants have made themselves the willing executioners.

As is evident from a letter from the Austrian ambassador dated June 22, 1992, the Board also applied pressure on that country to ensure that I did not enter, or that I was to be arrested if I did. The equivalent Argentinean body, the DAIA, launched a well coordinated smear on me when I arrived in Argentina in October 1991 to lecture, in Spanish and German, on historical themes at universities and to private associations. When the DAIA headquarters building was blown up with heavy loss of life a few months later, it now was inevitable that my name would be linked with that outrage too, and my Argentinean publisher was obliged in consequence to abandon its contracts with me, as they revealed privately in a letter to me. (Four years later the similar lie was circulated that I was directly involved in the Oklahoma City bombing.)

These tides of hatred and suppression lapped at the doors of my London publishers. On November 27, 1991, a note appeared in the internal files of my

publisher Macmillan, listing the remaining stocks of my books and the current contract positions. This was an ominous sign. In another internal Macmillan memorandum, editor-in-chief Alan Gordon Walker stated to his editors, "We will not publish Irving again." I was not told this; in fact my own editor there continued to write oleaginous letters to me, as they were waiting for the *Goebbels* biography which they had paid for, and which was under contract.

What had happened meanwhile? Firstly, I had established my own publishing imprint which was capable of producing a better quality of book than Macmillan was currently achieving, while using the same printing firm in Somerset. The new omnibus edition of *Hitler's War*, published in November 1991, was one of its first products. This was just as well. On December 6, 1991, an Internal Office Memo from Macmillan's files records that "quite a number of people" had commented unfavorably to Macmillan's about them publishing my books, and one person, an unnamed "Oxford Professor of Politics," who had evidently learned nothing from the book burning episodes of Nazi Germany, stating "that they would be more inclined to publish with us [Macmillan] if we were not publishing Irving." (The Oxford professor of politics was probably Peter Pulzer, identified by Lipstadt in her book as such and quoted by *The Independent* at the time).

This campaign had been coordinated by the Board of Deputies. In some of its members, it seems that the illiberal spirit of Dr. Goebbels lived on behind the Board's facade. Meeting behind locked doors at their headquarters on December 12, 1991, a body identified as the "Education and Academic Committee" of the Holocaust Educational Trust, registered as a charitable body, had a conference on several matters, of which one point specifically indicated that those present, including Mr. Helfgott, were searching for ways to silence my publications. After this meeting, minutes were written, including this point 6:

David Irving: Concern was voiced over the publication of the 2nd edition of *Hitler's War*. There was debate over how to approach Macmillan publishers over Goebbels diary. It was agreed to await new[s] from Jeremy Coleman before deciding what action to take.

We know more of this meeting from the statement to this Court by my witness Dr. John Fox, who was present at this cabal in his capacity as editor of *The British Journal of Holocaust Education*. He testifies:

As an independently-minded historian, I was affronted by the suggestion concerning Mr.

David Irving ... At a certain point in the meeting, attention turned to the subject of Mr. Irving and reports that the publishing company of Macmillan would be publishing his biography of Joseph Goebbels. Mr. Ben Helfgott, the Chairman of the main United Kingdom Yad Vashem Committee, spoke about how that publication by that publishing firm might be stopped. Mr. Helfgott then turned to me, the only non-Jew present at the meeting, and suggested that "John could approach Macmillan to get them to stop publication."

I refused point-blank to accede to that suggestion, arguing that in a democracy such as ours one simply could not do such a thing. That amounted to censorship, especially since nobody present had the least idea what Mr. Irving's biography of Goebbels would contain. For me, such attempted censorship was totally unacceptable. I said that if people did not like what Mr. Irving wrote, the time to respond to him was when anything was actually published. I — and to their credit, at least two other (Jewish) committee members — rejected Mr. Helfgott's proposal out of hand.

Nevertheless, as the Committee minutes make it clear, it was planned by some to consider further action about how best to scupper Mr. Irving's publishing plans with Macmillan.

The clandestine pressure on Macmillan's began at once. My editor at Macmillan's, Roland Philipps, who had married the new Managing Director Felicity Rubinstein, noted in an internal memo of January 2, 1992, that they should reassure prospective authors that they had turned down many other book proposals from me, and had no plans to continue publishing me after *Goebbels*. It was not the bravest of postures to adopt, this Court might think. "If this helps you to reassure any prospective authors we are happy for you to say it (although not too publicly if possible)." The desire of Macmillan's for this stab in the back to be kept secret from their own highly successful author is understandable. Their ultimate stab in the back was, however, still to come, in the summer of 1992.

In May 1992 we find Deborah Lipstadt providing a list of her personal targets, including now myself, to the US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington; she advised the USHMM to contact Gail Gans at the Research Department of the ADL in New York City for additional names, and "tell her I told you to call her." This establishes that the Defendants considered that the Museum, a US taxpayer-funded body, was actively participating in their network, and the Museum duly provided press clippings from London newspapers relating to me,

which have now turned up in the Defendants' files.

The attempts to suffocate my publishing career continued. A second arm of this attack also needs to be mentioned. Since my own imprint would not be intimidated as easily as Macmillan's, or indeed at all, the hostile groups applied pressure to major bookselling chains to burn or destroy my books, and in particular the new edition of *Hitler's War*. Some of the press clippings reporting this nasty campaign ... include reports of a sustained campaign of window smashing of the branches of Waterstone's bookstore in the biggest Midlands cities, after complaints by "local Jewish and anti-racist groups."

Waterstones informed one Newcastle newspaper that they were taking the book off public shelves "following a number of vandal attacks on book stores across the country." The Nottingham Waterstones took the book off display after a brick was thrown through its window. The campaign was clearly centrally coordinated from London. None of this was reported in the national press, but one would have thought that these groups would have recognized the bad karma in any campaign of smashing windows or burning books. I wrote privately to Tim Waterstone guaranteeing to indemnify his chain for their costs of any uninsured claims. He refused to be intimidated by the campaign, which is one reason why I removed the names of four Waterstones branch employees from the list of Defendants in this action at an early stage. Others took a different line. According to the *Evening Standard*, Mr. Ivan Lawrence, a QC [Queen's Counsel], MP [Member of Parliament], and a member of the Board of Deputies, justified the vandals who committed the window smashing and book burning outrages (while formally "condemning" them).

The Board was at this time actively organizing violent demonstrations outside my residence. Its address appeared on at least one leaflets posted over the West End calling for demonstrations outside my private address. The Campaign against Fascism in Europe (CAFE, a body identified by a *Sunday Express* investigation as a Mossad front), set up a "broad based temporary united front" in a "Committee to Stop Irving." Its primary purpose was to stage what it called "a mass militant demonstration" to prevent me from lecturing to a private seminar in Central London on July 4, 1992, (the topic was Freedom of Speech); it called for "a working class alliance of ... black, Jewish, lesbian and gay" communities. The leaflets which this faceless body handed out in the West End stated that I "whitewash Nazi crimes and incite racist murder." I gave copies of these leaflets to the police. The resulting demonstration was violent and pointless, because I was still in Moscow. A photograph in *The*

Observer shows one of the CAFE posters reading "Gas Irving Now!" The newspaper reported that seven people were arrested in the violence, and that my home was under round-the-clock police guard. It quoted me as saying that I had received four or five death threats in the last 24 hours. "For 30 years I have been subjected to a reign of terror."

The same newspaper reported that the Anti-Nazi League and its parent body, the Board of Deputies, were applying pressure to *The Sunday Times* to violate its contract with me. One reason why I mention all of this may well be apparent to Your Lordship: when I made remarks about certain of my critics, occasionally using vivid language, I had reason.

As an indication of the pressure my family was under: the West End Central Police station telephoned to ask permission to film the interior of my residence, in case we had to be rescued. An officer informed me that they had received information of a planned attack. For twelve months after our young child was born, we lived with a wicker Moses basket in the furthest corner of our apartment, near a window, attached to a length of wire rope in case the building was set on fire and we had to lower her to safety. I arranged with the Grosvenor Estate to increase the fire safety precautions in the building. I have lived since then with a four foot steel spike stowed in a strategic point inside my apartment. No historian should have to live with his family in a civilized city under such conditions. An orchestrated barrage of abuse and death threats began on my unlisted phone number. One of them I recorded. It is one of the transcripts which the Defendants have not shown to Your Lordship.

At the same time as they organized this campaign of intimidation, and the attacks on my London and foreign publishers, the Board and its collaborating foreign bodies did what they could to hamper my freedom of movement. On April 1, 1992, South Africa informed me that I would no longer be allowed to enter the country. On June 5, 1992, the South African Jewish Board of Deputies wrote a letter to Michael Whine, executive director of the corresponding London Board, gloating over this success. An Israeli survey on subsequent events summarized: "In 1993 the controversial right-wing historian David Irving was granted a three month visa to visit South Africa on condition that he refrain from addressing any public gathering. The South African Jewish Board of Deputies objected to the visit. In December it was reported in the press that Irving had been refused the special permission he needed to visit South Africa during 1994." (It has taken Nelson Mandela and the ANC to lift this ban imposed by the outgoing regime.)

On June 9, 1992, I was denied entry to Italy to

address university students in Rome. That bars me from access to the Archivi Segreti del Stato, the Italian state archives in which I worked on Mussolini's papers.

In Canada, Sol Littman, director of the Simon Wiesenthal Centre in Toronto, joined this formidable international endeavor to destroy my career. Once again we do not have to rely on something as vague as a scholarly "consensus," or on the opinion of "the social sciences," to learn what happened. Quoting Littman in their global report *Response* at the end of 1992, the parent Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles boasted:

Alerted through its international contacts that Irving was about to begin his 1992 [Canadian] tour, the Wiesenthal Center was determined to drop Irving in his tracks to prevent him from entering Canada. A legal research team provided the Canadian Department of Immigration with a brief pointing to Irving's conviction in Germany

— which [conviction] was for describing the *Krematorium I* ["gas chamber"] currently on display to tourists at Auschwitz, truthfully, as a fake.

The League of Human Rights of B'nai B'rith Canada made a similar boast in its confidential annual report to the 1993 B'nai B'rith Canada convention. Dr. Karen Mock bragged in this document — and I rely on this too as proof of the international nature of this endeavor, to which the Defendants on this action have added their weight:

British Holocaust denier David Irving attempted to conduct one of his cross-Canada tours in 1992, but thanks in part to League [that is, League of Human Rights of B'nai B'rith Canada] interventions, and excellent cooperation between a number of police agencies and government departments, Irving was arrested and deported. He is no longer permitted to enter Canada without ministerial consent. In both these cases, the League worked to warn the Immigration department of these individuals' impending visit and provided information to government officials. Australian and South African Jewish communities have used materials provided by the League to lobby their governments for similar treatment of Irving.

Where did the Canadian "materials" come from? Michael Whine, executive director of the Board of Deputies, unashamedly revealed the answer in an affidavit sworn in November 1996. He swore this affidavit in connection with the libel action that I later sought to bring against the Board. He confirmed that in response to an appeal by the

Wiesenthal Centre in Toronto for dirt that they could plant on government files in Canada — a country I have visited countless times since the 1960s — the Board of Deputies furnished to their Canadian counterparts two "confidential" intelligence reports that they had concocted on me; the second such report was covered by a letter dated June 17, 1992. The letter also relayed to Toronto reports from similar Jewish organizations in Cape Town and Germany, boasting of their success in getting me banned from South Africa and fined in Germany.

The intelligence reports which Whine has admitted he furnished to his Canadian friends contained vicious and damaging libels: I was said to have married the daughter of one of General Franco's top generals to ingratiate myself with the Spanish Falangist movement. This gives a clue to the fantasy world that the Whines of this world live in. "Uncorroborated evidence," the document continued, "implies that Irving has been the recipient of substantial funding from unknown sources. It has repeatedly rumored that these sources are Nazis." I had been, the report stated confidently, "active in the British Union of Fascists." That was another lie. There were hints that I had maintained improper relations with the East German authorities, and the totally untrue statement that during the 1970s "Irving appeared annually on the public list of 'Enemies of the State'" compiled by the German Office for the Protection of the Constitution. And so on.

When I found out — too late — that this fake evidence had been planted on Canadian files, I was angered and astounded that a British organization could be secretly doing this to British citizens. It turned out from these files that academics with whom I had freely corresponded and exchanged information, including Gerald Fleming, had been acting as agents and informants for this body. I submit that these are the bodies that collaborated directly or indirectly with the Defendants in the preparation of the book, and that the Defendants, knowing of the obvious fantasy in some of what they said, should have shown greater caution in accepting their materials as true.

There was an immediate consequence of this fake data planted on Canadian files. One data report recorded the "fact" that I had written many books denying the Holocaust. That was of course untrue. In August 1992 a docket was placed on Canadian Immigration files about me, saying among other things, "Subject is Holocaust denier, may be inadmissible" under section A19(1)(d)(1) of the Act. The Canadian government had been provided by the Wiesenthal Centre with a list of my proposed travel dates across Canada in October and November 1992. After more lying data was placed

on Ottawa files about me, which I have since retrieved by the Access to Information Act, a letter was sent to me by courier stating that I might not be allowed to enter Canada. I did so, legally, on October 26; I was arrested on October 28 at Vancouver, and deported permanently from Canada on November 13, 1992, causing me great damage and financial loss. [See "Irving's Most Un-Excellent Adventure," Jan.-Feb. 1993 *Journal*.] Access to the Public Archives of Canada was as essential for my future research as access to the Public Record Office in Kew [England] or those archives in Italy. That is one proof of the direct and immediate cost of the pernicious label, "Holocaust denier."

There was at this time also a determined attempt to secure my exclusion from the United States. If successful, this would finally have sabotaged my career. A document, purporting to be an

... This is what these enemies of free speech have tried for 30 years to do — by hook or by crook, to ruin me, and to destroy my hard won legitimacy as one of the world's most original and incorruptible writers on the Third Reich and its history.

official US government intelligence (of the Office of Special Investigations), was circulated about me. On my protest to the US security authorities, they were good enough to confirm to me, after making inquiries, that it was a fake. In the same month, when I arrived at Washington's Dulles airport I was held in immigration custody for several hours. A senior official then apologized to me that their inquiries had determined that somebody had planted a forged dossier about me on their Immigration Service computer in an attempt to keep me out. "A yard and a half of garbage," was how he described it. The US government again apologized to me, and assured me in writing that the computer file had now been cleansed. A few months later Washington-area Jewish organizations started putting pressure on the big bookstore chains to stop selling my books, but here they met with blank refusals to comply. ["Area book chains sell work of Hitler apologist," *Washington Jewish Week*, May 26, 1994, pp. 6, 19.]

The Simon Wiesenthal Centre in Toronto, which had orchestrated the Canadian attack on my freedoms, prepared similar intelligence reports of its own on me, and one of these eventually came to light — though not without difficulty — in Professor Lip-

stadt's Discovery in this action, with a covering letter from its chief executive, Sol Littman, addressed to Professor Lipstadt, the Second Defendant. It goes in my submission to other issues in this action, namely damages and costs, that it required me to issue a summons and make an application for a court order to enforce the proper disclosure of these items; and that copies of the documents to which I was entitled under Order 24 were withheld from me until the eve of the hearing of my application; and that Mishcon de Reya [defendants' London law firm] only then furnished me with photocopies of the document, and with a covering letter which had seemingly been backdated — the postmark was dated after the receipt of my summons.

In a letter to Professor Lipstadt, Sol Littman asked her to recognize that one intelligence report was "not for publication or direct quotation." "It contains," he explained, "many phrases and comments that neither you or I would use in a situation which clearly involves considerable delicacy." The paper itself, which was originally disclosed to me shorn of any indication of institution, or author, or date, was entitled "History Rewritten: The World of David Irving." It listed a number of quotations from my works, but confirmed what it called my "enticing writing style and thorough archival research," and complained that I continued revisionist themes "interspersed with genuine historical insight."

Claiming that it was my underlying purpose to rehabilitate Adolf Hitler and the Third Reich, the anonymous Canadian author stated these words, words coming from my enemies which characterize the whole of the global endeavor to silence me: "Given this accurate version of reality, it is all the more clear why his activities must be curtailed, and why his alleged legitimacy must be eradicated."

I make no apology for quoting that sentence in full again, notwithstanding Mr. Littman's desire that it should not be quoted. The word eradicated may even jar us all somewhat, after two months of debate about meanings of *ausrotten* ["eradicate," "root out," "wipe out," "exterminate"], but the fact remains that this is what these enemies of free speech have tried for 30 years to do — by hook or by crook, to ruin me, and to destroy my hard won legitimacy as one of the world's most original and incorruptible writers on the Third Reich and its history.

Writing in *Response* [Winter 1992], the Wiesenthal Center world report, Sol Littman reported from Canada that "while David Irving squirmed, bullied, and lied, in the end he was booted out of Canada, never to return without the express permission of the Immigration Minister." *The Jewish Chronicle* reported on November 13, 1992, that Bernie Farber, national director of the Canadian Jewish Congress, had stated that I was

“finished” in North America, which seems therefore to have been their common intent. Mr. Farber was to have been one of the witnesses of fact chosen by the Defendants; he has recently been disallowed by Canadian courts from appearing as a witness in a similar case, because he is held to be prejudiced. His evidence is no longer before this Court.

I now come to Macmillan’s final stab in the back. That is, the hand on the blade was Macmillan’s, but the blade had been forged and fashioned by all the Defendants in this courtroom, and by their hidden collaborators overseas. On July 4, 1992, as this Court knows, I had returned from Moscow with the missing entries of the Goebbels diaries exclusively in my possession, having gone there on behalf of *The Sunday Times*. This hard-earned triumph caught my opponents unawares. Newspapers revealed that the ADL and its Canadian collaborator, the League of Human Rights of B’nai B’rith Canada, sent immediate secret letters to Andrew Neil at *The Sunday Times* demanding that he repudiate their contract with me. On Sunday, July 5, the London Sunday newspapers were full of the scoop, and also with hostile comment. On Monday, July 6, *The Independent* newspaper reported under the headline “Jews Attack Publisher of Irving Book,” that a UK body which it identified as “the Yad Vashem Trust” was piling pressure on Macmillan’s to abandon its contract with me to publish my forthcoming biography of Goebbels, failing which they would urge booksellers not to stock or promote it.

Macmillan’s finally took fright that same day, as I only now know. After their directors inquired, in an internal memo, how many of my books were still in their stocks, and having been given totals of several thousand copies of all three volumes of my Hitler biography, representing a value of several hundred thousands pounds, my own editor Roland Philipps on July 6 issued the secret order reading: “Please arrange for the remaining stock of [Irving’s *Hitler*’ War] to be destroyed. Many thanks.” They prepared a “draft announcement,” but it was not released. Although still a Macmillan author, I was not told. The royalties due to me on the sale of those books were lost, destroyed with them. The Defendants’ campaign to destroy my legitimacy as a historian, of which the book published by the Defendants became an integral part, had thus reached its first climax.

Macmillan was still under contract to publish my Goebbels biography. In September that year, 1992, still not suspecting that they had done the dirty on me and destroyed my books, I wrote to them asking them to revert all rights in that new biography to me. Allan Brooke of Hodder Headline, the second biggest UK publishing group, made a very

satisfactory offer two years later for the rights; he had published my books before while at Michael Joseph. Within a few days however the offer had been formally withdrawn — something which had never happened to me in a lifetime of publishing. Brooke told me that he had come under pressure to revoke his offer. The Defendants’ book had now been published and was now, as yet unknown to me, in the bookstores.

The campaign to silence me was on a broad front, indeed a global scale, but it also took unusual and petty forms. For 25 years I had spoken as a guest at my old school, twice a year, to history classes and sixth formers. On September 19, 1992, the school informed me in a letter that, under “pressure which built up yesterday from Jewish parents, the Anti-Nazi League and ... the press,” they had to withdraw their latest invitation, which they recognized as “a sad day for the school and for freedom of speech.” When my club held a private lecture-meeting that same month, leaflets and stickers appeared all over the west end with slogans like “Stop the fascist agitators,” “No more Rostocks” (a reference to an incident in which an asylum seekers’ hostel was burned down), and, more threateningly, “meet at Irving’s home,” and providing my private address. The global nature of all this is evident from an Israeli survey issued in Tel Aviv “in co-operation with the [New York based] ADL.” This stated, among successes in preventing various meetings and lectures from occurring, that “in London the Jewish community and other groups worked together ... and made it difficult for David Irving and his followers to maintain the fiction of the ‘Clarendon Club’.”

Letters obtained by legal methods in Canada show that on October 21 and November 3, 1992, the Board of Deputies applied secret pressure on the German embassy to stop me, a British citizen like themselves, from entering Germany. If a ban was applied, it would spell the end for me as a World War II historian because I could no longer reach my publishers, or access my own collections there of valuable documents which I had donated to the German archives, let alone the archives of the German government.

Australia was the next country to be worked over. The Israeli document quoted above reported unhappily on the press backlash that had arisen from pressure applied to the Australian government to silence me, which, it said, had attracted editorials in major Australian newspapers unfavorable to the Jewish community: “The implication was that a minority group, with extraordinary clout, had pressured the Australian government to act against the country’s interest.” Nothing, they implied, could be further from the truth. [See “Victory for Irving in

Australia Free Speech Struggle," Nov.-Dec. 1993 *Journal*, pp. 12-15.]

What had happened was this: In September 1992 I announced to Australian university professors that I would be visiting their continent for a third lecture tour early the following year. Alerted to this tour by the German professor Konrad Kwiet, one of the Holocaust experts I had written to, the same organizations applied secret pressure on the then prime minister, Paul Keating, to refuse me entry. The *Australian Jewish News* set up a hue and cry, reporting that I had "sneaked into Canada," to give lectures "denying the Holocaust really happened," and stating that I "incite the gullible to racist violence," and that I "have a record of contempt for anti-racism and immigration laws." Every single one of these statements was a lie.

But the lying was now getting out of hand. When a Munich Court [in January 1993] increased the fine on me for denouncing the *Krema I* ["gas chamber"] building at Auschwitz as a postwar fake, the Board of Deputies issued a press release calling me a "Nazi propagandist" who has attended Nazi training camps, and they welcomed the trebling of the fine [to 30,000 marks]. Not surprisingly, no British newspaper dared to reproduce such libels, but a copy is, significantly, in Professor Lipstadt's discovery. I am of course barred from using it as the basis for the action which it deserved.

Opponents released to Australian television the heavily edited version of Michael Schmidt's 1991 videotape of me addressing the crowd at Halle [Germany]. As edited, it omitted my visible and audible rebuke to a section of the crowd for chanting Hitler slogans. Grotesque libels about me swamped the Australian press, printed by various organizations including the New South Wales Board of Deputies and the *Australian Jewish News* (February 5, 12, and 19, 1993). One example was an article by a lecturer in politics: "He [Irving] has a history of exciting neo-Nazi and skinhead groups in Germany which had burned migrant hostels and killed people ... Irving has frequently spoken in Germany at rallies ... under the swastika flag ... himself screaming the Nazi salute ..." Unsurprisingly in retrospect, on February 8, 1993, the Australian government announced, though to the astonishment of the regular Australian national press, that I was to be refused a visa as I was a "Holocaust denier." They had thus adopted the phrase that the Second Defendant [Lipstadt] prides herself on having invented.

The new and very damaging ban on visiting Australia now made it impossible for me to work again in the National Library of Australia in Canberra. At great personal expense I appealed to the Australian Federal Court. The Court declared the minister's refusal of a visa to be illegal. The government in

Canberra therefore changed the law in February 1994 to keep me out, and on May 3, 1994, they again refused my application for entry. We note from Professor Lipstadt's own Discovery that the immigration minister faxed the decision direct to one of her source-agencies that same afternoon.

In July 1994, as the resulting fresh legal actions which I had started against the government still raged, the Second Defendant was invited by Australian organizations, all expenses paid, to visit their country; she was to be hired to tour Australia, and to slander my name and reputation and add her voice to the campaign to have me refused entry. The Court will perhaps remember the Australian TV video which I showed, entitled "The Big Lie." Broadcast on July 1994, it showed both the [Defendants'] expert witness Professor Van Pelt, and Fred Leuchter standing on the roof of the *Krema II* [structure at Birkenau], which Van Pelt declared to be the center of the Nazi genocide, and the Second Defendant [Lipstadt] being interviewed while still in Australia (and refusing once again to "debate" with the revisionists, rather as she has obstinately refused to go into the witness stand here). Thus I found myself excluded from Australia and, inevitably, New Zealand too. I lost the ability to visit my many hundreds of my friends down under, and my own daughter too, who is an Australian citizen; and I lost all the bookshop sales that this ban implied in Australia — where my *Churchill's War* biography had hit the No. 1 spot on the best seller lists.

There was one interesting little postscript which helps to tie all these things together: I produced a video, a rather unpretentious document entitled "The Search for Truth in History," which was to travel the Australian continent until I could again enter myself. A closed session of the video censorship authority in Sydney was convened, at the request of the special interest groups who urgently wanted to suppress my video. Afterwards, the security authorities discovered that a hidden microphone had been planted in the chamber. Indicating that he already had the answer, the leader of the opposition, Tim Fisher, challenged the government to admit that it was planted by the Mossad. This is an indication that some very dangerous forces indeed had aligned themselves behind the Second Defendant and against me.

My lecturing engagements in the British Isles came under similar attack. In the past I had often spoken to universities and debating societies, including the Oxford and Cambridge Unions. But now, in one month, in October 1993, when I was invited to speak to prestigious bodies at three major Irish universities, I found all three invitations canceled under pressure and the threat of local Jewish and "anti-fascist" organizations. The irony will not

elude the Court that these Defendants on the one hand have claimed by way of defense that I speak only to the far-right and neo-Nazi element, as they describe it, and that it turns out their own associates are the people who have done their damndest to make it impossible for many others to invite me.

Deborah Lipstadt had meanwhile made some progress with her book. She told her publisher that she had written a certain statement “with the marketing people in mind” — in other words, sometimes money mattered more than content. She had revealed in September 1991: “I have also spoken to people in England who have a large cache of material on David Irving’s ‘conversion’ to denial.” We don’t know, but we can of course readily suspect, who in this case those “people” were. She is, once again, not presenting herself for cross-examination, so there are many things we cannot ask her ...

In the light of Mr. Rampton’s strictures on my now famous little ditty, supposedly urging my nine-month old little girl not to marry outside her own people, I should also have wanted to ask questions of Professor Lipstadt’s views on race. We know that she has written papers, and delivered many fervent lectures, on the vital importance of people marrying only within their own race. (“We know what we fight against ...,” she wrote, “intermarriage and Israel-bashing, but what is it we fight for?”) She has attracted much criticism from many in her own community for her implacable stance against mixed marriages. In one writing Lipstadt quotes a *Wall Street Journal* interview with a Conservative Rabbi, Jack Moline, whom she called “very brave” for listing ten things that Jewish parents should say to their children: “Number one on his list,” she wrote (in fact it was number three), “was ‘I expect you to marry Jews’.” My one little ditty was a perhaps tasteless joke. Professor Lipstadt’s repeated denunciation of mixed marriages addressed to adults was deadly serious.

Professor Lipstadt accuses me of error and falsification, but is apparently unable to spot a fake even at a relatively close range. She has admitted, according to Professor Peter Novick, that she used the memoirs of the spurious Auschwitz survivor Benjamin Wilkomirski in her teaching of the Holocaust. Those “memoirs” have now been exposed, worldwide, as fraudulent. When it turned out the Wilkomirski had never been near the camp, or in Poland for that matter, but had spent the war years in comfort living with his adopted Swiss family, she acknowledged that this “might complicate matters somewhat,” but she insisted that the Wilkomirski “memoirs” would still be “powerful” as a novel. [See “Holocaust Memoir Exposed as Fraud,” Sept.-Oct. 1998 *Journal*, pp. 15-16.] It may seem unjust to

Your Lordship that it is I who have had to answer this person’s allegation that I distort and manipulate historical sources.

We have Professor Lipstadt’s handwritten notes, evidently prepared for a talk delivered to the ADL in Palm Beach, Florida, in early 1994. In these, if I have read her handwriting correctly — and she appears to be relying on something that Lord Bullock had just said — she states that my aim seems to be to de-demonize Hitler; and that I had said that FDR, Hitler, and Churchill were all equally criminal. This is hardly “exonerating” any of them. Summarizing *Hitler’s War* (the 1977 edition), she calls me merely a “historian with a revisionist bent” like A.J.P. Taylor — and she adds, and this seems significant — “Irving denies that Hitler was responsible for the murder of European Jewry. Rather, he claims that Himmler was responsible. But he does not deny its occurrence.” Had she stuck with that view, which is a very fair summary of my views both then and now, she and we would not find ourselves here now.

But she was led astray. She fell in with bad company, or associates. These things happen. We know that, in conducting her research for the book, she spoke with the Board of Deputies, the Institute of Jewish Affairs, and other such worthy bodies, since she thanks them all in her introduction.

Some time in 1992 her book was complete in its first draft, and she sent it to the people who were paying her, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. We do not know what was in the book, since I cannot question the Second Defendant and she has not disclosed that early draft, with Professor Yehuda Bauer’s “scribbles” on it, in her sworn list of documents. It was clearly discoverable. We do know however what was not in it: we know that there was no mention of Hezbollah and Hamas and Louis Farrakhan and the November 1992 terrorists in Stockholm, or of the lie about my speaking on the same platform with them; in fact we also know that in this first draft I was merely mentioned in passing. This is evident from the letter which Professor Yehuda Bauer wrote, congratulating her on November 27, 1992: Bauer complained that the book lacked the “worldwide perspective,” and said: “Irving is mentioned, but not that he is the mainstay of Holocaust denial today in Western Europe.”

Somehow, therefore, I had to be shoe-horned into the text before publication. Bauer also urged her not to write things that inadvertently might convince the reader that there was “something” to what revisionists (“deniers”) said, although that is hardly a true scholar’s method, to suppress mention of opposing arguments. In a letter to Anthony Lerman of the Institute of Jewish Affairs (the same Mr. Lerman who would later spread the lying word that I had supplied the trigger mechanism for the Oklahoma

City Bomb), Lipstadt revealed that there was an “earlier incarnation” of the book: that “earlier incarnation” has not been disclosed in her sworn list either. She had been ordered to swear an affidavit on her list. When I made a subsequent complaint about deficient discovery, her solicitors reminded me that I could not go behind her affidavit until she presented herself for cross examination. This chance has been denied to me.

Lipstadt spent much of that last month of 1992 putting me into the book, and so herself, into this courtroom today. They were the weeks after the spectacular success of the global campaign to destroy my legitimacy, which culminated in getting me deported in manacles from Canada on November 13. “I am just finishing up the book,” she wrote to Lerman on December 18, “and as you can well imagine David Irving figures into it quite prominently.” She pleaded with Lerman to provide, indeed to fax to her urgently, materials from “your files.” Your Lordship may think that this haste to wield the hatchet compares poorly with the kind of in-depth, years-long research which I conducted on my biographical subjects. “I think he [Irving] is one of the more dangerous figures around,” she added, pleading the urgency. It was a spectacular epiphany, this Court might think, given that only three weeks earlier the manuscript barely mentioned me, as Bauer had complained.

Lerman faxed his materials to her a few days later: we don’t know precisely what, as here too the Defendants’ Discovery is only fragmentary, and these items were provided to me only in response to a summons.

That is an outline of the damage, and the people, including specifically the Defendants in this action, who were behind it. Mr. Rampton suggested at a very early stage that I had brought all of this on myself, that I had even deserved it — he was talking about the hate-wreath that was sent to me on the death of my daughter. We shall see.

Auschwitz Concentration Camp

Auschwitz has been a football of politicians and statesmen ever since World War II. The site has become, like the Holocaust itself, an industry, a big business in the most tasteless way. The area is, I am informed, overgrown with fast food restaurants, souvenir and trinket shops, motels, and the like. Under prime minister Josef Cyrankiewicz (who had been prisoner number 62,993) it was known at its opening in 1948 as a “monument to the martyrdom of the Polish and other peoples.”

Auschwitz was overrun by the Red Army in January 1945. The last prisoner had received the tattooed number 202,499. Informed by Colonel-Gen-

eral Heinz Guderian that the Russians had captured Auschwitz, Hitler is recorded by the stenographers as merely acknowledging: “Yes.” The Court might find it significant that he did not prick up his ears and say something like, “Herr Himmler, I hope you made sure that the Russians will find not the slightest trace of what we have been up to.” (Or even, “I hope you managed to get those holes in the roof slab of *Krema II* cemented over so there’s no trace, before you blew it up.” I will shortly explain the significance of that.) When the name of SS *Gruppenführer* Hans Kammler, the architect of the concentration camps, was mentioned to him a few days later by Goebbels, it was evident that even Kammler’s name meant little to Hitler.

How many had died at Auschwitz? We still do not know with certainty, because the tragic figure has become an object of politics too. Professor Arno Mayer, Professor of European History at the University of Princeton, a scholar of considerably greater renown than Professor Evans, and himself a Jew, expressed the view in one book [his 1989 study, *Why Did the Heavens Not Darken?: The ‘Final Solution’ in History*, p. 365] that most of the victims of the camp died of exhaustion and epidemics. “... From 1942 to 1945, certainly at Auschwitz, but probably overall, more Jews were killed by so-called ‘natural’ causes than by ‘unnatural’ ones.”

The Russians who captured the camp did not at first make any mention in their news reports of “gas chambers” ... The Russians set up an inquiry including some very well known names — including “experts” who had examined the “Nazi mass graves” at Katyn, and even the notorious [Soviet geneticist Trofim] Lysenko, and they announced that four million had been murdered at Auschwitz. Under the Polish Communists, a monument to “four million dead” was duly erected, a number adhered to until the 1990s, even under Franciszek Piper, one of the later (but still Communist) directors of the Auschwitz State Museum Archives. After the Communist regime ended that the figure was brought down, to 1.5 million, and then to 750,000 by the acknowledged expert Jean-Claude Pressac. The Defendants’ own expert Peter Longerich spoke of one million deaths there from all causes, and in response to cross-examination by myself and to Your Lordship’s queries Dr. Longerich confirmed that he included all non-homicidal deaths, deaths “from other causes,” including epidemics and exhaustion, in that figure.

As for the overall death roll of the Holocaust, what meaning can one attach to figures? The International Military Tribunal (IMT) at Nuremberg found that “the policy pursued resulted in the killing of six million Jews, of which four million were killed in the extermination institutions.” But the six

million figure derives, as US chief prosecutor Mr. Justice Robert H. Jackson recorded in his diary in June 1945, from a back of the envelope calculation by the American Jewish leaders with whom he met in New York. [See D. Irving, *Nuremberg: The Last Battle*, 1996, pp. 61-62.] Professor Raul Hilberg put the figure at 5.1 million or less. Gerald Reitlinger [in his book, *The Final Solution*] had the figure at 4.6 million, of which he stated about three million were conjectural as it was not known how many Jews had escaped into the unoccupied part of the USSR. The Israeli Prime Minister's office, we are told by Norman Finkelstein, recently stated that there were still nearly one million living survivors. [See R. Faurisson, "Impact and Future of Holocaust Revisionism," Jan.-Feb. *Journal*, pp. 8-9.]

There are doubts not only about precise figures but also about specific events. The same [Nuremberg] IMT ruled on October 1, 1946, that the Nazis had attempted to "utilize the fat from the bodies of the victims in the commercial manufacture of soap." In 1990 historian Shmuel Krakowski of [Israel's] Yad Vashem [center] announced in the world's press that that too had been a ("Nazi") propaganda lie. Gradually the wartime stories have been dismantled. As more documents have been found, widely stated propositions have been found to be doubtful. [See "Jewish Soap," Summer 1991 *Journal*, pp. 217-227.]

For a long time the confident public perception was that the Wannsee protocol, of the January 20, 1942, meeting, recorded the actual order to exterminate the European Jews. Yehuda Bauer, the director of Yad Vashem, the premier Holocaust research institution in Israel — and one of the correspondents of the Second Defendant [Lipstadt] — has stated quite clearly: "The public still repeats, time after time, the silly story that at Wannsee the extermination of the Jews was arrived at." In his opinion Wannsee was a meeting but "hardly a conference," and he even said: "Little of what was said there was executed in detail." ["Wannsee's importance rejected," (JTA), *Canadian Jewish News*, Jan. 30, 1992.] Despite this, Your Lordship has had to listen to the "silly story" all over again in this Court from the expert witnesses.

Surely, say my critics, there must now be evidence for a Hitler Order?

Back in 1961 Raul Hilberg, one of Yehuda Bauer's great rivals for the laureate, asserted in the first edition of his study, *The Destruction of the European Jews*, that there had been two such orders, one in the spring of 1941 and the other soon after. By 1985 — after I had corresponded with him and voiced my own doubts — Hilberg was back-pedaling. He went methodically through his text, excising from the new edition the allegation of a Hitler

Order. "In the new edition," as Professor Christopher Browning, an expert who testified [on behalf of the defense] before this Court, criticized in a learned journal, "all references in the text to a Hitler decision or Hitler order for the 'Final Solution' have been systematically excised. Buried at the bottom of a single footnote stands the solitary reference: 'Chronology and circumstances point to a Hitler decision before the summer [1941] ended'." "In the new edition," Browning repeats, scandalized, "decisions were not made, and orders were not given." [See B. Kulaszka, comp., *Did Six Million Really Die?*, Toronto: 1992, pages 192, 300, 349.] Your Lordship will find my exchange with Browning as to whether he had indeed written those words in 1986 ... you will find too that he regretted that he could not recall clearly the events of 15 years ago, which invited a rather obvious riposte from me about the probably similar memory-deficiencies in the eye-witnesses on which he had on occasions relied.

The director of the Yad Vashem archives [Shmuel Krakowski] has stated [in 1986] that most survivors' testimonies are unreliable. "Many," he said, "were never in the places where they claim to have witnessed atrocities, while others relied on second-hand information given them by friends or passing strangers" — the phenomenon I have referred to as "cross-pollination." Your Lordship may have been as startled as, I confess, was I, upon learning the degree to which the case for the mass gassings at Auschwitz relies on eye-witness evidence, rather than on any firmer sources. Your Lordship will remember the exchange I had with Donald Watt, professor emeritus of history at the London School of Economics, and a learned diplomatic historian, early on in the trial, about the value of different categories of evidence:

Irving: Professor, I was not going to ask you about eyewitness evidence, but where would you rank eyewitness evidence on the scale, if you had, for example, aerial photographs, if you had prisoner of war intelligence, contemporary prisoner of war intelligence, if you had intercepts from Bletchley Park, if you had captured documents, either captured during the war or after the war, and eyewitness evidence, in other words, anecdotal evidence and, finally, interrogations, whether under oath or not in Court, how would you classify those in order of reliability, starting with the least reliable?

Prof. Watt: I do not know that there is any way of classifying those, because it depends so much on the individual. I did a great deal of interviews, particularly in the period before the 1967 Public Records Act released docu-

ments of 30 years of age, and in my experience the kind of evidence I got differed according to the personality of the person giving it. In some cases I found that the man I was interviewing had his own documentary record and was consulting it, and that what he said was confirmed later. In other cases, including at least one Minister of the Crown, I was given a very plausible and, for all I know, a very true story of a meeting at which he was supposed to have been present; and when the records of that meeting subsequently became available, it was clear that he was not. He should have been, but he just was not that day, and he must have heard the story from one of the people there and then repeated it.

Irving: But he seriously believed that he had been there?

Prof. Watt: ... If a gentleman who holds the rank of Admiral of the Fleet and is a junior Minister in the Cabinet tells you that he is there, one's reaction is not to question him ...

Irving: So to repeat my original question, where you would rank on that scale of material that is lying before you, at one end of the bench you have the eyewitnesses and at the other end of the bench you have, for example, the Bletchley Park intercepts?

Prof. Watt: The Bletchley Park intercepts, in so far as they are complete, are always regarded as the most reliable because there is no evidence that the dispatcher was aware that his messages could be decoded and, therefore, he would put truth in them.

This supports my view that eyewitness evidence is less credible than forensic evidence and the Bletchley Park intercepts. I do not completely ignore eye-witness evidence, but I feel entitled to discount it when it is contradicted by the more reliable evidence, which should then prevail.

The Leuchter Report

I am criticized by the Defendants for having relied initially on what is called the Leuchter Report. At the time they leveled their criticism at me, the Defendants appear to have been unaware that subsequent and, more able, investigations were conducted by both American [actually, German] and Polish researchers. The tests were in other words replicated.

First, the Leuchter Report: In April 1988 I was introduced by defense counsel at the Canadian trial of Ernst Zündel to the findings made by a reputable firm of forensic analysts of samples extracted from

the fabric of various buildings at Auschwitz and Birkenau by Fred Leuchter, who was at the time a professional American execution-technology consultant. These, and his investigations at the Majdanek site, formed the backbone of his "engineering report."

Since there have been tendentious statements about why the Leuchter Report was not admitted in evidence at that trial, I have studied the transcripts of that trial. It emerges that engineering reports are not generally admissible under Canadian rules of evidence unless both parties consent; in this case the Crown did not consent. As Mr. Justice Thomas [the Judge] explained, "I get engineering reports all the time [in civil cases]. That doesn't make them admissible because they've prepared reports. They [the expert witnesses] go in the box, they're qualified as experts, and they testify." The non-admission of the report by Mr. Justice Thomas was no reflection on the worth of the report or on the qualifications of the witness.

Mr. Leuchter testified on April 20 and 21, 1988, as an expert in gas chamber technology. He had inspected the three sites in February, and taken samples which were subsequently sent for analysis by a qualified analytical chemist in the United States, a Dr. James Roth of Cornell University, who was not told where the samples had come from. His firm, Alpha Laboratories, were told on the test certificates only that the samples were from brickwork. Mr. Justice Thomas ruled that Leuchter could give oral evidence, but that the report itself should not be filed. He held further that Mr. Leuchter was not a chemist or a toxicologist.

But he agreed that Mr. Leuchter was an engineer, because he had made himself an engineer in a very limited field. A summary of the rest of the judge's findings was that Leuchter was not capable in law of giving the expert opinion that there were never any gassings or exterminations carried on in the facilities from which he took the samples. For the same reasons he was not capable of testifying regarding the results of the analysis. He was restricted to testifying as to the actual extraction of the samples, and his own observations on the feasibility of the buildings that he had examined being used as gas chambers.

The Second Defendant therefore was wrong to state on page 164 of her book [*Denying the Holocaust*], "The judge ruled that Leuchter could not serve as an expert witness on the construction and functioning of the gas chambers." To give evidence in a criminal trial, Mr. Leuchter must have been accepted as an expert. Professor Lipstadt further stated, on pages 164-5 of her book: "The judge's finding as to Leuchter's suitability to comment on questions of engineering was unequivocal." In fact the

Judge's findings referred only to his lack of qualifications to testify on the results of the laboratory tests for cyanide and iron (this was Dr. Roth's area, and he gave the testimony on those matters).

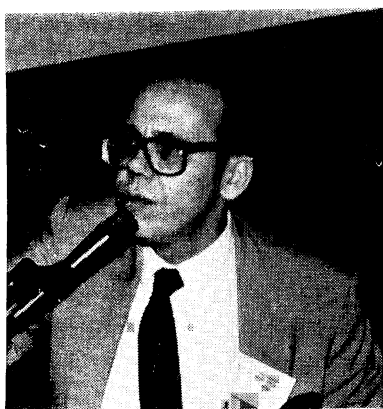
On page 169, Professor Lipstadt insists: "The exposure to the elements lessened the presence of the hydrogen cyanide ... Nor did Leuchter seem to consider that the building had been exposed to the elements for more than 40 years so that cyanide gas residue could have been obliterated. He also took samples from a floor that had been washed regularly by museum staff." Dr. Roth however testified under oath that the formation of Prussian Blue was an accumulative reaction, that it augmented with each exposure to the gas; and that it did not normally disappear unless physically removed by sandblasting or grinding down.

Roth seems since then to have changed his mind, to judge by the film "Mr. Death" [reviewed in the Sept.-Dec. 1999 *Journal*] ... Zündel's counsel comments, "He [Roth] obviously is frightened" and no wonder, considering what was subsequently inflicted upon Mr. Leuchter. Your Lordship will remember that in order to destroy Roth's absurd argument, quoted to the Court by learned Counsel, that the Prussian Blue stain would have penetrated only a few microns into the brickwork, I showed a photograph of the stain penetrating right through the brickwork to the outside face of one of the cyanide fumigation chambers, where it has been exposed to sun, wind, and rain for over 50 years, and where it is still visible, as deep and blue as ever.

Krema II [building at Birkenau] has been protected from these outside elements; it is possible to crawl beneath the famous roof [of the alleged homicidal "gas chamber" there] — about which roof I shall have more to say — but neither Jan Sehn, nor Fred Leuchter, nor James Roth, nor Germar Rudolf, nor any of the subsequent investigations found any significant traces of cyanide compounds present in the fabric of this building, despite the eye-witness accounts of that same chamber having been used for the gassing of half a million people. Moreover, the wood-grain of the original wooden formwork (or molds) can still be seen on the face of the concrete, which is evidence that it has not been sandblasted or ground down.

The Morgue Roof

I referred earlier to the [defendants'] expert witness on Auschwitz and Birkenau in this case, Professor Robert Van Pelt. He has made unequivocal



Fred Leuchter

statements both here and elsewhere about *Krema II*, that is, Crematorium [building] No. II at Birkenau. To him, it was the factory of death, the mass gassing chamber of Birkenau. He did not mince his language. In the new film "Mr. Death" we saw him speaking as the film camera showed Fred Leuchter descending into the hole which was broken post-war through the collapsed concrete roof slab and reinforcing bars of *Leichenkeller 1* (morgue cellar No. 1) of *Krema II*, and we heard him (Van Pelt) uttering these words:

Crematorium II is the most lethal building of Auschwitz. In the 2500 square feet of this one room, more people lost their lives than any other place on this planet. 500,000 people were killed. If you would draw a map of human suffering, if you created a geography of atrocity, this would be the absolute center.

The Court will recall that on the ninth day of this action I cross-examined this witness most closely about this statement, and I offered him a chance to change his mind about the pivotal importance of *Krema II* and its underground *Leichenkeller 1*, the chamber which Pelt alleged had been a mass-gassing chamber.

Irving: Very well. You say: "In any case, *Krematorium II* is the most lethal building of Auschwitz. In the 2500 square feet of this one room," and you are pointing downwards, "more people lost their lives than in any other place on this planet. 500,000 people were killed. If you would draw a map of human suffering, if you create a geography of atrocities, this would be the absolute center." That is a reference to *Krematorium II*, and you are standing on the roof of *Leichenkeller No. 1*?

Prof. Van Pelt: It is a reference to *Krematorium II*, but I am actually not in the picture. It is Fred Leuchter standing on the roof of *Leichenkeller 1*.

Irving: But you are speaking yourself?

Prof. Van Pelt: But I am speaking ...

Irving: Professor, just so that we can be completely clear about this and the record can be clear, you are describing *Krematorium II* as being the place where 500,000 people were killed or —

Prof. Van Pelt: Yes.

Irving: — give or take a few numbers.

Prof. Van Pelt: Yes.

Irving: And that this was the center of the atrocity?

Prof. Van Pelt: Yes.

Irving: So if I am to concentrate a large part of my investigation in this cross-examination on that one building and, in fact, on *Leichenkeller* 1, the one arm of the crematorium [building], this is not entirely unjustified if I am trying to establish that the factories of death did not exist as such?

Prof. Van Pelt: No. I think that the obvious building to challenge would be *Krematorium* II.

The expert witness could hardly have been clearer in his answer. I then asked him to identify the buildings referred to, on the aerial photographs of Birkenau and *Krematorium* II, so that there could later be no doubt as to which precise building he had just agreed was the “factory of death.”

The great problem about accepting that this building was an instrument for mass murder is that the evidence produced by Professor Van Pelt relies on three “legs”: a handful of eye-witnesses; a few architectural drawings; and a slim file of documents.

The eye-witnesses have turned out to be liars, particularly those who testified to the SS guards opening manhole covers on top of the flat roof of *Leichenkeller* 1 (morgue No. 1) [at Birkenau *Krema* II], and tipping tins of Zyklon B pellets inside. One witness was David Olère, an artist, who drew sketches [from memory] later in Paris, obviously intending to sell them. His sketches show flames and smoke belching from the crematorium chimney of *Krema* III, which was quite impossible; he portrays the victims of the Nazi killers mostly as nubile young females, all naked and sketched in a pornographic way, often clutching naked teenage children to their breasts. It was Olère, I invite the Court to remember, who told Jean-Claude Pressac that the SS made sausage in the crematoria out of human flesh (a passage which Mr. Van Pelt did not inform us of). [J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation*, 1989, p. 554.]

Ada Bimko proved at the Belsen Trial that she too had lied. Entering another “gas chamber” building at Auschwitz she said she “noticed two pipes which I was told contained the gas. There were two huge metal containers containing gas.” She evidently did not even know that the “gas” supposed to have been used, Zyklon B, was actually in pellet form, not cylinders. Distorting her account too, Pelt

also omitted this part of her testimony. Dr. Bendel, another of Pelt’s eye-witnesses, stated that at *Krema* IV [in Birkenau] the people crowded into the gas chambers found the ceiling so low that “the impression [was given] that the roof was falling on their heads.” This too was untrue, as the Court has seen how high those ceilings were in the computer-generated “walk through.” The Court will find that in my cross-examination of Van Pelt, I destroyed the worth of each supposed eye-witness after eye-witness in the same way.

Let us first look for those holes. The roof pillars [of the Birkenau *Krema* II “gas chamber”] were blown up in 1945, and the reinforced concrete roof slab pancaked downwards into the morgue basement, starred but otherwise intact. Van Pelt suggested that the Zyklon B introduction holes in the roof of *Leichenkeller* 1 were not much larger in diameter than tennis balls. The evidence of his eye-witnesses Henry Tauber and Michal Kula was that they were closer to the size of manholes — “70 centimeters [27 inches] square.” Kula testified that the wire-mesh columns that he had made were of that cross section [size], and three meters (ten feet) tall. One witness said the concrete covers had to be lifted off “with both hands.” As the ceiling height in *Leichenkeller* 1 was 2.40 meters, 60 cm of each column would have had to extend through the “holes” in the concrete ceiling, with about six inches poking up outside.

There is no trace of those holes in the roof today. The underside, which can be inspected and photographed from beneath, is intact. Even if one could lose sight of the much smaller, three-inch diameter holes in the pancaked concrete roof, of which Van Pelt spoke, one could not possibly have lost sight of four holes as large as manholes. Those holes would be perfectly obvious today, on the ground at Auschwitz [Birkenau], to any observer using the naked eye, without the slightest possible doubt as to their location.

Van Pelt accepts that those holes are not in that roof slab now. In his expert report [prepared for the Irving-Lipstadt trial] — and for this honesty I give him full credit — he writes:

Today, these four small holes that connected the wire-mesh columns and the chimneys cannot be observed in the ruined remains of the concrete slab. Yet does this mean they were never there? We know that after the cessation of the gassings in the fall of 1944 all the gassing equipment was removed, which implies both the wire-mesh columns and the chimneys. What would have remained would have been the four narrow holes and the slab. While there is no certainty in this particular matter, it

would have been logical to attach, at the location where the columns had been, some formwork at the bottom of the gas chamber ceiling, and pour some concrete in the hole and thus restore the slab.

Van Pelt thus asserts, without any evidence at all, that late in 1944, with the Red Army winding up to launch their colossal final invasion only a few miles away on the River Vistula, the Nazi mass murderers would remove the "Zyklon introduction columns," and then fill in the holes to "restore the slab" (before dynamiting the pillars supporting it anyway). He again asserted, when I cross-examined him on January 25, that: "It would have been logical to attach at the location where the columns had been, some formwork at the bottom of the ceiling, and pour some concrete in the hole and thus restore the slab."

How would this have been more logical than completely removing the roof of *Leichenkeller* [morgue cellar] 1, as the Nazis had removed the roof of *Leichenkeller* 2, identified by van Pelt as the "undressing rooms," as shown in the aerial photos taken on December 21, 1944, that one can see on page 15 of *The Holocaust Revisited*, the booklet published [in 1979] by Dino A. Brugioni of the CIA. The originals of this photo were shown to Van Pelt in Court. To believe his version, we would have to believe that the Nazis deliberately created architectural relics of *Leichenkeller* 1 to confound later generations of tourists and Holocaust researchers.

The fact is that the holes are not there — at least they are not visible from a distance of zero to four feet, or when photographed from the underside. Unable to point them out to us in close-up at ground level, the Defendants invited us to consider instead either vertical aerial photographs taken from 35,000 feet up, or a horizontal photograph taken from several hundred yards away, past a locomotive, where three (not four) unidentified objects are placed irregularly on the rooftop (the fourth "object" turns out to be a window on the wall behind).

The Court will recall what my response was to the not unexpected discovery that during building works such objects as barrels of tar were parked on a large flat slab ... The notion that the high flying [Allied reconnaissance] plane could have photographed an object of 27 centimeters in diameter, let alone of tennis ball size, protruding six inches above the ground, is quite absurd. The four smudges seen on one photograph are evidently many feet long.

On Day 11 [of the proceedings], I brought into the Court half a dozen vertical aerial photographs taken by the Americans or South African air forces during 1944, and I invited van Pelt to find those same smudges on that roof.

Where, until that moment, he had seen dots on another photograph with no difficulty, the witness Van Pelt now pleaded poor eyesight ("I have now reached the age I need reading glasses," he said, "and I do not have them with me. I did not expect this kind of challenge." Precisely.) Had he used even a microscope, he would not have found the dots on the 1944 pictures I showed him. Because the holes were not there, and are not there, and he and the Defendants know it.

Even if the Nazi architects did willingly agree to the weakening of the roof by having makeshift holes of that size cut through the slab right next to the supporting pillars — I say "makeshift" holes, because there is no provision for them in any of the architectural drawings — we should certainly expect to see the holes now ...

They [the defendants] know, and they knew from the outset, that I was right about that roof. Their entire case on *Krema II* — the untruth that it was used as a factory of death, with SS guards tipping canisters of cyanide-soaked pellets into the building through those four (non-existent) manholes — has caved in, as surely as has that roof.

Accordingly the eye-witnesses who spoke of those holes also lied, or bluffed: and I have called their bluff. In the absence of the holes themselves, and minus his "eye-witnesses," Professor van Pelt's only remaining proofs that *Leichenkeller* 1 of *Krema II* was an instrument of mass murder — a factory of death in which 500,000 Jews were gassed and cremated — are these: architectural drawings (rather oddly for a "professor of architecture" he calls them blueprints), and wartime documents. He confirmed this to Your Lordship, when your Lordship asked.

As for the wartime documents, he referred for instance to the — to him, sinister — requirement that the morgue should be *vorgewärmt* [pre-warmed] by a central heating plant. In cross-examination I drew his attention to the relevant section of the wartime *Neufert*, the architect's handbook or building code which was standard for the SS architects, which specifies that morgues must have both cooling and central heating facilities to avoid damage to the corpses. Document after document fell by the wayside in the manner. Mr. Rampton introduced the timesheet of one humble workman in March 1943, showing him actually concreting "the floor in the *Gaskammer*." But Birkenau camp was full of [non-homicidal] gas chambers. In his fine facsimile book of the camp documents [*Auschwitz: Technique and Operation*, 1989], Jean-Claude Pressac has printed the drawing No. 801 of November 8, 1941, for an *Entlausungsanlage* (delousing installation) for the prison camp, right in the middle of which drawing is a *Gaskammer*. He also reproduces drawing No. 1293, dated May 9, 1942, of the drainage



As David Irving pointed out during the trial, numerous “eye witnesses” have spoken of seeing smoke and even flames rising from crematory chimneys at Auschwitz-Birkenau. Such claims are untrue. At no time were any of Birkenau’s four crematory buildings (*Kremas*) ever hidden, concealed or “camouflaged.” In this photograph, taken in May or June 1944, *Krema II* can be plainly seen in the background. No trace of smoke or flame is visible. (In any case, crematory chimneys give off no flame and almost no smoke.) In the foreground are Jews who have just arrived at Birkenau from Hungary.

and water supply of the delousing barracks, buildings BW5b. Here too there is a *Gaskammer* smack in the middle of the drawing ...

The bottleneck in the entire *Krema II* “factory of death” story is the little freight elevator that was installed between *Leichenkeller 1*, as in any such state-of-the-art crematorium, to haul the bodies from the basement-level morgue up to the crematorium furnaces on the ground floor. We are told by the Defendants that this elevator was never anything more sophisticated than something like a builder’s hoist. It had no door, or cage, or walls — it was just a platform jolting up and down that elevator shaft. We do know that, as finally installed, it had a specified load bearing capacity of 1500 kg. Van Pelt suggested that the hoist could therefore have hauled 25 cadavers at a time. In practice, as there was just a flat platform with no walls or door, jolting up and down the narrow concrete elevator shaft, it would have been impossible to stack onto one small flat platform 25 naked cadavers in the conditions of filth and slime that were described by the eye-witnesses ...

One thing is plain: that one elevator in *Krema II* was the inescapable bottleneck, and it makes plain

that, whatever was happening downstairs in *Leichenkeller 1*, it was not on the huge scale that history now suggests.

In response to Your Lordship’s helpful questioning, Professor van Pelt stated that the wartime documents had to be interpreted if they were to be relied on for this proof. These interpretations are tenuous. He produced to us a document referring to the special secrecy to be attached to the crematorium drawings, and suggested that this was because of the mass gassings being carried on in it. It stressed that this was because of the *wehrwirtschaftlich* importance [that is, for the wartime economy] of the work being conducted there. But van Pelt confirmed under my cross-examination that the homicidal Final Solution, the genocide, was never regarded as being *wehrwirtschaftlich* important. I submitted that the reference was clearly to keeping secret the ugly business of the looting by the SS of gold and valuables from the corpses processed by the building, a system which was undoubtedly

wehrwirtschaftlich important to the SS ...

During his slide-show Professor Van Pelt told us that one cardinal piece of evidence in these drawings was the relocation of an internal double-door which sealed off *Leichenkeller 1* from the interior of the [Birkenau crematory] building, from the inside of the *Leichenkeller* door frame (in a December 1942 drawing) to the outside (January 1943). I pointed out that in the new layout, the doors were shown as being actually rebated into the door frame, and I suggested to the witness that this was indicative of a gas-tight door being fitted as in any standard air raid shelter design. Air raid shelter doors are fitted outside the shelter, to open outwards, so as to withstand blast. *Neufert*, the wartime architects’ handbook, bears this out.

The witness seems not to have considered this possibility. The doors allegedly found around the Birkenau and Auschwitz sites subsequently are all of standard air-raid shelter design, complete with the obligatory peephole that is fitted to air raid shelter doors. [See: S. Crowell, “Wartime Germany’s Anti-Gas Air Raid Shelters,” July-August 1999 *Journal*, pp. 7-30.]

The amendment of the drawings to provide for

an external door, leading from the far end of the subterranean *Leichenkeller* 1 to the open air, was also consonant with its dual use as a shelter, and I put this to the witness on Day 11 [of the proceedings], as was the relocation of the main entrance staircase from the back of the building, to the street-side. Among the architectural drawings provided to us from the Auschwitz archives is one entitled: "Modification of the old Crematorium," namely *Krema* I in Auschwitz; subtitled: "Air Raid Bunker for SS Station HQ with an Operating Theater." So such modifications of the morgues to provide air raid shelters were clearly nothing extraordinary. Mr. Rampton made a lot of the order for doors with peepholes. But peep holes were standard fittings not only on the gas tight air raid shelter doors, but also to delousing facilities. Jean-Claude Pressac prints photos of two such doors on the "Canada" delousing chamber at Birkenau.

***Krema* II as Air Raid Shelter**

Krema II, like its mirror-image *Krema* III on the other side of the [Birkenau] road, was originally designed as a state-of-the art crematorium, possibly not just for the camp but for the whole catchment area of Auschwitz which had for centuries been an area of pestilence and plague. No expense was spared in its design; the best equipment and architects were used on what was clearly a permanent facility. Building the *Leichenkeller* underground, instead of above ground, increased construction costs by several times, but provided for keeping the morgue cool during the baking hot Central European summers. Had the building been designed from the start as a human slaughterhouse, it would certainly not have been designed on several levels, with the resultant handling problems. Slaughterhouses are normally built on one level.

We saw in Prof. Van Pelt's slide-show [a wartime photo of] the pouring of the concrete roof slab of the subterranean *Leichenkeller* 2; the roof was undoubtedly much the same as that of *Leichenkeller* 1, with a six inch reinforced steel mesh. This undoubtedly made the new building one of the most robust on the site: certainly more robust and fireproof in an air raid than the flimsy wooden horse-barracks in which the prisoners and slave laborers were housed.

The captured *Bauleitung* [central construction office] records of Auschwitz, which are now housed in Moscow archives, confirm that from mid-1942 onwards the German authorities began to consider the construction at the camp of shelters, splinter trenches, and other Air Raid Precaution (ARP) measures. After the Allied air raids on Cologne, Rostock, Lübeck, and so forth, etc., in March-April 1942, the German High Command recognized the likelihood that air raids would spread across Poland and cen-

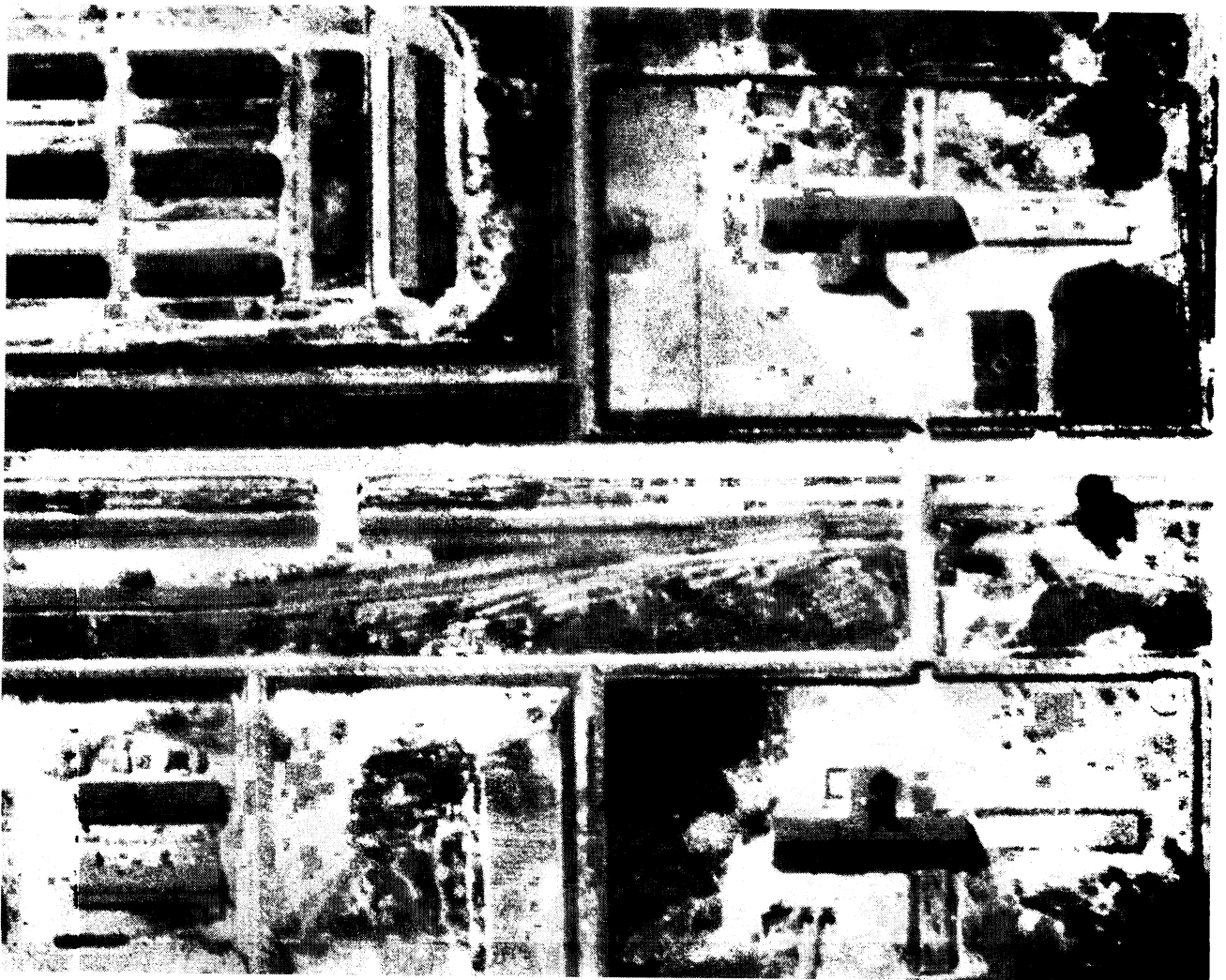
tral Europe, and they ordered the construction of extended ARP facilities throughout the occupied eastern territories, insofar as they were within bomber range. Existing basements were to be converted into shelters, anti-gas-equipment provided, and personnel trained in anti-gas warfare, as gas attack was widely expected. I put one such document to Prof. Longerich, and on Day 10 [of the proceedings] I said: "... the Defense rely on a number of photographs of doors found scattered around the compound of Auschwitz and Birkenau, and we will show that these are standard German air raid shelter doors complete with peep holes."

These precautions were not in vain. In May 1943 [1944?], there was an air raid on the nearby Auschwitz [Monowitz] Buna plant. This is reflected in Auschwitz documents. At least one of the American aerial photographs of Birkenau that I produced to the Court and to the witness Van Pelt shows a stick of heavy bombs just released by the plane that took the photograph. By the end of the war there was also an anti-aircraft unit assigned to defending the region, as shown by the reference to Judge Stiglich's membership in the flak [anti-aircraft] unit that manned it. [S. Crowell, July-August 1999 *Journal*, p. 13.]

Your Lordship will also recall that during his slide show the Dutch historian Van Pelt showed the Court a series of most interesting computer-generated "walk-through" reconstructions of the interiors of [Birkenau] *Kremas* IV and V. Your Lordship memorized the dimensions of the shutters designed to be fitted on the openings inside: 30 cms by 40 cms. There were also said to be steps leading up to the openings. The wartime German civil defense journal *Luftschutz* ("Air Defense") shows precisely this arrangement of gas-tight shutters and steps as a standard air raid shelter feature, designed for the event of gas warfare.

I put this to the witness Van Pelt: "Would you agree that those shutters that have been found in the Auschwitz camp are in fact standard German air raid shutters supplied by manufacturers to a standard design?"

Eye-witnesses have stated that thousands of victims were gassed in these rooms, and their bodies burned in large pits to the building's rear. But the contemporary air photographs reveal no such pits, nor are they evident today. Confronted with what your Lordship has yourself referred to as the lack of any documentary evidence for the gassings, Van Pelt could only offer the suggestion that the use of gas chambers at Auschwitz and Birkenau was a "moral certainty." Three times in his report he fell back upon that semi-religious phrase. The available proofs certainly do not support the belief that the gassings there occurred on a mass scale.



In none of the aerial reconnaissance photos taken of Auschwitz-Birkenau by Allied war planes at random in 1944 — that is, during the height of the alleged mass “gassings” there — is there any trace of smoke or flames, or even of killings. In this detail from an aerial photo taken on August 25, 1944, for example, one can see Birkenau crematory facilities (*Kremas*) II (top) and III (bottom).

I will not dwell long on the uniformly poor evidentiary basis on the other extermination camps, known to the Court as the Operation Reinhard camps: Belzec, Sobibor and Treblinka. Here we do not even have the “moral certainty” which comforted Professor Van Pelt. I can challenge here only the scale and the systematic nature of the alleged gassing of more than one million people in these centers.

The Defendants’ own witness, Professor Browning, admits that the documentation for these camps is “scant.” I place great weight on this admission. Here, the expert cannot even find one contemporaneous document. He relies entirely upon the eyewitnesses: men of the ilk of Kurt Gerstein, Jan Karski, Adolf Eichmann and Rudolf Höss. The fictional elements — the “130 foot mountains of clothes,” which Browning in his first draft skipped over, the

“electrocution chambers,” the “steam chambers,” the deliberately inflated death tolls, which would otherwise shriek their warnings to critical researchers — are ignored or suppressed, in order to maintain appearances.

There is an impressive level of documentation which demonstrates liquidation by shooting [in the occupied Soviet territories] of hundreds of thousands of Jews, probably over a million, by the *Einsatzgruppen*, but there is nothing of equivalent value for the Reinhard camps. One word, Why?, justifies a revisionist’s skepticism.

The Walter Föhl letter produced a similar response [Quoted in: Götz Aly, *Final Solution*, London: Arnold, 1999, pp. 174-175]. It was found in his Berlin Document Center personnel file. Föhl, an important resettlement organizer [deputy director of the German *Generalgouvernement* Population

and Welfare department] in Krakow, Poland, wrote on June 21, 1942, to his SS comrades:

Every day, trains are arriving with over 1,000 Jews each from throughout Europe. We provide first aid here, give them more or less provisional accommodation, and usually deport them further towards the White Sea to the White Ruthenian [Belarus] marshlands, where they all — if they survive (and the Jews from [Berlin's fashionable] Kurfürstendamm or Vienna or Pressburg [Bratislava] certainly won't) — will be gathered by the end of the war, but not without having first built a few roads. (But we're not supposed to talk about it.)

The expert witnesses [for the defense], unable otherwise to explain this document, dismissed it as obvious "camouflage" talk. But why should Föhl use camouflage writing to his "SS comrades"? As I pointed out to Dr. Longerich, Reinhard Heydrich himself had spoken of the White Sea option on February 4, 1942, in Prague. [G. Aly, *Final Solution*, 1999, p. 174.]

It was also noticeable elsewhere that none of the [defendants'] experts was willing to give documents their natural meanings when they did not accord with their views. The Ahnert document, recording a meeting at the RSHA in Berlin, under Eichmann, on August 28, 1942, was one example. [Quoted in P. Longerich, ed., *Die Ermordung der europäischen Juden*, 1990, pp. 241-242.] There was talk of the need for the deportees to be provided with blankets, shoes and eating utensils before dispatch to Auschwitz. Eichmann requested the purchases of barracks for a Jewish deportee camp to be erected in Russia, with three to five such barracks being loaded aboard every transport train. In each case, because the document did not accord with their "exterminationist" views, the expert had failed to pursue it. Dr. Longerich, who had included it as document 94 in work he himself had edited, *Die Ermordung der europäischen Juden*, had forgotten it even existed when I cross-examined him about it.

The Allegations of Racism and Anti-Semitism

The Defendants have resorted to the allegations that I am anti-Semitic and racist. Mr. Rampton's highly paid experts have found one 1963 diary entry of four lines written 37 years ago, about a visit to my lawyer Mr. Michael Rubenstein, to discuss a satirical magazine article, after which I commented. "Thick skinned these Jews are!" This is all that they could find from the millions of words available to them? When I remarked [in Court], on March 2, upon the obvious paradox that an alleged anti-Semite would have retained Michael Rubenstein as his solicitor and respected adviser for over 20 years,

Mr. Rampton's comment, which Your Lordship may remember, was: "Many of my best friends are Jews too, Mr. Irving." This stock line does not disguise the paucity of his evidence against me.

In further support of this contention they have taken isolated remarks made in lectures and speeches — of which they have transcribed around half a million words. I trust that your Lordship will in each case consider both the context in which the remarks are made, and also the broader surrounding countryside, if I may put it like that. For 30 years, as I set out earlier, I have found myself subjected to vicious attack by bodies, acting, as they freely admit, as Jews. For 30 years I endeavored to turn the other cheek, and I hope I have succeeded.

Mr. Rampton drew attention to the fun I poked at Simon Wiesenthal, a joke made explicitly about his other-than-good looks. He called that remark "anti-Semitic." It was not. It was a joke about his looks, of the same genre that Mr. Rampton made on Day 28 [of the proceedings] when he inquired rhetorically of [defense witness] Professor Funke whether a certain outer-fringe Swedish revisionist [Ditlieb Felderer] seen, in one video shown to the Court, with long blonde hair, was a man or a woman.

In view of the manner in which the two Simon Wiesenthal Centers have been abusing my name in their fund raising leaflets, and endeavoring to destroy my own livelihood, the Court might think that my fun-making, while tasteless, was not undeserved, possibly even rather reserved. It was not anti-Semitic, and Mr. Wiesenthal is no more immune from criticism either as a person, or as a public figure, than I am. Searching hopefully for evidence of "anti-Semitism" in me, the investigators of the Board of Deputies in 1992 came up empty-handed in their secret report to be planted on the Canadian government: they confirmed that I had dealings with Jews in my professional life, and added that I "use this as an excuse" to say that I am not an anti-Semite. These people are hard to please: "He is far too clever an opponent," the Board wrote "to openly admit to being an anti-Semite." "We endorse all condemnation of anti-Semitism," they quote me as writing in my newsletter issued on January 31, 1982. All of these things, including this secret 1992 Intelligence report filed by the Board of Deputies, were disclosed to these Defendants in my Discovery.

The Defense quoted a passage from a speech delivered, they said, in May 1992. In fact, as my diary confirms, it was delivered in May 1993, by which time my family and I had been subjected to a catalogue of insults by the leaders of these various bodies. If a writer's books are banned and burnt, his bookshops smashed, his hands manacled, his per-

son assaulted, his printers burned down, his access to the world's archives denied, his family's livelihood destroyed, his phone lines jammed with obscene and threatening phone calls and death threats, his house beset by violent and angry mobs, the walls and posts around his address plastered with stickers inciting the public to violence against him, and a wreath sent to him with a foul and taunting message upon the death of his oldest daughter — then it ill behoves people to offer cheap criticism if the writer finally stops turning the other cheek and rounds upon his tormentors.

In this respect I single out the Executive Director of the Board of Deputies, Mr. Michael Whine, whose organization staged the demonstrations outside my home of such a violent and ugly nature that police reinforcements had to be called. Whine had caused defamatory documents about me to be placed in the files of foreign governments with the intention that my free access to those countries should be impeded. He had caused the surroundings of my home to be stickered with labels bearing inflammatory slogans inciting violence against me. Some of these offensive items have been before the Court. Whine had issued a press release in January 1993, no doubt one of many, in which he accused me of attending "Nazi Training Camps." My only response, as Your Lordship has seen, apart from a failed and very costly attempt to sue his Board of Deputies in libel, during which they did not plead justification, but merely that I was out of time, was to make fun of Whine's name. That may have been tasteless, but it was not anti-Semitism, and it was certainly justified under the circumstances.

The references that I have made to what is now formally called the instrumentalization of the Holocaust have also been adduced as evidence of anti-Semitism. Are non-Jews disbarred from making a criticism that is being made increasingly vocally by others, such as Professor Peter Novick [author of *The Holocaust in American Life*]? Or by Leon Wieseltier, literary editor of the *New Republic*? He wrote there on May 3, 1993, at page 20:

"It's a sad fact," said the principal philanthropist of the grotesque Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles, "that Israel and Jewish education and all the other familiar buzzwords no longer seem to rally Jews behind the community. The Holocaust, though, works every time." His candor was refreshing, even if it was obscene. On the subject of the extermination of the Jews of Europe, the Jews of America are altogether too noisy.

I would also draw your Lordship's attention to the article by Norman Finkelstein in the *London Review of Books* of January 6, 2000, whose title

gives the whole tenor of the piece: "How the Arab-Israeli War of 1967 gave birth to a memorial industry." Finkelstein makes in this piece the sarcastic comment: "Every questioning of the uniqueness of the Holocaust is taken by American Jews to be an example of Holocaust denial." I could produce a sheaf of such quotations; they are all equally near the knuckle, equally true, and no more anti-Semitic than my own remarks on the matter.

As for the allegation that I am racist, I have produced to the Court enough evidence that I am less reluctant to hire Colored personal staff than, for example, certain legal teams evidently are. I hire personal staff on a form that has always stated my policy that we are an equal opportunity employer: "We do not and will not discriminate on the basis of race, religion, national origin, sex, age, handicap, marital status" ...

I voluntarily provided all my private diaries to the defendants, after securing the proper assurances. Those diaries total some 20 million words. Mr. Rampton produced from them one 19-word ditty, attached to another quite harmless one about the "messica dressica" of my infant daughter Jessica. ["I am a baby Aryan / Not Jewish or sectarian / I have no plans to marry an / Ape or Rastafarian."] To find, in all those diaries and telephone conversations written since 1959, just one 19-word ditty [from September 1994] that Mr. Rampton could trot out for the media does not suggest that I am as obsessed with race and racism as he, or, for that matter, the newspapers that report these things ...

The Speeches and Lectures

My Lord, the Defendants have also fished into my lectures and writings and books, all of which have been provided to them — literally millions of words — and they have put into evidence a minute fraction of those words, comparable to the one-millionth part of the diaries which the ditty represented.

I am not going to defend or justify those utterances *seriatim*. In general I would invite your Lordship to pick out one such utterance as a sample; to reach then for the transcript of the entire speech — to take note of the rest of its content, its clear references to the very real sufferings of the Jews, the liquidations, the Bruns Report and the rest; and then ask: Was the remark true, was it explicable, was it rhetorically justified as part of the skilled lecturer's armory?

Your Lordship has been told of my remark that more women had died on Kennedy's back seat than in that gas chamber at Auschwitz — the one shown to the tourists. It is tasteless but, quite literally, true. It is, as I have now shown in this court, even true if the main "gas chamber" at Birkenau is

brought into the equation, the notorious *Krema II* “factory of death,” because the eye-witnesses lied about that one too. The Poles have admitted that the Auschwitz [main camp] building and its chimney are a post-1945 fake. [See: R. Faurisson, “The ‘Gas Chamber’ of Auschwitz I,” Sept.-Dec. 1999 *Journal*, pp. 12-13.] My colorful language was a rhetorical way of bringing that extraordinary revelation home to audiences.

Extremist Organizations and People

My files confirm that I occasionally addressed audiences [in Germany] of the Association for Free Journalism (GfJ), the National Democratic Party (NPD), and the German People's Union (DVU) ... I disclosed to the Defendants English translations of the policy leaflets and manifestos of these bodies, which in my submission do not show them to be extreme in any way. These were, furthermore, bodies which were accepted at that time under Germany's very strict laws as being legal and constitutional.

The Court is more concerned, I believe, with individual personages. I have not the slightest doubt that the Court will find that I did not have any meaningful contact with the ugly ragbag of neo-Nazi extremists mentioned by Professor Hajo Funke people with whom, to make the point quite clearly, the Defendants, their experts, and their legal team seem more familiar than I. Most of the names were completely unknown to me, and the defense have sought in vain for them in my diaries and papers, to which, I emphasize yet again, I gave them unlimited and privileged access. This has not stopped them from bringing them forward, and mentioning these alleged links in open Court, in an attempt to smear me still further — with an eye particularly to the German media ...

May I again remind Your Lordship of my basic principle on lecturing. Unlike the Defendants, who have proudly stated that they refuse to debate with opponents, I have expressed a readiness to address all and any who are willing to listen ...

I may secondly point out that were it not for the clandestine activities of the violent and extremist bodies dedicated to destroying my right to free speech, and the rights of all audiences in the United States and elsewhere — at Berkeley, at Dublin, at Pretoria, or wherever — to hear my opinions; and equally dedicated to intimidating my publishers around the world and smashing bookstore windows; — were it not for their hate-campaign, I would have been enabled to continue in the normal manner with my exemplary professional career.

It rings hollow that the same shabby bodies who have generated the hatred against me, now point their crooked fingers at me and abuse me, using the

very considerable privileges afforded to them by this Court, for continuing to make my voice heard wherever I can; and that when I use words to describe them in detail, which they well deserve, they wring their hands and lament about “extremism.”

I have pointed out that so far as Germany is concerned, none of the German bodies who invited me to speak was illegal or banned. In fact when first invited to address the German People's Union, I wrote to, and telephoned, the German embassy, as the documents in my Discovery show, and asked them specifically whether this was a legal and constitutional body. The embassy confirmed in writing on July 25, 1984, that it was. The “extremism” was in the eye of the beholder. The further to the Left the beholder squinted from, the more distant these bodies may have seemed from him ...

As for his [Prof. Funke's] allegation here in court that I “should have known” that various organizations [in Germany] were going to be banned in years ahead: it is difficult for an Englishman, coming from a country with deeper democratic traditions than Professor Funke's, to implant himself into the brain, or mind-set, of the authoritarian German mold, where book-burning is now once again *de rigueur*, where a German academic like Funke does not bat an eyelid upon hearing that a teacher is still serving a seven-year jail sentence imposed for chairing a lecture at which I spoke, where the two District Court judges who acquitted that teacher were reprimanded, and finally retired in disgrace, by order of the minister of justice, and where recently governments have begun routinely banning fringe opposition parties and circumscribing even their legal activities. Germany now has several hundred political prisoners in her jails.

The security authorities in Germany, so readily quoted by Professor Funke, are nothing more than the political arm of each provincial or federal minister of the interior. They have little concern with legality. As the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* reported on September 15, 1995, Dr. Ernst Uhrlau, president of the Hamburg branch of the Office for the Protection of the Constitution (BfV) said: “The persistent steps taken by the state authorities against right-wing extremists have largely paralyzed their legal possibilities of action.” The paralyzing of the “legal possibilities of action” of opposition parties can hardly be considered a matter for pride in any normal democratic government. None of these banned parties has anything to do with violence.

My general response to this attempt at “guilt by association” is to compare it with the worst excesses of the inquisitions conducted by Senator Joseph McCarthy ...

As for the Institute for Historical Review (IHR): I have little to add to what I stated in my various written replies. It is clearly unsatisfactory, though not surprising, that establishment scholars feel the need to dismiss any rival body of scholars as “extremist,” merely on the basis that these others propagate a different version of history from their own “consensus” version. The officials of the IHR nearly all hold academic qualifications. True, they are not all trained historians, but then neither are some of the most famous names of historians in both ancient and contemporary times. It is clear from correspondence before the court that I recognized shortcomings in the old IHR, and was keen to introduce them to new speakers including main line scholars and historians like John Toland (who did in fact speak there), Professor Ernst Nolte, and Michael Beschloss.

I am not, and never have been, an official of the IHR; at most, one of many friendly advisers. As for speaking engagements, my association with the IHR has been the same as my association was with, for instance, the Cambridge University Fabian Society, or the Trinity College Dublin Literary and Debating group, or any other body of enlightened people keen to hear alternative views.

Professor Evans, in his odious attempts to smear and defile my name, which I hope will long haunt him in the common rooms of Cambridge, called me a frequent speaker at the IHR. And may I say, So what: none of my lectures had a Holocaust-denial, or anti-Semitic, or extremist theme. I spoke on Churchill, on Pearl Harbor, on Rommel, on the Goebbels diaries, on my Eichmann papers find, and on general problems of writing history. The Court has learned that I have in fact addressed functions of the IHR only five times in 17 years, one lecture each time. No amount of squirming by this expert witness could increase that figure. It is true that I socialized before or after the event with the IHR officials and their wives. So what. It is true that I use their warehousing facilities. So what. It is true that the IHR (along with thousands of other retail outlets) sell my books. So what.

It is also true that I introduced them to subjects which some members of the audience found deeply uncomfortable, for instance the confessions of Adolf Eichmann, the harrowing Bruns Report, and the *Kristallnacht*. [See, for example, Irving’s address to the 1992 IHR Conference, and his exchange with Prof. Faurisson on this point, in the March-April 1993 *Journal*, pp. 24-25, and, Irving’s essay in the Jan.-Feb. 1995 *Journal*, pp. 14-15, from his address at the 1994 IHR Conference.] I would willingly read out the relevant extracts of my lectures to the IHR, but my Lord, through the courtesy and industry of the Defendants solicitors, which I have had cause

already to praise, Your Lordship is already funded with extensive transcripts of those talks, and I would ask that Your Lordship read them with this paragraph in mind. I am accused of telling audiences what they want to hear; that may partially be true, but by Jove, having done so I then used the goodwill generated like that to tell them a lot of things they very much did not want to hear! The Defendants would willingly overlook this aspect of my association with the IHR. I trust that the Court will not ...

There remain one or two, in my view, minor matters.

The Defendants allege that I willfully exaggerated the Dresden death roll in my 1963 book *The Destruction of Dresden*, and afterwards, and had no basis for my figures. In fact I have satisfied this Court, I believe, that at all times (a) I set and published the proper upper and lower limits for the estimates that I gave, giving a range of figures which necessarily decreased, overall, over the years as our state of information improved; (b) I had adequate basis for the various figures which I provided in my works.

It has to be said that authors have little or no control over the content of books sub-licensed to other publishers. Revisions are not encouraged for cost reasons.

I have always been aware of the highly-charged political nature of the figures quoted for this event. The highest figure, of 250,000, which I only mentioned in my works as the maximum ever alleged, was given for example by the German Chancellor Dr. Konrad Adenauer in an official West German government publication which I showed the court ...

The lowest figures only became available in a book published in 1994 by Friedrich Reichert, *Verbrannt bis zur Unkenntlichkeit*. A copy of this book was provided to me in 1997. By that time I had already published the latest [1995-96], updated edition of my book, now called *Apocalypse 1945: The Destruction of Dresden*, in which I had lowered the death roll still further on the basis of my own investigations and considerations. This was the first edition over which I, and not the publisher, had total control ...

“The prospect of domination of the nation’s scholars by federal employment, project allocations, and the power of money is ever present — and is gravely to be regarded ...”

— President Dwight Eisenhower, “Farewell Address,” January 17, 1961.

Media Coverage of the Irving-Lipstadt Trial

COMPILED BY GREG RAVEN

Historian Irving Says He's Been Object of Campaign of Vilification

Associated Press, March 15, 2000

LONDON — Historian David Irving, who has outraged survivors of Nazi death camps by saying the Holocaust was exaggerated, told Britain's High Court on Wednesday that he had been the victim of a 30-year international campaign to destroy his reputation as a historian....

He said attempts to "suffocate" his publishing career had included "hostile groups" applying pressure to major book selling chains to burn or destroy his books....

Irving told the packed courtroom the case was not about the reputation of the Holocaust but about his reputation "as a human being, as an historian of integrity."

"A judgment in my favor does not mean that the Holocaust never happened; it means only that in England today discussion is still permitted."

British Holocaust Trial Ends with Claim of Jewish Conspiracy

Douglas Davis

Jewish Telegraphic Agency, March 15, 2000

LONDON — David Irving told the High Court in London this week that some of the world's largest Jewish organizations are involved in an international conspiracy against him.

The self-described Holocaust revisionist's claim Wednesday was the centerpiece of his 104-page closing address at the end of a two-month libel case against American Holocaust historian Deborah Lipstadt and her British publisher, Penguin Books....

The trial, which has attracted international attention, has been described as the most important trial involving the Holocaust since Adolf Eichmann, the chief engineer of the Holocaust, was convicted in Israel in 1961....

The plaintiff and defendant have shown sharply contrasting styles. Irving — who served as his own attorney and appeared to relish the spotlight — wasted no opportunity in and out of court in making statements supporting his claims that Auschwitz was not a death camp or that there was no systematic, mass destruction of Jews; Lipstadt, a professor

at Emory University in Atlanta, has sat silently throughout the proceedings.

Asserting that Israeli Holocaust specialist Yehuda Bauer paid for and directed Lipstadt's book, Irving alleged that Bauer urged Lipstadt to incriminate him.

The book, said Irving, is part of a 30-year international campaign, led by the Anti-Defamation League, the American Jewish Committee, the Simon Wiesenthal Center, JTA, the Board of Deputies of British Jews and others, which had aimed to discredit him.

"It is quite evident that the ADL, in cahoots with Lipstadt, set itself the task of destroying my career," he said, asserting that "the real defendants in this case are not represented in this court." But, he added, "We have them to thank for the spectacle that has been presented in this courtroom since January."

Without their financial assistance, he said, it is doubtful whether the expensive defense team could have "mounted this colossal assault on my name."

"This blinding and expensive spotlight has been focused on the narrowest of issues," he said, "yet it has still generated more noise than illumination."

Irving was particularly scathing about JTA. He claimed the news agency provided material in 1992 for Lipstadt's assertion that Irving was to have participated in a gathering in Sweden, which was later canceled, that would have been a "confluence between anti-Israel, anti-Semitic and Holocaust denial forces."...

Irving also claimed that a 1995 JTA report accused him of "having supplied the trigger mechanism for the Oklahoma City bomb."

Revisionist History

Seth Gitell

Boston Phoenix, March 16, 2000

Reform Party presidential hopeful Patrick Buchanan answered questions Tuesday [March 14] on WTKK FM 96.9 with talk-show host Jay Severin, a friend and former aide to the perennial candidate. Responding to a call on the show, Buchanan repeated assertions about the Holocaust that he's made in the past — assertions that minimize Hitler's guilt. "If Hitler had won, and overrun the

Soviet Union quickly, you might have had no Holocaust whatsoever,” Buchanan said. He added that he’s preparing to write a book documenting his belief — leading this listener to think that Buchanan is preparing to join the ranks of David Irving and other Holocaust deniers.

Holocaust Trial about Freedom, Says Irving

Michael Horsnell

The Times (London), March 16, 2000

David Irving, the controversial Hitler historian, said yesterday that if a judge ruled against him in his libel trial, academics could become too scared to discuss the Holocaust....

He said his editor at Macmillans had issued a secret order in July 1992 to destroy several thousand copies of all three volumes of his Hitler biography worth hundreds of thousands of pounds.

Mr. Irving said his family was placed in constant fear and West End Central Police Station in London had asked to film inside his Mayfair flat in case they needed to be rescued.

He added: “For 12 months after our young child — Jessica — was born, we lived with a wicker Moses basket in the furthest corner of our apartment near a window, attached to a length of wire rope in case the building was set on fire and we had to lower her to safety ... I have lived since then with a four-foot steel spike stowed in a strategic point inside my apartment. No historian should have to live with his family in a civilized city under such conditions.”

Irving: ‘I Aided Shoah Research’

Helen Jacobus

Jewish Chronicle (London), March 17, 2000

In his closing statement on Wednesday [March 15], David Irving stood by his view that Hitler did not know about the Final Solution.

He also said no gas chambers had been used for mass extermination at Auschwitz. And he told Mr. Justice Gray, before a packed public gallery, that there had been “no meaningful research” into the Holocaust until his book, *Hitler’s War*, in 1977.

“Far from being a ‘Holocaust-denier,’ my work has directly increased historical research into, and understanding of the Holocaust,” he said.

He said the defense had not proved he had “falsified” history. Though they were backed by “multi-million-dollar research, this does not invalidate me as an historian.”

He maintained an international network — which he later said included the Board of Deputies and the Institute of Jewish Affairs — had waged a campaign against him. Professor Deborah Lipsadt’s book, *Denying the Holocaust*, had been “the

climax of this campaign.”

This had resulted in loss of income. “Because of the inescapable conclusion that Hitler had probably not ordered, or been aware until relatively late, of the ultimate fate of the European Jews, I forfeited “perhaps half-a-million dollars” in publishing deals, he said.

Much of Mr. Irving’s closing submission focused on what he termed proof at the trial that a complex of buildings at Auschwitz was not “a slaughterhouse” — a contention that prompted defense counsel Richard Rampton to intervene, at one point, to contend that the historian was misrepresenting evidence heard in the two-month-long libel hearing. Mr. Irving said there was no forensic evidence to prove the roof of a gas chamber at Auschwitz had been built with holes through which SS guards could have thrown “canisters of cyanide-soaked pellets.”

He said the defendants’ “entire case, the untruth that crematorium II was used as a factory of death ... has caved in, as surely as had that roof.” He also said the figure of six million Jewish victims of the Holocaust had been a “back-of-the-envelope calculation by American Jewish leaders” whom the prosecutor in the Nuremberg trials had met in 1945.

Referring to right-wing groups in Germany which he had addressed and had since been outlawed, Mr. Irving added: “Germany now has several hundred political prisoners in its jails.”

A Question of History: Why I Spoke Up for David Irving

Peter Millar

Sunday Times (London), March 19, 2000

Playing the devil’s advocate is something most writers can cope with. It is another thing entirely getting an e-mail from him asking you to be his witness in court.

David Irving, of course, is not the devil. Or so he maintains. He has, he says, been demonized by a global conspiracy determined to ruin him and enforce his silence. That has been the essence of his libel case now awaiting judgment in the High Court. As Joseph Goebbels’s biographer, he does not quite echo the man he considers the real architect of the Third Reich’s crimes, and say it is a “Jewish-Communist conspiracy.” But he comes close.

Such is Irving’s ogre status that I had some trepidation even appearing in the witness stand — called by a man who says the greatest crime in human history is largely a myth — in a capacity that shocked friends, described (wholly mistakenly) as “for the defense.” Mistakenly, because Irving is the claimant. I was doing something even more apparently outrageous: appearing, in a loose and

non-legalistic manner of speaking, "for the prosecution."

Unlike me, Sir John Keegan, defense editor of *The Daily Telegraph* and an eminent historian who praised Irving's book *Hitler's War* for its research, had to be subpoenaed into the witness box. Under oath, he admitted that his refusal to give evidence was based on fears of being "misunderstood." Irving said that was proof of the strength of the conspiracy against him....

If even half of Irving's claims were true, it would — as he insists — be evidence of a massive conspiracy of lies and distortion. A conspiracy that, except to Irving and a few others, defies belief.

It would be sad if we allowed political correctness to condemn Irving for thinking (or even saying) the unsayable. Nor is it our affair if he believes the unbelievable. But what if he preaches it...?

Could David Irving Succeed?

Douglas Davis

Jewish Telegraphic Agency, March 20, 2000

... Was Auschwitz really a death camp where Jews were systematically slaughtered en masse? Did the Holocaust really happen? Did Hitler order, still less know about, the destruction of European Jewry? No, no, no, thundered Irving.

Given the wealth of historical documentation, physical evidence and eyewitness testimonies, including those of former death camp commanders, the questions might have been redundant to most reasonable people. But not, apparently, to Irving.

To Irving, Auschwitz was an awful slave labor camp where most of the 100,000 Jewish inmates — his figure — died of natural causes. To Irving, the Holocaust was the sum total of all the casualties of World War II. To Irving, Hitler was the best friend the Jews had in the Third Reich.

So who was to blame for the suffering of the Jews? Why, says Irving, the Jews themselves who, by their unspeakable behavior and insatiable greed, have invited the hatred and persecution of their hosts wherever they have lived over the past 3,000 years....

Whatever the outcome, it would be entirely wrong to assume that Irving is a cardboard cut-out fascist or a raving lunatic. His public speeches might be intemperate, but his actions are carefully calculated. He is a prolific author, an articulate spokesman for his cause and he has a presence — physical and intellectual — that commands attention.

In other circumstances, Irving might have been a front-line academic, a political leader or an effective courtroom advocate. Instead, he has found a

niche for himself as the jewel in the crown of right-wing extremism, its intellectual guiding star.

Holocaust Deniers Can't Be Ignored

Kenneth Lasson

Baltimore Sun, April 2, 2000

... Irving maintains that he is a legitimate historian who challenges orthodox views. Here are a couple of his statements:

"I don't see any reason to be tasteful about [the gas chambers at] Auschwitz. It's baloney. It's a legend.... I say quite tastelessly, in fact, that more women died on the back seat of Edward Kennedy's car at Chappaquiddick than ever died in a gas chamber in Auschwitz.... The holocaust of the Germans of Dresden (right) was real. The holocaust of the Jews in the Auschwitz gas chambers is a fabrication."

"I would say that [Jews are] a clever race. I would say that as a race they are better at making money than I am. That's a racist remark, of course. If I was going to be crude, I would say not only are they better at making money, but they are greedy."...

... the trial has serious ramifications. "I used to wonder why one must even dignify such an absurd position," says British historian Eric A. Johnson. Given the deniers' increasing numbers and influence, he now feels they can no longer be ignored.

Indeed, Irving has been recognized by some as a meticulous researcher. By his own account, he's "scrupulously fair." But if Irving is able to dismiss the testimony of tens of thousands of witnesses, where does that leave history?...

But Irving is hardly a lone wolf in the academic wilderness. Many university libraries classify Holocaust-denial books under "Holocaust." Ignorance about what happened is widespread and growing; recent polls found that 38 percent of American high school students and 28 percent of American adults could not identify the Holocaust.

There can be little doubt that Holocaust denial will gain strength once there are no more victims alive to supply eyewitness testimony about Nazi atrocities.

The need to remember is made all the more critical by the existence of well-known political figures who at various times express sympathy for accused Nazi war criminals or doubt the extent of the Holocaust, such as Patrick Buchanan and Louis Farrakhan....

In 1947, Thomas Dodd, the former U.S. senator who was one of the American prosecutors at the Nuremberg Trials, said of the evidence he was about to present that "the proof will be so overwhelming that I venture to predict not one word I have spoken

will be denied." Of course, Dodd hadn't countenanced Irving, who himself is living proof that one may be both a scholar and a bigot. As the generation of survivors dwindles, whose words will win?

Lipstadt: Libel Trial Strengthened Me

Janine Zacharia

The Jerusalem Post, April 4, 2000

PHOENIX, Arizona — Deborah Lipstadt, the US professor of Holocaust studies who is fighting a libel suit filed by Holocaust denier David Irving in England, told *The Jerusalem Post* this week she has been strengthened by the experience....

Asked about Israel's decision to release the prison papers of Adolf Eichmann to help her case, Lipstadt said she was grateful to the Israeli government for the decision, but her lawyers had not used them. "The Eichmann papers were important. But we didn't use them in the trial really because they came in very late," she said.

Faux Historians' Political Agendas Deserve Exposure

George Will

The Washington Post, April 6, 2000

... Irving, whose current ideological purposes prevent him from writing real history, fancies himself a "revisionist," a term of scholarship that he and kindred spirits have hijacked for their anti-Semitic purposes. Lipstadt is author of the 1993 book *Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory*, in which she called Irving "one of the most dangerous spokespersons for Holocaust denial." He is dangerous because he is indefatigable, skillful and cunning in mining archival material to give his tendentious arguments a patina of scholarship....

Holocaust denial and revisionism is a tangle of assertions, many of them made simultaneously and never mind the mind-bending contradictions. The assertions include:

The Holocaust (the killing of both sexes and all ages of an entire human group as quickly as possible using the full employment of the resources of a modern industrial state) never happened; many people died in camps but only as a result of wartime stresses (excessive labor, inadequate hygiene, misguided security measures); the gas chambers were only for showers or fumigation; the gas Zyklon B was too weak to produce mass deaths, or so strong it would have killed persons emptying the chambers; the Holocaust happened but not on the scale propagandized by Jewish interests for political and financial gain (German "confirmations" were made to curry favor with their captors); it happened but it

was not Hitler's fault (overzealous subordinates acted without his knowledge); it happened but it was the Jews' fault (for frustrating Hitler's attempts to achieve Germany's reasonable aims diplomatically)....

What worries Lipstadt most is not the historical amnesia of millions of barely educated people. And what worries her most is not the epistemological indeterminacy of ignorant sophisticates in academia who preach that there are no facts, only "interpretations" based on individuals' "perspectives," so everything is a matter of mere opinion and all opinions, including Irving's, are created equal.

Rather, what worries her most is hatred and the political agenda of the haters. Holocaust deniers usually espouse a generalized racism but particularly aim to vilify Jews and delegitimize Israel. As survivors of the Holocaust and others with firsthand knowledge of it die, Holocaust deniers will redouble their efforts. But their task has been made more difficult by what Lipstadt has achieved — an emphatic denunciation of those who torture history in order to rehabilitate torturers and open careers for future torturers.

Historians Fight Battle of the Books

T. R. Reid

The Washington Post, April 6, 2000

LONDON — The emotional and engrossing legal battle playing out here this spring was initially billed as "the Holocaust on trial." In fact, it has turned out to be "history on trial," as the litigants argue over what historians should be allowed to write about World War II and about each other....

The case, with some of the world's leading World War II historians in the witness box, was initially expected to put the fact of the Holocaust itself on trial. But Irving scotched that issue in his opening statement. "No person ... can deny that the tragedy actually happened," he said, "however much we dissident historians may wish to quibble about the means, the scale, the dates and other minutiae."

Instead, the courtroom battle dealt mainly with why Irving and his books are now so vilified. Is it because Irving is "a liar ... a racist and a rabid anti-Semite," as Lipstadt's lawyer argued? Or is it, as Irving sees the issue, because "an international conspiracy" determined that "there is a single politically correct view of that war, and no historian will be allowed to challenge it."...

In one of the more stunning moments of the trial, Irving argued that no one has ever found a signed order from Hitler calling for the extermination of Jews. Turning toward the transfixed spectators, he said: "I have to remind you of a basic principle of English law — that a man is innocent until he is

proved guilty.”

Irving does not stop there. He maintains that Anne Frank’s diary is “a romantic novel rather like *Gone With the Wind*.” He says the number of Jews killed by the Nazis was “far smaller” than the widely accepted figure of six million; in an interview, Irving said the number was “of the order of one million.” He says that most of the victims died of disease or were shot to death, and “there was no industry-scale gassing of Jews.”

Finally, Irving fills his books with comparisons that Lipstadt calls “immoral equivalencies.” He denies that the Jews suffered uniquely in World War II. He compares the Nazi killing of Jews to the Allies’ killing of German civilians in bombing raids. He argues that the word “holocaust” should be used to describe the Allied bombing of Dresden.

Years ago, Irving received respectful attention for his research from some mainstream historians....

But over time, Irving became increasingly isolated. He was convicted of violating Germany’s Holocaust-denial laws and barred from several countries. Publishers dropped his books and backed out of contracts for new ones.

Irving concluded that these sanctions were the work of a conspiracy, at the heart of which was Lipstadt...

Lipstadt’s book became a central element of contemporary Holocaust studies, and publishers worldwide brought out local editions. Penguin Books published a British edition in 1995....

The result has been a trial studded with long lectures, angry exchanges and bitter insults ...

At one point, Irving ... launched into a long exegesis on the ballpoint-pen markings found in the manuscript of Anne Frank’s diary. Rampton stood up and complained: “Really, my lord, I really do think this is becoming the most frightful waste of time.”

“Well,” Gray responded, “at least this one is relevant.”

Even if Irving wins, it’s difficult to imagine that any trial result could make up for the losses he has sustained in recent years.

Verdict Looms in Libel Trial of Emory Scholar

Bert Roughton Jr.

Atlanta Journal-Constitution, April 9, 2000

... On the surface, the lawsuit by writer David Irving against Emory University professor Deborah Lipstadt has been a test of his charge that she libeled him in her 1994 book, *Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory*.

Yet, in many ways, the case has been an explora-

tion of basic assumptions about what happened in Germany and Eastern Europe during the World War II era.

The Israeli government considered the trial important enough to provide Lipstadt’s lawyers with the unpublished prison papers of Hitler lieutenant Adolf Eichmann to help undermine Irving’s assertions. However, the documents were too late to be used in the case.

The witness box has been filled with experts who packed the record with documents and analyses to sustain accepted accounts of the Holocaust....

Irving contends the Nazis didn’t kill as many as six million Jews in a systematic extermination effort. But he accepts that the Nazis were responsible for the deaths of many Jews, maybe one million, most of whom were killed by malnutrition, disease or firing squads.

Furthermore, he contended the scope of the Holocaust has been overblown by Jews seeking to boost reparations from Germany.

Irving also rejected as fiction accounts of Nazis gassing Jews at concentration camps and says the gas chambers still seen by tourists at Auschwitz are fakes.

A biographer of Hitler, Irving also argued that the Nazi leader was unaware of the campaign against Jews and other minorities until late in the war. Hitler, in Irving’s words, had “a Richard Nixon kind of complex” and didn’t really want to know what others were doing to Jews.

In his 104-page closing address, Irving asserted that Lipstadt’s book had been financed and directed by Israeli Holocaust specialist Yehuda Bauer, then a professor at the Hebrew University, who, he said, had urged Lipstadt to incriminate him.

He said this was part of a 30-year international campaign against him, led by the Anti-Defamation League, the American Jewish Committee, the Simon Wiesenthal Center, the Board of Deputies of British Jews and others. “It is quite evident that the ADL, in cahoots with Lipstadt, set itself the task of destroying my career,” he said.

As a result of their campaign, he said, he is banned from Germany, Austria, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa.

“I have been subjected since at least 1973, and probably before then, to what would be called in warfare a ‘campaign of interdiction,’” he said.... He said his once lucrative career as an author and public speaker has been left in ruins.

Irving’s War

Andrew Walker

BBC News, April 11, 2000

... David John Caldwell Irving was born in 1938,

the son of a Lieutenant Commander in the Royal Navy who had seen service at the battle of Jutland. Although he entered Imperial College, London, to study Physics, Irving failed to graduate.

He was rejected by the Royal Air Force as being medically unfit and decided, as an alternative to National Service, to move to Germany, finding employment as a steelworker in the Ruhr.

Returning to Britain, he wrote a controversial first book, *The Destruction of Dresden*, which described the 1945 air raid on the city as "the worst single massacre in European history." The book was, nevertheless, popular and Irving followed it with a series of best-sellers, including *The Mare's Nest* and *The Virus House*, about the Nazis' atomic research program. In 1968 he found himself in court following the publication of *The Destruction of Convoy PQ17*. Captain J. E. Broome, who commanded the doomed convoy's escort, sued for libel and won.

But Irving bounced back and, in 1977, produced the work for which is probably best known — *Hitler's War*. The book looked at the conduct of World War II from Hitler's perspective, "from behind the Führer's desk," as Irving put it.

He berated fellow historians for their idleness over research, as he had unearthed a vast collection of previously unexploited Nazi documents and had conducted many interviews with members of Hitler's personal staff while writing the book.

The vast work, which took 13 years to produce, contained the astounding thesis that, until late 1943, Hitler knew nothing of the Holocaust and that he never gave the order for the physical destruction of European Jewry. He offered £1,000 to anyone who could produce a written document showing that Hitler had given such an order. Indeed in the following years, Irving went even further, stating that gas chambers did not exist and that six million did not die.

At the time, Irving drew high praise. Hugh Trevor-Roper wrote, "No praise can be too high for his indefatigable scholarly industry" and A. J. P. Taylor commended his "good scholarship."

Most, though, were outraged by what they saw as Irving's unacceptable views. Irving underwent verbal attacks, the door of his house was smashed with a sledgehammer and he was banned from Germany, Australia and Canada.

Irving now views himself as a champion of what he calls Real History. He blames a vast, largely Jewish, conspiracy of "the traditional enemies of free speech" for losing book contracts and income and now sees his works published free online on his own web site.

History Under Scrutiny

Jon Silverman
BBC News, April 11, 2000

The marathon libel action which historian David Irving lost against American academic Deborah Lipstadt has been about history and truth. And underpinning the trial is what many consider the most heinous crime of the 20th Century — the Holocaust.

However, in his closing speech, Mr. Irving, representing himself, said the case was not about the Holocaust but about "his reputation as a human being, as an historian of integrity." He told Mr. Justice Gray that a judgment in his favor did not mean that the Holocaust never happened, merely that in England, discussion was still permitted.

His opponents agree that at the heart of the case is the historian's reputation. But they deny that his freedom of expression is an issue. And they allege that Mr. Irving's agenda is far wider than an academic interest in the Holocaust....

Mr. Irving also lost ground — if not in court then amongst Holocaust deniers — by admitting that he had been wrong when he said that the gassing of Jews in trucks was done "on a limited and experimental basis" only.

This was the first time in 36 years that the Holocaust had been the central issue of a libel case at the High Court. And for that reason, the judgment is likely to be quoted for many years to come.

History Needs David Irvings

Donald Cameron Watt
Evening Standard (London), April 11, 2000

... Eight months before the case came to court, *The New York Times* asked a number of leading American and British historians whether they regarded Irving as being a historian "of repute." The large majority of those polled, ranging from the ultra-conservative Right to the ex-communist Left, answered yes. Only those who identify with the victims of the Holocaust disagreed. For them Irving's views are blasphemous and put him on the same level of sin as advocates of pedophilia. In a number of countries "Holocaust denial" is a crime. In Britain and America pressure is brought on publishers not to print works embodying this version of history. Irving claimed the accusation to be a threat to his livelihood; he sought compensation; and he sought to silence his critics. Make no mistake, however. Both sides in this action were engaged in what that great historian R. H. Tawney once called "the gladiatorial school of historical controversy."

Penguin was certainly out for blood. The firm has employed five historians, with two research assis-

tants, for some considerable time to produce 750 pages of written testimony, querying and checking every document cited in Irving's books on Hitler. Show me one historian who has not broken into a cold sweat at the thought of undergoing similar treatment.

For what it is worth, I admire some of Mr. Irving's work as a historian. Thirty-five years ago I collaborated with him in the publication of a lengthy German intelligence document on British policy in the 12 months before the British declaration of war on Germany in September 1939. Ten years ago he published, on his own in German, a revised version of the book. From every point of view it was a considerable advance on the work I had collaborated on. He had found a lot more documents and had identified and interviewed a number of officers of the organization in question. In the American archives he had found a lengthy post-war American evaluation of the organization, incorporating a British intelligence document, which will now, we hope, be released to the Public Record Office. Irving's book, *The Rise and Fall of the Luftwaffe*, is still recommended by historians of the war in the air. That is one side of Irving.

As a historian he betrays some of the characteristic faults of the self-taught.... He has also an encyclopedic knowledge of the truly enormous mass of German documentation which fell into the hands of the victors in 1945. Moreover, his first book, on the bombing of Dresden, opened to him private papers, diaries and so on, previously unknown, of "respectable" German officials who had gone along with the Nazis. No book of his has ever failed to come up with new evidence....

Professional historians have been left uneasy by the whole business. Many distinguished British historians in the past, from Edward Gibbon's caricatures of early Christianity to A. J. P. Taylor, are open to the accusation that they allowed their political agenda and views to influence their professional practice in the selection and interpretation of historical evidence.

... The truth needs an Irving's challenges to keep it alive.

The Trial of David Irving — And My Part in His Downfall

John Keegan

The Daily Telegraph (London), April 12, 2000

The news that David Irving has lost his libel case will send a tremor through the community of 20th-century historians. For more than a year now, the gossip between them has been about whether he would lose or not, a subject on which all hedged bets. "It depends whether the judge goes for Holocaust

denial or slurs on his reputation," was the general view. "If the first he'll lose, if the second he might get away with it."

What this insider talk meant was that Mr. Irving might well persuade the judge of the unfairness of Professor Lipstadt's accusations of his bad historical method. That was what he cared about and he would no doubt argue his case well. If, however, her accusation that Irving's version of the Holocaust was so untruthful as to outweigh his merits as an otherwise objective historian, then he would get no damages and have to pay enormous costs....

... Prof Lipstadt's case was that the bad in Irving was so bad that it robbed all he wrote of value. Irving's case was that, if some historians of reputation praised parts of his work, the praise extended to all his work. Both positions are, of course, highly artificial.

Fortunately, I did not have to give my opinion of Prof Lipstadt's work. ...

I stepped down but stayed to watch the rest of the morning's proceedings. Mr. Irving's performance was very impressive. He is a large, strong, handsome man, excellently dressed, with the appearance of a leading QC [Queen's counsel]. He performs as well as a QC also, asking, in a firm but courteous voice, precise questions which demonstrate his detailed knowledge of an enormous body of material.

There it was all around us, hundreds of box files holding thousands of pages telling in millions of words what had been done and suffered in Hitler's Europe. Irving knows the material paragraph by paragraph. His skill as an archivist cannot be contested.

Unfortunately for him, the judge has now decided that all-consuming knowledge of a vast body of material does not excuse faults in interpreting it. Irving, the judge said, "repeatedly makes assertions about the Holocaust which are unsupported by or contrary to the historical record."

... [Irving] wants to be praised for his source notes, for his exegesis, for his bibliographies, for what historians call "the apparatus."

As a result, his books positively clank and groan under the weight of apparatus. Very good it is too. Irving, never confident enough to believe what he reads about himself, really is admired by some of those whose approval he seeks....

... He has, in short, many of the qualities of the most creative historians. He is certainly never dull. Prof Lipstadt, by contrast, seems as dull as only the self-righteously politically correct can be. Few other historians had ever heard of her before this case. Most will not want to hear from her again. Mr. Irving, if he will only learn from this case, still has much that is interesting to tell us.

Irving's Defeat in London, 'Holocaust Denial,' and Austria's Haider

JOSEPH SOBRAN

The 'Dangerous' David Irving

The historian David Irving has lost his libel suit against Deborah Lipstadt and Penguin Books. Mrs. Lipstadt had called Irving "one of the most dangerous spokesmen for Holocaust denial."

In a devastating ruling, Judge Charles Gray declared Irving a "racist" and "anti-Semite" who distorts historical facts in order to portray Adolf Hitler in what Gray, turning to British understatement, called "an unwarrantedly favorable light." Under British law, Irving must now bear the \$3 million dollars in legal fees the defendants ran up.

Gray didn't deny Irving's contention that Mrs. Lipstadt, with the assistance of other Jewish agencies, including the Israeli government, has pursued a vendetta against Irving aimed at destroying his career. Mrs. Lipstadt herself doesn't deny it. "As [Holocaust] survivors die off and there are fewer and fewer eyewitnesses," she has explained tearfully, "there won't be people to tell the story in the first person, and it will be easier to deny it."

Such a statement calls in question Mrs. Lipstadt's own competence as a historian. How does the factuality of the organized murder of millions depend on the testimony of those who escaped the murder? Individual Jews in concentration camps were in no position to know just what the comprehensive Nazi program was, and survivor testimony is notoriously unreliable anyway. Mrs. Lipstadt might as well say that when all the veterans of World War II die, it will become easier to deny that there was any war at all. Her understanding of how history is compiled seems remarkably naive.

Historians agree that Irving has unearthed many vital documents of World War II; yet he too seems capable of remarkable naivete. It would be easier to believe that there was no Holocaust at all

than that, as Irving has argued in his book *Hitler's War* and elsewhere, the whole thing was conducted behind Hitler's back and against his wishes.

Still, Irving has guts. Without a lawyer, he single-handedly took on a high-powered legal team, who employed several scholars in an all-out effort to scrutinize his life's work (and even his private diaries) for evidence that could be used to discredit him.



Joseph Sobran

With such a mismatch in money and resources, given that he is one of the most outspoken scholars on earth, with a penchant for rash overstatement and even gratuitous insult, it's no marvel that he lost. Would any judge have dared to rule in his favor?

But in what sense is Irving "dangerous," as Mrs. Lipstadt charged? Dangerous to whom, to what interests? And exactly why did the Israeli government have to get involved in this case? Gray didn't explain.

Irving was already banned from several countries because of his views; he has been prosecuted and fined in Germany, where he can no longer get access to the very documents he himself has discovered! The world can't afford to tolerate even a single man like him? Apparently not, though plenty of scholars espouse dubious and eccentric views on all sorts of subjects without getting the treatment Irving has received. Usually we think it's enough to let book reviewers mete out justice, however imperfectly. My last book drew some harsh reviews, but none of them suggested that my career be wrecked or that I be jailed.

Some sort of congratulations must be due to the international Jewish thought-control apparatus. It must be comforting to American taxpayers, who pay billions in aid to Israel, to know that they are helping to subsidize Israeli efforts to see to it that free speech doesn't get out of control in democratic countries, from Germany to Canada to Australia. In Switzerland, for example, a man has just drawn a three-year prison sentence for the crime of Holo-

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caust denial. Presumably he too was “dangerous” — to someone.

Hitler has been out of business for more than half a century. He poses no threat now. On any objective scale, he did far less harm than Stalin and his pals, but it's no crime, anywhere, to deny or minimize the atrocities of the Stalin-Roosevelt-Churchill alliance (which Churchill himself seems to have regretted later in his life). On the contrary, the misdeeds of that alliance are still celebrated as victories for democracy and civilization.

David Irving's ruin should tell us where the real danger to freedom now lies.

Subsidized Consensus

Sometimes you realize the truth only when you encounter its direct denial. Something crystallized for me when I read a commentary on the recent verdict against the English historian David Irving in his libel suit against the Jewish historian Deborah Lipstadt, over her charge that Irving is a “dangerous” Holocaust denier.

Attempting to explain the persistence of Holocaust revisionism, the commentator observes: “There is a crank element in democratic culture, people who enjoy ‘special knowledge,’ theories opposed to ordinary thought and not accessible to the mainstream. For example, there are people who believe that someone other than Shakespeare wrote his plays, or that history is a Masonic conspiracy, or that Franklin Roosevelt plotted Pearl Harbor.”

These examples contradict the writer's thesis. The authorship heretics (including me) who deny that “Shakespeare” was the legendary William of Stratford don't claim to possess “special knowledge”; they cite evidence everyone can read and assess for himself. There's nothing esoteric about it. The “crank element” who reject the standard account has included Henry James, Mark Twain, Sigmund Freud, Orson Welles, and many others. The heretics are eager for debate; the orthodox want to shut them out of academia and the “mainstream” without a hearing.

Historians of distinction have argued that Franklin Roosevelt knew in advance about Pearl Harbor and welcomed the attack as a *casus belli* at a time when most Americans wanted to stay out of war. One recent book by a Roosevelt admirer — *Day of Deceit*, by Robert B. Stinnett — offers a strong case for this, with startling new evidence from official sources to support it. Far from blaming Roosevelt for his deception of the public and his own military command, Stinnett argues that he had to do it!

Even Holocaust deniers don't claim “special knowledge.” They make detailed arguments from official documents and records. Whatever the merits

of their case, they want to debate. It's their opponents who want to shut them up, even urging legislation to make their views punishable by imprisonment!

To take a different example, AIDS heretics who doubt that the HIV virus causes the disorder find themselves shut out and shouted down by establishment medical scientists. Why? Because the medical establishment is wedded to the HIV theory, drawing heavy government subsidies they would lose if that theory were ever abandoned.

Dissenters from Darwin's theory of evolution get the same treatment from the academic establishment, no matter how cogent their objections. Science is supposed to be a disinterested search for knowledge, but subsidized scientists in the academic world are not disinterested parties. They have heavy investments in Darwinism.

Such examples could be multiplied many times. Conservatives and libertarians have long found themselves excluded in such academic fields as political science, history, and economics — not to mention journalism and the entertainment industry.

On many subjects, as George Orwell pointed out, there is a “prevailing orthodoxy,” and he who dissents from it is apt to “find himself silenced with surprising effectiveness.” The dissenter may be ignored, denounced, or in some cases prosecuted; but he won't get a hearing, if those in power have anything to say about it.

Of course liberal professors hate to think that they are engaged in suppressing free speech or academic freedom; so they usually justify excluding dissenters on grounds that they are maintaining “professional standards of scholarship” and “academic integrity.” They pretend, in other words, that they object only to the shoddy methodology of the dissenters, not to the content of their views.

But in many cases, the “cranks” are those who disregard authority, pursue the evidence to rational conclusions, and — above all — have no stake or investment in the established orthodoxy. If that orthodoxy is wrong, they don't stand to lose money — especially government money. They are more truly independent than the scholars they oppose.

The problem of liberal orthodoxy is compounded by the involvement of government in education, which tends to produce what might be called “subsidized consensus.” When the “prevailing orthodoxy” is supported by tax money, the stakes are raised enormously. The heretic becomes a grave danger to the incomes and privileges of the subsidized orthodox caste, who naturally try to cut off the “free competition of ideas” they profess to desire.

In short, your freedom of speech ends where my government check begins.

The Führer Furor

Governments, demonstrators, pundits, and even musicians are protesting the inclusion of the Austrian Freedom Party in the new Conservative government. The Freedom Party is of course led by Jörg Haider, February's Hitler of the Month.

"The rise of Jörg Haider in a country whose role in the Holocaust still awaits clarification is more than unsettling, it's shameful and unforgivable," says the great Jewish pianist Andras Schiff, canceling a scheduled concert at the Austrian embassy in Washington. Several governments, including the United States, have already announced sanctions against Austria because of Haider's anti-immigrant politics and controversial remarks about the Third Reich. He reminds people of Hitler.

If only Haider were a Communist! Communists still participate, without international indignation, in European coalitions. Despite the rather sanguinary history of the "socialist republics" from Russia to Cambodia, which have resulted in a hundred million abbreviated life spans, nobody is seriously disgraced by choosing to associate himself with the name, symbols, and history of Communism.

Liberal opinion has trivialized Communism by censuring anti-Communism as "McCarthyism" and ridiculing those who see "Commies under every bed." But hysterically free-associating people with Hitler (d. 1945) is still considered normal behavior. In spite of Stalin, you can still name your kid Joseph (thank God!); but don't name him Adolf!

Since the late 1960s Hitler and Nazism have become synonymous less with World War II than with the program of mass-murder now known as the Holocaust, though the term Holocaust was never used either by Hitler or his enemies — Franklin Roosevelt, Winston Churchill, Dwight Eisenhower, or even "Uncle Joe" Stalin. Today the term is ubiquitous, and several countries have actually made it a crime to doubt that the Holocaust occurred.

The Holocaust has become so many things: memory, cautionary lesson, guilt trip, metaphor, explanation, and — though unique in history — perpetually imminent danger. It can happen again at any time, regardless of circumstances, defying normal laws of causality, without such preconditions as a Hitler, a world war, a Versailles treaty, and economic catastrophe.

Moreover, everyone is guilty, not just Hitler and the Nazis. The stain of guilt for the Holocaust has spread to all the German people, the Allies, Pope Pius XII, the Catholic Church as a whole, the authors of the Gospels who originated the anti-Semitism that would result, two millennia later, in genocide; not to mention such anti-Semitic authors and artists as Chaucer, Shakespeare, Voltaire, Dick-

ens, Dostoyevsky, Wagner, G. K. Chesterton, Hilaire Belloc, T. S. Eliot, and Ezra Pound.

The Holocaust has entered the realm of science fiction. In novels and movies like "The Boys from Brazil" and "Marathon Man," new little Hitlers can be cloned, or a handful of octogenarian Nazis hiding in South America can launch the whole thing all over again. Talk about a Master Race!

As a symbol with such limitless potential, the Holocaust can even be turned against the Jews themselves. Critics and enemies of Israel liken its racially discriminatory policies — on immigration, residence, citizenship, and even marriage — to Hitler's. And in truth, Jörg Haider has little to teach the Israelis about abusing and excluding minorities.

Which hasn't prevented the Israeli government from recalling its ambassador from Austria, with appropriate moral bluster: "We are calling on the free world, all the democracies, to isolate this neo-fascist government," says one Israeli official, unblushingly. Perhaps he has forgotten such Israeli leaders as Menachem Begin, Yitzhak Shamir, and Benjamin Netanyahu. All Israeli practices, however brutal, are justified as necessary exercises in Holocaust-prevention.

Since the danger is eternally imminent, there is no limit to what may be done in the name of avoiding another Holocaust. Normal standards of decency, prudence, and rhetorical restraint may be set aside when a budding Hitler is spotted. A minor local politician sparks a worldwide furor; a dissident historian of World War II is denounced as "one of the most dangerous spokespersons for Holocaust denial." Dangerous? Yes!

If you deny the first one, you see, you're promoting the next one. (Even "Holocaust denial" can cause a Holocaust.)

Thus an endless anti-Hitler frenzy becomes a form of moral witness. It makes the McCarthy Era seem like a moment of calm.

Changing the Story

Jewish organizations and commentators are greatly agitated about "Holocaust denial" — in America, in Europe, and in the Arab world. Thanks to Jewish pressure, several countries have made denying the Holocaust a crime; no doubt it would be illegal here too if not for the First Amendment. Even the Israeli government pitches in against accused Holocaust deniers in other countries.

As the Israeli writer Amos Elon has observed, it's extremely odd for a democracy to criminalize an opinion about historical events. You expect it in a Communist country, but not in the free world.

Why is so much more importance attached to the Holocaust than to, say, the far more murderous

Soviet system, which, in peacetime, set a record for mass extermination that the Nazis never approached during a world war?

Many secularized Jews define themselves less by Jewish religion and tradition than by persecution. As the historian Peter Novick points out in his thoughtful book *The Holocaust in American Life*, the Holocaust appears to such Jews the only thing Jews really have in common, the only sure warrant of shared identity. It takes the place of religion in their minds, and they find denial of it deeply unsettling — a form of heresy.

Moreover, the state of Israel has made a large investment in the Holocaust, staking its very legitimacy on the Nazi era, which it says shows the necessity of Israel as a refuge from persecution. This implies that if the Holocaust were proved to be a myth, the Jews would have no right to the Holy Land, since most of them no longer believe that God gave the land to Moses and the ancient Hebrews.

The Arabs are quick to grasp this implication. The official Syrian newspaper recently said that “Zionists created the Holocaust myth to blackmail and terrorize the world’s intellectuals and politicians.” True or not, the Holocaust story has become a political weapon, and Arabs have the same stake in denying the story that the Israelis have in maintaining it.

Though the standard story is probably broadly true, its exploitation is bound to create resentment, and changes in its details are bound to create suspicion. Few still believe that the Nazis made soap and lampshades out of Jewish corpses; even Jewish scholars now say the number of Jews who perished at Auschwitz is closer to one million than to four million.

There has been another change too. During World War II, Novick reminds us, Jewish spokesmen were anxious to convince Christians in America, many of whom opposed getting into the war, that Hitler wasn’t just persecuting Jews; he was everyone’s enemy, they stressed, and he was persecuting Christians too, particularly Polish Catholics. After the war Jewish leaders thanked and praised Pope Pius XII for his efforts to save Jews from the Nazis.

Today it’s quite literally a different story. Jewish leaders now say in effect that Pius XII and the Catholic Church were on the side of the Nazis. Pius maintained a culpable “silence” about the Holocaust, they insist, and the Catholic Church was responsible for the anti-Semitism that motivated the Nazis. The Anti-Defamation League (ironic name!) now says the Holocaust was essentially a Catholic operation: the current Pope, complains ADL director Abraham Foxman, has failed to apologize for “specific Catholic wrongs against the Jewish

people, especially the Holocaust”!

Now they tell us! Gee, thanks, Mr. Foxman. Why, when the war was raging, didn’t you and your brethren inform those Catholic boys who were being sent to fight Hitler that, as far as you were concerned, their Church was really on Hitler’s side? Why mislead Christians into believing that Nazism and Christianity were polar opposites? Did you fear that if you told them what you really thought of their religion, they might not see that war as a cause for which Christians should shed their blood?

Talk about Holocaust revisionism! Imagine the reaction of Christians in 1941 if they had heard Jews blaming Hitler on Christianity. They would probably have said: “All right then. If the Jews want Hitler beaten, let them fight him themselves, and for heaven’s sake keep our sons out of it!”

No wonder so many people are weary of the Holocaust obsession, even to the point of wanting to deny that it happened at all.

Teaching History

About four years ago I began to ask the teachers of my own children how it came to be that they could not tell Thomas Jefferson from Thomas the Tank Engine. In the preceding sentence, it is unclear whether I mean that the children didn’t know unless I told them, or that the teachers didn’t know unless I told *them*. The confusion is intentional. One instructor, at a rather costly District of Columbia day school, cheerfully avowed that she herself “had never been that much of a reader.” Others, more candid, announced that history was a bit of a minefield subject and that “good examples” (like Pocahontas and, on a good day, Frederick Douglass) were the thing. Parson Weems himself could hardly have bettered the modern method whereby children get good reports in a subject that they have never studied in order that a tiny pump be applied to the valves of their fledgling self-esteem.

— Christopher Hitchens, in the November 1998 issue of *Harper’s* magazine.

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Only with the sustained help of friends can the Institute for Historical Review carry on its vital mission of promoting truth in history. If you agree that the work of our Institute is important, please support it with your generous donation!

Switzerland: Prison Term for 'Holocaust Denial'

On April 10, 2000, a Swiss court sentenced 79-year-old publicist and retired teacher Gaston-Armand Amaudruz to one year in prison for "denying" the existence of homicidal gas chambers in World War II German concentration camps.

Amaudruz was found guilty of violating Switzerland's five-year-old "anti-racism" law, which makes it a crime to "deny, grossly minimize or seek to justify genocide or other crimes against humanity." He had broken the law, the court ruled, through his distribution of revisionist books, and for two articles in 1995 issues of his newsletter *Courrier du Continent*. In one of the offending items he had written: "For my part, I maintain my position: I don't believe in the gas chambers. Let the exterminationists provide the proof and I will believe it. But as I've been waiting for this proof for decades, I don't believe I will see it soon."

In addition to the non-suspended prison sentence, the criminal court in Lausanne ordered Amaudruz to pay a fine of 1,000 Swiss francs (about \$600) to each of four civil parties in the case: the Swiss Federation of Jewish Communities, the Paris-based International League Against Racism and Anti-Semitism (LICRA), the Association of Sons and Daughters of Deported Jews of France, and a Jewish concentration camp survivor. Amaudruz must also pay the trial costs, as well as the costs of publishing a notice of the court's judgment in three daily newspapers and in an official gazette.

Jewish groups expressed satisfaction with the judgment, which Amaudruz is appealing.

The three-day trial (April 3-5) was his first appearance before a court for anything he has written or published. For half a century, Amaudruz has been putting out his *Courrier* newsletter with no detectable harm to the country's Jews, much less to Swiss society as a whole.

'Long Live Revisionism!'

Shortly before the trial began, Amaudruz wrote an intentionally provocative article, "Vive le révisionnisme!," that appeared in the April 2000 issue (No. 418) of his *Courrier* newsletter. He wrote:

Revisionism exists to call into question our "certainties," even the most seemingly solid ones. This methodology, very familiar to scientists, applies to all fields of knowledge.

In several countries there is an untouchable dogma: the "Six Million" and the "gas chambers"... In Switzerland, Section 261 of the criminal code ... supposedly meant to suppress "racial discrimination," does not define the offense, thereby leaving the definition up to the

judges, who can condemn or acquit the accused as they see fit, or on the basis of received instructions. And just what in the world does disputing the Six Million figure have to do with 'racial discrimination'?...

As one who has been indicted for revisionism, I repeat:

— The Six Million figure is impossible.

— I do not believe in the gas chambers, because there is no proof for them.

My trial is a political trial; the verdict is based exclusively on the appropriateness of considerations of the moment.

I prefer to obey my conscience rather than an immoral and criminal law, and I hold to my conviction. Long live revisionism!

In his testimony during the trial, Amaudruz defiantly repeated his skepticism, "for lack of proof," of gas chamber claims, and said that it was "impossible" for six million Jews to have been killed by German authorities during World War II.

Amaudruz was asked why he continued to express disbelief in gas chambers and the Six Million even after Switzerland's Anti-Racism Law came into effect in early 1995. He responded by saying that there is nothing in the law about gas chambers or the Six Million, and he did not know at the time that these two dogmas were untouchable. He added:

If the Six Million figure were correct, and the gas chambers existed, it would not be necessary to suppress dissident opinions with a muzzle law. In such a situation one should be able to present proofs. The existence of Section 261 [Anti-Racism Law] is the best argument against the standard version of the fate of the Jews in the Second World War. Given how the media incessantly serves up this version, doubts are practically obligatory.

Why, he was asked, does he continue to express doubts about the Holocaust? "Because," he replied simply, "the lobby continues to put out its propaganda."

An Unabashed Racist

While on the witness stand, Amaudruz was asked if he is a racist. "Yes," was his forthright reply, "and on the basis of the *Petit Larousse* [a standard dictionary] of 1947, which defines Racism as 'the theory of those who seek to defend the unity of the race of the nation'." Today, he went on, "those who want to exploit or exterminate other races are called 'racist'." In that sense, he said, he is not a racist,

because he doesn't want to exploit or kill anyone.

When asked if his opposition to racial mixing is not discrimination, he replied: "Race-mixing destroys that which nature has created over eons of time. Racism protects the rights of all human societies." Amaudruz reaffirmed his long-standing conviction that "the European peoples must remain white." He also expressed opposition to abortion, and support for the right to life of all human beings.

Half a Century of Dedication

Amaudruz, born in Lausanne in December 1920, is author of three books, holds a certificate of political science and social sciences, and for a time worked as a language teacher. Already as a 28-year-old he questioned claims of wartime German homicidal gas chambers in his book, *Ubu Justicier au Premier Procès de Nuremberg* (Paris, 1949). He played an important role in the founding, in 1951, of the Zurich-based "New European Order," an anti-Capitalist and anti-Communist organization with a "racialist" outlook inspired in part by the writings of Italian philosopher Julius Evola (1898-1974).

Since 1946 he has been editor and publisher of *Courrier du Continent*, a mimeographed French-language newsletter with a circulation of about 400 that is issued ten times yearly.

Amaudruz is not the first person to be punished under the country's Anti-Racism Law. In July 1998 a Swiss court punished two revisionists, Jürgen Graf and Gerhard Förster, with fines and prison terms for writing and publishing allegedly anti-Jewish books. (See "Swiss Court Punishes Two Revisionists," July-August 1998 *Journal*, pp. 2-13, esp. p. 13.)

A dramatic high point of that trial was the testimony of Austrian engineer Wolfgang Fröhlich, who told the court that mass gassings with Zyklon at the German wartime camps, as alleged, are technically impossible. As he spoke, the public prosecutor threatened to bring "Holocaust denial" charges against Fröhlich for his sworn testimony. Even the defense attorneys in the case risked indictment for trying to show the court that their clients' views are based on fact.

Three Jewish Witnesses

With court permission, the prosecution brought to the stand three "Holocaust survivors" (Toman, Reich and Klein). The court rejected a request by Amaudruz' attorney to permit testimony by Prof. Robert Faurisson, Europe's foremost revisionist scholar, and Eric Delcroix, an attorney who has defended revisionists in numerous court cases in France. Faurisson was rejected without explanation (either at the time of the request, or during the trial, or in the judgment). As for the rejection of Delcroix,

the judge gave a convoluted explanation.

"Establishment" media coverage of the Amaudruz trial was predictably slanted. In its report on the sentencing, Switzerland's most prestigious daily paper, the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (April 11, p. 13) told readers: "While conceding that human beings suffered in the camps, he [Amaudruz] does not believe in the gas chambers. Naturally Amaudruz' faith was not shaken a bit by the court's calling in three witnesses who reported on the gas chambers from their own experience."

In fact, says Jürgen Graf, who attended the proceedings, none of the three Jewish witnesses "reported on the gas chambers from their own experience." None claimed to have observed or witnessed a gassing of human beings.

The witness Reich, who was interned during the war in two labor camps, as well as in the Gross Rosen and Buchenwald concentration camps, told the court that he never saw a gas chamber. The witnesses Toman and Klein, who were interned in Auschwitz-Birkenau (among other places) during the war, did not claim to have witnessed gassings of people. They merely stated that they had observed people entering buildings, and did not see them come out.

Toman and Klein also testified to having seen flames shooting up from Birkenau crematory chimneys. (For technical reasons, this latter claim is absolutely impossible.) It is quite possible, says Graf, that these two witnesses were not consciously lying, but rather have confused what they saw 56 years ago with what they've heard and read in the years since.

The wartime fate of these three "Holocaust survivors," notes Graf, is itself difficult to reconcile with the Holocaust extermination story. Reich survived wartime internment in four German camps, while Toman survived internment in various German camps from December 1941 until the end of the war in 1945. Both Toman and his mother survived internment in Auschwitz.

Noting that Amaudruz was targeted not only by the state prosecutor, but also by several Jewish organizations, including a foreign one, Graf calls this a "Stalinist" trial. "In its illegality and malice," he says, "the proceedings against Amaudruz surpass all previous trials of revisionists in Switzerland, including the one against my publisher Gerhard Förster (since deceased) and me."

Summing up, Graf comments: "In his dignified and steadfast behavior [in the courtroom] Amaudruz showed himself to be a man of character and honor. The contrast between him and his accusers could hardly have been greater. Those who observed the trial saw in action two vastly different types of the species homo sapiens."

Another False Holocaust Witness

Officially Sanctioned Fraud at Dachau

Each year many thousands of tourists visit the site of the notorious Dachau concentration camp in southern Germany, not far from Munich. They see the crematory, the memorial shrines, and the museum. And in recent years, as an almost daily fixture, they see Martin Zaidenstadt. This elderly Jewish man lectures visitors to Dachau on his experiences as a wartime prisoner there. He is particularly passionate about the horrors of the camp's gas chamber where, he explains, many prisoners were put to death with poison gas. He even claims that this gas chamber served as a model for Auschwitz (*New York Times*, Oct. 26, 1997). Zaidenstadt's listeners respond to his heart-rending testimony with unquestioning sympathy. Many reach generously into their wallets.

But now a new 50-minute documentary film, "Martin," and a new book, *The Last Survivor: In Search of Martin Zaidenstadt*, written by journalist Timothy W. Ryback and published by Pantheon, have subjected that testimony to critical review. Ryback establishes that the octogenarian Zaidenstadt was born in Jedwabne, Poland, but that his story of Dachau internment is a fraud. He probably never visited the camp until the 1990s, says Ryback, and his tales of gas chamber killings are untrue.

Although supposedly authoritative evidence of gas chamber killings at Dachau has been cited over the years — including "eyewitness" testimony at the main Nuremberg trial of 1945-46 — today no reputable historian credits such claims. It is widely acknowledged, even by the well-known "Nazi hunter" Simon Wiesenthal, that no one was ever "gassed" at the camp. (See, for example, "Wiesenthal Re-Confirms: 'No Extermination Camps on German Soil,'" *The Journal of Historical Review*, May-June 1993, pp. 9-12.)

In today's cultural climate, one is obliged to regard "Holocaust survivors" such as Zaidenstadt with an almost reverential indulgence. For example, the director of the state-run Dachau camp memorial, Barbara Distel, seems unbothered by Zaidenstadt's deceit. Even though she is a government official, she permits his mendacious pan-handling. (One can hardly imagine Distel tolerating anyone who spent hours explaining to camp site visitors that American GIs who liberated the camp on April 29, 1945, summarily killed 500 German prisoners there. For more on this, see, J. Cobden, "The Dachau Gas Chamber Myth," March-April 1995 *Journal*, pp. 14-26.)

Also typical is the attitude of Howard Kaplan, a

Jewish writer in Los Angeles. In a recent article about Zaidenstadt published in an influential Israeli magazine, he acknowledges that "a difficult question arises from Martin's fabrications," but concludes on an upbeat note: "But is exaggerating the horror really an affront to truth? I'm not persuaded... What matters is that Martin has ultimately found his way back to Judaism at the doors of the crematorium." (H. Kaplan, "The Man by the Door," *The Jerusalem Report*, April 10, 2000, pp. 46-47.)

A recent *New York Times* article about the new "Martin" film acknowledges that Zaidenstadt's "assertion" of Dachau gassings is "contrary to the official stories." But instead of forthrightly identifying his "provocative contentions" as lies, the *Times* coyly tells readers: "In the end we learn that Mr. Zaidenstadt's version of things isn't entirely reliable, but isn't to be dismissed either... The implicit message of 'Martin' [is] that everyone has a truth to deliver..." ("Holocaust Documentary Explores One Man's Truth," April 3, 2000.)

No one seems concerned about the toll that such deceit takes on the residents of the Bavarian town of Dachau, who must live in the shadow of the camp's government-promoted infamy. For example, to avoid the stigma of having children born in the notorious city, many expectant mothers go elsewhere to deliver their babies.

The Zaidenstadt story points up the social-intellectual corruption that is an intrinsic by-product of what Rabbi Michael Goldberg (in his 1995 book *Why Should Jews Survive?*) aptly calls "the Holocaust cult." All the same, Zaidenstadt now joins a growing list of demonstrably false "Holocaust survivor" eyewitnesses — a slate that includes Jerzy Kosinski and best-selling author Binjamin Wilkomirski. (See "Holocaust Survivor Memoir Exposed as Fraud," Sept.-Oct. 1998 *Journal*, pp. 15-16.)

— M.W.

Corrections

There is an error in the headline to the essay by Prof. Kevin MacDonald in the Jan.-Feb. 2000 *Journal* issue, page 56. It should, of course, read "An American Professor Responds to a 'Jewish Activist'."

In the essay by Robert Faurisson in the Jan.-Feb. 2000 *Journal*, the final sentence at the bottom of the left-hand column on page 25 should read: "They are mindful of their own torments, which one may compare to those suffered by Torquemada ..."

History, column deserve a more critical review

We are used to inaccurate writing about the Institute for Historical Review, but Steve Marble's front-page column sets some kind of record for errors and misrepresentations ("Some pieces of history not worth reviewing," March 15). Before firing off his polemic, he didn't even check our Web site, much less contact us directly. He doesn't even get our address right in the first paragraph.

A 1989 review meeting was not forced out of the Red Lion Inn because "hotel execs caught wind of what was up," but in response to outrageous threats and intimidation by the Jewish Defense League.

Far from being a promoter of "hate," as Marble suggests, the institute has itself been a victim of hate and bigotry. It has been the target of repeated violent attacks, culminating in a devastating arson attack against our office and warehouse on July 4, 1984.

The institute opposes bigotry of all kinds in its efforts to promote greater public understanding of key chapters of history. Speakers at our meeting and contributors to our Journal Of Historical Review have included respected scholars from around the world. We are proud of the backing we have received from people of the most diverse ethnic and religious backgrounds, including Jewish.

Marble's characterization of our legal dispute with Auschwitz survivor Mel Mermelstein is one-sided. In fact, Mermelstein's campaign against the institute came to a dramatic end on Sept. 19, 1991, when his \$11-million lawsuit against the institute was dismissed in Los Angeles Superior Court. Judge Steven Lachs granted the institute's motion for dismissal of his malicious prosecution complaint, and soon afterward Mermelstein himself dismissed his libel and conspiracy complaints. Mermelstein's appeal of the ruling was unanimously rejected by the California Court of Appeal.

While it is quite true that many hundreds of thousands of Jews were killed and otherwise perished during the World War II as a result of the brutally anti-Jewish policies of Germany and its allies, it is also true — as revisionist scholars have carefully established — that numerous specific Holocaust claims are untrue or exaggerated.

It is now authoritatively acknowledged, for instance, that the gas chamber at Auschwitz that has been shown for decades to tourists in its "original" state is actually a fraudulent postwar reconstruction. Likewise, apparently persuasive evidence presented at the Nuremberg Trial of 1945-46 "proving" that prisoners were gassed at the Dachau and Buchenwald concentration camps is now universally recognized as worthless.

If the revisionist view of the Holocaust were really as simplistic and mistaken as Marble suggests, it would not have gained the support of university professors such as Arthur Butz and Robert Faurisson, historians such as Roger Garaudy, David Irving and Harry Elmer Barnes, and former concentration camp inmates such as Paul Rassinier. These individuals did not decide publicly to reject the orthodox Holocaust story — thereby risking public censure, and worse, because they are fools, or because their motives are evil — but rather on the basis of a sincere and thoughtful evaluation of the evidence.

The headline that "some pieces of history don't need reviewing," is dangerously mistaken. Especially a chapter of history as politicized and polemicized as the Holocaust deserves close and critical review.

MARK WEBER

Director of the Institute for
Historical Review

• EDITOR'S NOTE: Columnist Steve Marble stands by his story as being fair and accurate.

This letter from the Institute for Historical Review appeared March 30 in the *Daily Pilot*, a newspaper published in Costa Mesa/ Newport Beach, southern California, where the IHR offices are located. It responds to a front-page slap at the IHR by the paper's managing editor, Steve Marble. It is published here as it appeared in the paper, after some editing by the *Pilot* staff. The *Daily Pilot* is owned by, and is distributed locally along with, the *Los Angeles Times*. In the wake of the judgment in the Irving-Lipstadt trial in London, Marble lashed out at the IHR with another mean-spirited front-page column (April 12), in which he called the British historian a "cheerleader for the IHR."

"If the Germans had dropped atomic bombs on cities instead of us, we would have defined the dropping of atomic bombs on cities as a war crime, and we would have sentenced the Germans who were guilty of this crime to death at Nuremberg and hanged them."

— Leo Szilard, US atomic bomb scientist, 1960.

"... These are the brainwashers, the twin myths of Marx and Freud ... which soared out of the scientific ruminations of the late nineteenth century, to hover, like scavenger birds, over the disintegration of the Western will."

— John Dos Passos, *Midcentury* (1960)

Jews in American Film and Television

America's motion picture industry is so keenly attuned to Jewish concerns and sensibilities that even some Jewish observers seem amazed. Noting that a Jewish-theme film has received the Oscar award in the documentary film category for three years in a row, Ami Eden, a writer for the Jewish Exponent — a paper serving the Jewish community of Philadelphia — offered this tongue in cheek commentary in a recent column (March 30, 2000, p. 5):

Rumor has it that non-Jewish films are actually eligible to win the Oscar for best documentary, but someone seems to have forgotten the judges. This year, the choice was "One Day in September," which examines the murder of eleven Israeli athletes at the 1972 Munich Olympic Games. Two Holocaust-related films, "The Long Way Home" and "The Last Days," took home the honor in 1998 and 1999, respectively.

So as not to raise any more false hopes among producers of non-Jewish films, rumor has it that the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences has decided to change the name of the category. Next year, expect the announcement to read something like this: The Oscar for Best Documentary on a Jewish Topic goes to ...

'Incredibly Favorable' Media Treatment

No less than Hollywood, American television is keenly sensitive to Jewish interests and concerns. Joseph Aaron, a regular writer for the *Chicago Jewish News* and other Jewish community papers, candidly observed in a recent column: "The fact is that Jews get just about the most favorable media treatment of any group in this country ... Not only are we not covered unfairly but we are, in fact, portrayed incredibly favorably ..." (*Jewish Journal*, Los Angeles, April 7, 2000, p. 66)

Aaron went on to write glowingly of a recent episode of the popular television series "Touched by Angel," in which Judaism is portrayed in affectionate detail. One of the episode's script writers, Aaron noted, is an Orthodox rabbi. So sympathetic to Jews and Judaism is this episode that Aaron gushes: "Amazing, remarkable ... How many other religions get their sacred moments shown lovingly and accurately on national TV on a prime time series?"

"Part of our problem, I think," Aaron goes on to tell his Jewish readers,

is that we've elevated being suspicious to an art form. Even though no one is chasing us anymore, we can't shake the feeling that there must be someone out there gunning for us. And

so if there isn't, we imagine it.

... We complain and moan about how the media treat us, portray us and yet we fail to see how often and how much they portray us as they did on Sunday night's "Touched by an Angel."

Estee Lauder Ads Evoke 'Nazi Image'?

The giant cosmetics firm of Estee Lauder has recently come under fire for some of its advertisements depicting blond models. Critics say the photos "evoke the Nazi image of the perfect race," according to a report in the weekly *Jewish Press* of Brooklyn, New York ("Lauder Ads Called Nazi Like," March 10, 2000). A Lauder company spokesman, however, rejects the charge as "totally ludicrous," adding that anyone who is familiar with the Lauder name knows that it would never do anything having "Nazi undertones." The company, which is run by Leonard Lauder, said it might pull ads from the trendy *Talk* magazine, whose creative director, Oliveri Toscani, made the remarks.

Not only is the Lauder family Jewish, but Leonard's brother, Ronald Lauder, plays a prominent role in international Jewish-Zionist affairs. He is head of the Jewish National Fund, an important quasi-governmental Israeli agency, the Chairman of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations, a powerful Jewish-American organization, and heads the Ronald S. Lauder Foundation, which works to advance Jewish interests in Eastern Europe.

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"How can we be concerned with the past and not with the future? Or with the future and not with the past?"

— T. S. Eliot, *The Family Reunion*.

"All democracies have a basis, a foundation. For France it is 1789, for Germany it is Auschwitz."

— German Foreign Minister Joseph Fischer, *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (Munich), issue No. 50, 1999. Quoted in *Nation und Europa* (Coburg), April 1999, p. 6.

Jews: A Religious Community, a People, or a Race?

Defining “Jew” has never been simple. Is he someone who practices Judaism, the Jewish religion, or is he identified by his ancestry? While many Americans assume that Jews are essentially a religious group, Jews themselves take for granted that their community is much more ethnic-national than it is religious.

Benjamin Netanyahu, until recently Israel’s prime minister, frankly regards Jews as members of a racial group. Speaking in February to a gathering of nearly a thousand Jews in southern California, he said: “If Israel had not come into existence after World War II than [sic] I am certain the Jewish race wouldn’t have survived.” (*Daily Pilot*, Newport Beach/ Costa Mesa, Feb. 28, 2000, front page)

The Israeli leader went on to exhort his audience: “I stand before you and say you must strengthen your commitment to Israel. You must become leaders and stand up as Jews. We must be proud of our past to be confident of our future.” (Similarly forthright appeals by non-Jews to racial-ethnic pride are, of course, routinely condemned as “racist” or “neo-Nazi.”)

Echoing Netanyahu, an influential Jewish community paper with a nationwide readership recently referred to Jews as a racial group. An editorial entitled “Some Other Race” in the March 17, 2000, issue of the New York weekly *Forward* urges readers to fill out the federal government census form. It goes on to suggest: “...On question eight [of the form, which asks about race], you might consider doing what more than one member of our redaktzia [editorial staff] has done: checking the box ‘some other race’ and writing in the word ‘Jew’.”

Charles Bronfman, a main sponsor of the \$210 million “Birthright Israel” project to “sell Jewishness” to American Jews, expresses a similar sentiment. He is co-chairman of the powerful Seagram company, and brother of Edgar Bronfman, Sr., president of the World Jewish Congress. “You can live a perfectly decent life not being Jewish,” says Charles Bronfman, “but I think you’re losing a lot — losing the kind of feeling you have when you know [that] throughout the world there are people who somehow or other have the same kind of DNA that you have.” (“Project Reminds Young Jews of Heritage,” *The Washington Post*, Jan. 17, 2000, p. A19)

Theodor Herzl, the founder of the modern Zionist movement, stressed in his seminal book *Der Judenstaat* (“The Jewish State”), published in 1896, that Jews around the world constitute a *Volk*, that is, a people or nationality, with interests different than those of the non-Jews among whom they live. Accordingly, Israeli political figures and Jewish

community leaders in the United States routinely speak of “the Jewish people.”

Consistent with that, Jewish leaders express alarm that so many Jews are marrying non-Jews (an attitude that is denounced as “racist” if expressed by non-Jews). Charles S. Liebman, a professor at Bar-Ilan University in Israel, bluntly declares that intermarriage “violates the most basic norms of Judaism [and] threatens Jewish survival.” (*Los Angeles Times*, April 17, 2000)

For decades a small number of American Jews — notably Alfred Lilienthal, author of *The Zionist Connection*, and Rabbi Elmer Berger, leader of the American Council for Judaism — worked hard to persuade fellow Jews to reject Jewish nationalism (Zionism), and instead regard themselves essentially as a religious group. Overwhelmingly, though, Jews have rejected such pleas. Indeed, some of the most prominent Jewish personalities of the past century — including Albert Einstein, Ilya Ehrenburg, and Israel’s first prime minister, David Ben-Gurion — have been non-religious.

As a matter of basic state policy, Israel actively encourages immigration of Jews — defined by ancestry — from around the world, while at the same time strongly discouraging settlement by non-Jews, even forbidding immigration of non-Jews who were born in what is now Israel.

— M.W.

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By Akira Kohchi (Albert Kawachi)

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Holocaust survivor
and author
Albert Kawachi

Gorbachev's New Look at Soviet History: Insightful and Naïve

Gorbachev: On My Country and the World, by Mikhail S. Gorbachev. Translated from Russian by George Shriver. New York: Columbia University Press, 1999. Hardcover. 300 pages. \$29.95.

Reviewed by Basil Dmytryshyn

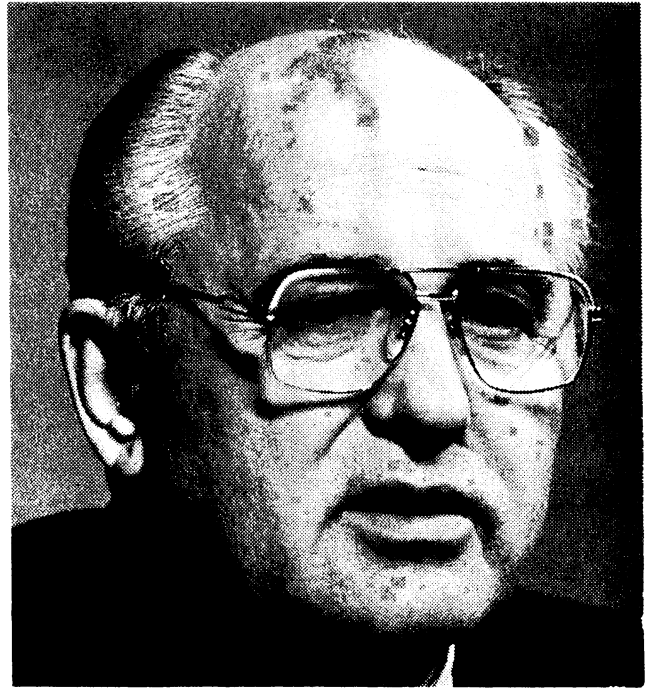
Just how and why did the Soviet Union collapse? Was the demise of this once-mighty empire inevitable? In this important book, the last leader of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (1985-1991), and the last President of the USSR (1989-1991), offers answers to these questions and provides valuable insights on the 70-year Soviet experiment, including its origins and collapse, an assessment of his tenure as the last Soviet leader, and reflections on current global issues.

On My Country and the World is organized into three parts. In the first, entitled "The October Revolution: Its Sense and Significance," Gorbachev takes a close look at Soviet history. He states "absolutely and definitively" that "the October Revolution [which brought Lenin and the Bolsheviks to power] was historically inevitable" (p. 3). This is patently untrue; demonstrably only death and taxes are inevitable!

Having made this assertion, Gorbachev then seems to contradict himself, correctly noting that, in the years before the outbreak of the First World War (1914), Imperial Russia experienced rapid economic growth, including enormous railroad construction, and broad social, political and cultural development, including great expansion in education and the cooperative movement, along with the emergence of political parties and labor unions, the rise of an independent judiciary, and a silver age in music, literature, and art — in short, profound changes that had a generally positive impact on every aspect of Russian life.

Gorbachev is right in noting that Russia's disastrous involvement in the First World War, which resulted in millions of casualties, enormous suffering and dire shortages of basic needs, triggered the popular February 1917 revolution that ended the

Basil Dmytryshyn, Professor Emeritus of History, was born in Poland. He holds a Ph.D. from University of California, Berkeley (1955). For years he taught history at Portland State University. He is the author or editor of several books, including *USSR: A Concise History*, and of numerous articles published in various scholarly journals.



Mikhail Gorbachev

ancient Romanov dynasty. He is, however, dead wrong in stating that the short-lived Provisional Government was "helpless, cowardly, and self-seeking" (p. 6). Here he repeats the standard Soviet version of history, and ignores Lenin's obstructionist tactics during that chaotic period, as well as the putch-like character of the Bolshevik seizure of power. Instead Gorbachev praises Lenin's promises of peace, land, bread, national self-determination, and workers' control of factories — none of which ever materialized.

Gorbachev contends that Lenin tried but failed to introduce "Communist principles" in Russia, and blames Stalin for the failure. This assertion is totally wrong. It was Lenin, not Stalin, who created this first totalitarian system of the 20th century. Lenin outlawed all opposition political parties; abolished freedom of the press and assembly; declared anyone who opposed him an enemy of the people; established concentration camps; reneged on his promises to give land to the peasants and self-determination to non-Russian nationalities; imposed secrecy and iron discipline on all party members; introduced purges; and established the Communist Party's monopoly control of all communications

media. Stalin's "contribution" to Leninism was physical brutality on a mass scale.

Stalin, Gorbachev writes, was a "cunning, crafty, cruel, and merciless individual, and a morbid suspiciousness was an innate part of his character" (p. 16). While this characterization is correct, Gorbachev fails to note that Stalin — as General Secretary of the Communist Party of the USSR from 1924 to 1953 (and thus Gorbachev's predecessor) — faithfully carried out all of Lenin's policies.

These included the rapid industrialization of the country (which Lenin had proposed in 1922), an enormous, coerced program that, Gorbachev claims, transformed backward Russia into a leading industrial power "*comparable to the advanced countries of the world*" (Gorbachev's italics, p. 26). This is not true. On the eve of the First World War, Imperial Russia was fifth in world coal production; second in oil; fifth in pig iron and steel; fourth in the cotton industry; second in railroad mileage; and first in sugar beet cultivation and refining. In short, Russia was already a major industrial and economic power before the 1917 Revolution.

Gorbachev is correct in saying that the Soviet people paid a very heavy price for the Lenin-Stalin program of accelerated industrialization, which according to official propaganda was designed to overtake and surpass the West. And even after the Stalin era, the people continued to pay heavily. As Gorbachev quite rightly notes, the "overtake and surpass" policy ruined the peasantry, destroyed the competent and the industrious, profligately wasted the country's natural resources, and was enforced by brutal terror. It was carried out largely without modern science and technology (contacts with foreign scientists was prohibited), and relied heavily on prison labor and a vast state apparatus of corrupt bureaucrats who were masters of serving and surviving. "Collectivization and the Gulag together destroyed the human potential of our nation," writes Gorbachev, "and they strengthened the dictatorial regime."

Yet even after acknowledging all this, Gorbachev goes on cite what he calls "astonishingly great achievements" (p. 28) of the Soviet era, which, he says, included guaranteed employment, free education, public health service, inexpensive housing and transportation, and accomplishments in the theater, arts, film and sports. Having visited many foreign countries, Gorbachev acknowledges that "the standard of living in the Soviet Union remained significantly lower than in most developed countries" (p. 29). This reviewer would like to interject that, except for its military might and space program, by the standards of industrialized countries, and even many developing ones, Gorbachev's Soviet Union (like the current Russian Federation) was backward in many, many ways.

Gorbachev attributes this congenital backwardness to the paralyzing constraints of the Stalinist apparatus (which, as already mentioned, was actually initiated by Lenin). Gorbachev praises Khrushchev's "de-Stalinization" effort (1954-64), viewing it as a forerunner of his own 1980s policies of *perestroika* (restructuring) and *glasnost* (openness). Unfortunately, but inevitably, these efforts were doomed to failure because both Gorbachev and Khrushchev remained loyal to Leninism, and each fell victim to an intra-party coup.

After each coup, Gorbachev observes correctly, the nation fell back more deeply into stagnation, corruption, demoralization, and disenchantment. It was this legacy, it seems, that induced Gorbachev to turn to the works of such early critics of Lenin's experiment as Karl Kautsky, Otto Bauer, and Friedrich Adler, all of whom he quotes. Apparently under the influence of such critics, Gorbachev was converted to western European Social Democratic ideas that emphasized freedom and decency. Gorbachev does not, however, reveal exactly when and how he became a convert to these concepts.

Also in Part One, Gorbachev discusses Soviet ideological distrust of the capitalist world, Soviet efforts (open and secret) to overthrow it, and the building of an enormous military and industrial complex designed to expand Soviet power in Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Americas. Gorbachev takes due credit for ending the Cold War by introducing *perestroika* and *glasnost* in foreign policy, a broad initiative that, he claims, benefited everybody. As he notes, his new policy encountered strong opposition from threatened members of the privileged Soviet hierarchy (or *nomenklatura*), as well as skepticism from Western leaders. All the same, Gorbachev believes, his new vision undermined the foundations of the totalitarian system at home, and of the Soviet-Western confrontation abroad.

In Part Two of this book, "The Union Could Have Been Preserved," Gorbachev details his own role in the dramatic events that culminated in the collapse of the USSR at the end of 1991. He maintains that "no one foresaw the dissolution of the Soviet Union" (p. 83). That is really not correct. At least a few academic observers in the West saw this, but their foresight was largely ignored. The popular media and the political-scholarly establishment — impressed by Soviet military might and Soviet propaganda — took no interest in trying to understand the inherent weaknesses of the Soviet system, above all the powerful ethnic-national tensions that ultimately destroyed the USSR — the same forces that have brought down other multi-national empires.

Gorbachev tried to maintain the multi-national USSR, but reorganized on a voluntary basis. What he failed to appreciate is the deeply entrenched resentment based on the fact that the country's

many non-Russian nationalities (who made up nearly half the total population) had been forcibly brought under Moscow's control by military might, both Tsarist and Soviet.

The first serious outbreak of popular hostility to Russian rule, Gorbachev contends, was at a March-April 1986 confrontation between Russian and Yakut students in north-east Siberia. (He fails to mention that earlier there had been many suppressed anti-Russian demonstrations that had erupted in various parts of the USSR.) In the wake of that incident, he continues, ethnic hostility erupted in Kazakhstan, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Lithuania and other non-Russian regions. As Gorbachev correctly notes, many of these demonstrations were directed not just against Russians, but against other ethnic groups as well. Alarmed at the spreading ethnic strife, Gorbachev reports, the Soviet leadership debated various possible solutions at numerous Politburo meetings.

Realizing that these powerful forces could tear apart the country, Gorbachev and his associates drafted a new union treaty to replace the one that had established the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in 1922-24. Gorbachev was committed to preserving the USSR in some form, and accordingly he details here his efforts to that end, including a nationwide referendum on March 17, 1991, in which every Soviet citizen was to answer the question: "Do you consider it necessary to preserve the USSR as a renewed federation of equal, sovereign states-republics in which the rights and freedoms of persons of all nationalities will be fully guaranteed?" (p. 118). As Gorbachev notes, 76 percent voted their approval.

Just before the new federation was to come into being, though, everything was derailed by a dramatic coup staged on August 19, 1991, by "hard line" members of the top *nomenklatura* echelon (including his own vice president and several other close colleagues whom he himself had appointed), as well as by the actions of his principal rival, Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation within the USSR. Gorbachev devotes several pages to the failed three-day coup that squandered the last remnants of Communist Party authority and prestige, and which, along with the decision by Russia, Ukraine and other republics to opt for independence, finally sealed the fate of the USSR.

Still believing that the USSR could have been preserved, and that its breakup was a tragedy for everyone, Gorbachev is very critical of the decision by Russian president Yeltsin and the leaders of other Soviet republics to discard the USSR. In support of this view, he quotes at length from transcripts of Politburo debates. While revealing, these high-level debates ignored the prevailing popular

mood of the time. Gorbachev's promises in 1991 to establish a new federation on a just and equitable basis were widely equated with the broken promises made by Lenin and his successors about the original USSR. Consciously or not, events affirmed the truth of Lincoln's familiar adage that one can fool some of the people all of the time, and all the people some of the time, but not all of the people all of the time. Because Moscow's leaders had so abjectly failed to live up to their past promises, most people opted for national independence to manage (or mismanage) for themselves.

Gorbachev is very critical of the December 8, 1991, meeting at which the leaders of Russia, Ukraine and Belarus publicly rejected the USSR and agreed on independence for their respective countries. When the leaders of other union republics joined them in establishing a loose "Commonwealth of Independent States" to replace the USSR, the Soviet Union passed into historical oblivion. Gorbachev acknowledged the new reality in a nationally televised address on December 25, 1991, in which he announced his resignation as president of the USSR. With the formal termination of the Soviet Union, the hammer and sickle banner that had once inspired both dread and pride was lowered from the Kremlin for the last time. The next day the Russian tricolor flag was hoisted in its place.

In Part Three, "The New Thinking: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow," Gorbachev reflects on international and global issues. As he notes, when he assumed power in 1985, the Soviet Union was embroiled in a bitter and costly war in Afghanistan, relations with China were strained, and the USSR was mired in the protracted "Cold War" rivalry with the West. The country was devoting a whopping 25 to 30 percent of its GNP to military spending — five to six times more than that of the NATO countries. These factors, Gorbachev writes, forced him to adopt his radical "new thinking" initiative to sharply reduce military rivalry and international tension, and thereby to end the "Cold War."

He credits leading Russian and Western scientists, as well as the leaders of the United States, Britain, West Germany, Japan, India and China, for supporting him in his daring campaign. Not surprisingly, he notes, his bold new approach met with considerable opposition at home and suspicion abroad. But this did not dissuade him from his goal. He cites Einstein's comment that in a nuclear war there can be no winners. His realization that "nuclear war is irrational; it makes no sense" (p. 191), sets him apart from such men as Stalin and Mao Zedong.

With some justifiable pride, Gorbachev cites specific achievements of his dramatic foreign policy initiatives. These include the December 1987 US-

Soviet treaty on the elimination and destruction of medium and short-range missiles, the July 1991 treaty that substantially reduced strategic offensive weapons, the November 1990 treaty on reducing conventional weapons in Europe, as well as a series of bilateral agreements on wide-ranging cooperation with France, Italy, Spain, West Germany, and the European Union. Gorbachev also notes the impact of his new policies in East Asia, the Middle East, Africa, and Latin America. As he correctly points out, one of the most important results was the unification of Germany in 1990.

In the remaining pages of Part Three, Gorbachev offers some perspectives on the challenges for Russia and humanity in the "post-confrontational" world. On this eve of a new century, his assessment of the present and future is pessimistic, notably because "individual countries have not only made no effort to counter disorganizing developments but have often displayed impotence or indifference in the face of dangerous chaotic processes" (p. 215).

On this point is he absolutely correct. With few exceptions, today's political leaders formulate their nation's policies not on a realistic and far-sighted assessment of national interests, but rather according to fickle public opinion about current events, as measured in media-orchestrated polls. The resulting confusion, he believes, has undermined essential principles, including freedom of choice, recognition of pluralism, rejection of brute force as an instrument of world politics, and, more generally, patience and tolerance.

"It is alarming today," writes Gorbachev at another point, "to see that the world, which had begun to move away from confrontation and toward unity, is once again being pushed onto a dangerous path... The responsibilities of those involved in international politics increase with each passing day. A new and higher quality of world politics is required."

Gorbachev also deplores the current moral degradation of the individual and of society, the decline of spiritual values, and the spread of terrorism, organized crime, and drug trafficking — all of which, he says, have created a breeding ground for the criminalization of politics. He expresses concern about the impact of the information revolution on the world economy, the globalization of finance and banking; the spread of trans-national corporations; environmental problems; and the challenge of burgeoning population growth.

As Gorbachev correctly notes, "the peoples of the world are seeking self-identity and independence" (p. 232) in determining their own futures. At the same time (and in typical Soviet style), he blames many of the Third World's current problems on western colonialism. He is also silent about Impe-

rial Russian and Soviet expansion and subjugation in the Baltic region, Ukraine, Central Asia, Siberia, the Far East, and the Caucasus. (Incidentally, he offers no explanation for the Kremlin's current genocidal war in Chechnya, a region that was forcibly brought under Russian rule in the mid-19th century.)

Concerned about the threat of a nuclear catastrophe, Gorbachev believes that the United States, Russia, China, Britain, and France should reduce their nuclear arsenals, stop testing nuclear weapons, terminate arms exports, and bolster the United Nations as a potent international peace keeping force.

Gorbachev is highly critical of US foreign policy in recent years, including ever more vocal United States claims to world "leadership." In this regard, he cites the war unleashed in 1999 against Yugoslavia (Serbia) by the US-dominated NATO military alliance, and the expansion of NATO into Eastern Europe, a move that, he maintains, will promote European division, not unity. Writes Gorbachev: the United States, "which plays a commanding role in NATO, is willing not only to disregard the norms of international law but also to impose on the world its own agenda in international relations and, in fact, to be guided in world relations only by its own 'national interests,' taking the United Nations into account only if UN decisions and actions serve US interests." As a possible antidote to this, Gorbachev proposes that "the rights and powers of the UN General Assembly may need to be revised" (p. 228).

As this book further attests, Gorbachev's rise to the top of the Soviet hierarchy is more than remarkable; it is, to borrow Churchill's well-known expression, "a mystery inside an enigma." Just how was it possible for this Communist heretic to conceal his non-conformist attitudes as he climbed ever higher in the Soviet power structure? How did the Communist Party's strict surveillance apparatus fail to identify this heretic of Leninism-Stalinism? Gorbachev provides no answers to this mystery.

In spite of this reviewer's often critical remarks about Gorbachev's views, and even his treatment of historical facts, this book by the man who once held the highest position of power in the Soviet Union, and who presided over its demise, is an important document. Because it contains many valuable revelations and suggestions, it deserves to be read carefully, especially by those in authority.

"It does not require a majority to prevail, but rather an irate, tireless minority keen to set brush fires in people's minds."

— Samuel Adams

Veteran American Journalist Provides Valuable Inside Look at Third Reich Germany

Into the Darkness: A Sympathetic Report from Hitler's Wartime Reich, by Lothrop Stoddard. Newport Beach, Calif.: Noontide Press, 2000. (Facsimile reprint of the original 1940 edition, with new introduction.) 312 pages. Softcover. Index. \$13.95.

Reviewed by Theodore J. O'Keefe

After 60 years of oblivion, Lothrop Stoddard's *Into the Darkness*, based on the author's journey to central Europe from October 1939 to early 1940, has, thanks to the Noontide Press, re-emerged into the light of day. This is a welcome event, for this book is a rare even-handed account of the Third Reich — its leaders, its people, its politics and society — at the outset of the Second World War.

Lothrop Stoddard was not just any journalist, but perhaps the foremost popular American writer on race of the 20th century. Stoddard's Harvard Ph.D. in history (his dissertation on the slave revolt in Haiti was published in 1914 as *The French Revolution in San Domingo*) and his languages and wide travel set him apart from most scribblers of his day, and ours. His *Rising Tide of Color* was a best-seller in the 1920s, when Stoddard's notions on race, immigration, and eugenics were in national vogue, but that and his other books were banished not long afterward to a shadowy existence of reprinting by obscure houses and availability almost entirely by mail.

Traveling to Europe in late 1939 as a correspondent for the North American Newspaper Alliance, the 56-year-old Stoddard was given generous entree to Germany's leaders, from Hitler on down. Maneuvering his way around the blacked-out country (whence the book's title), whether shepherded by officials or on his own, Stoddard was aided not merely by his intimacy with Germany, dating from before the First World War, and his fluency in the language, but also by his keen reportorial eye and ear. The result is a highly readable account of Germany in the months between the victorious Polish campaign and the conquest of Denmark, Norway, France and the Lowlands. Read today, *Into the Darkness* resembles a time capsule from a forgotten

age, an age before the atrocity mills were working to capacity and before the Nuremberg Tribunal had stamped its falsehoods with the seal of authenticity.

Most American journalists' books on Third Reich Germany have focused on politics, nearly always from the standpoint of Hitler's opponents. Stoddard, while hardly neglecting the Party, the Wehrmacht, the SS, and the police, is largely concerned with describing Germany's economic and social life and institutions. He was able not merely to get access to Joseph Goebbels, Heinrich Himmler, Robert Ley, Wilhelm Frick, Walter Darré, Gertrud Scholz-Klink and many other leaders, but to talk directly and knowledgeably with them about their achievements, problems, and goals. Stoddard then went off to observe what the Nazis were doing — on the farm, in the workplace, with the Labor Service, through the *Winterhilfe* aid campaign, and in the eugenics court. (Before visiting the last, he talked with such figures of the Reich's racial and genetics programs as Eugen Fischer, Fritz Lenz, and Hans F. K. Günther.) What Party officials and government ministers wouldn't tell him, he was often able to learn from taxi drivers, letter carriers, and cleaning women — and still found time to travel to Slovakia, where he interviewed the country's president, Monsignor Josef Tiso, and to Hungary, where he celebrated New Year's eve with his many friends among the Magyars.

Readers of *Into the Darkness*, whether they share Stoddard's racial views or not, may be surprised to discover how objectively he described what he saw. The fact that his views on racial hierarchy and the preponderant influence of inheritance over that of environment largely jibed with those of the Nazis did not make the American Yankee a starry-eyed sympathizer, let alone a propagandist for, the National Socialist experiment. The old-stock Yankee from Brookline, Massachusetts, was acutely aware of the regime's all-encompassing propaganda techniques, and part of the appeal of his narrative lies in his canny observations on how German officialdom did its best to micromanage appearances (though not necessarily in a heavy-handed way) from the *Reichskanzlei* to the *Gasthaus*.

For Stoddard, unlike William Shirer, Dorothy Day, and the other "crusading" US journalists who covered Germany under Hitler, the Third Reich limitations on freedoms guaranteed by the American Constitution were sufficient grounds for distaste, if not censure, of the regime. While *Into the Darkness* doesn't gloss over the pervasive censorship, the concealed presence of the Gestapo, the ring tightening

Theodore J. O'Keefe is book editor for the Institute for Historical Review, and an associate editor of the IHR's *Journal of Historical Review*. He previously worked at the IHR from 1986 until 1994, serving as chief editor of this *Journal* from 1988 until April 1992. He also addressed the IHR Conferences of 1986, 1987, 1989, 1990 and 1992. Educated at Harvard College, he is the author of numerous articles on historical and political subjects that have appeared in a range of periodicals.

around the Jews, and the first rumors (some all too true) of German outrages in Poland, Stoddard was disinclined to bandy, let alone manufacture, atrocity tales. Thus his picture of Germany, even under the heightened censorship, rationing, and other wartime measures, accurately describes a far freer, safer place, for the great majority of its people, than was the Soviet Union. (That the Moscow treaty of August 1939 continued in force during Stoddard's visit afforded the author opportunity to make a public show of defiance to his hosts' foreign policy when, together with other journalists, Stoddard toasted the Finnish resistance to the late-1939 Soviet invasion.)

In 1940, however, accuracy and objectivity on Hitler's Germany was not what was wanted by America's intellectual and policy establishment. Even before *Into the Darkness* was published, *Time* magazine sniped at Stoddard as "persona grata to Nazis," running a grotesquely truncated version of his interview with Goebbels (already published through the North American Newspaper Alliance). By the time his book appeared, Germany's armed forces had conquered Denmark and Norway, overrun the Lowlands and conquered France, and driven British troops back across the Channel. While the United States, in accord with the wishes of the great majority of Americans, would stay officially neutral for a further year and half, the climate in the publishing world, the academy, and government was such that Stoddard felt constrained to include an apologetic "Statement" on the book jacket. It begins "Personally repellent and depressing though Nazi Germany was to me, as it must be to any normally-minded American ..." and continues in the same mode for two paragraphs. Stoddard's aim then was to salvage himself and his book by advertising *Into the Darkness* as a clarion call to preparedness against the German "New Sparta with its cult of ruthless efficiency"; today, Stoddard's apology for *Into the Darkness* stands more as a sad tribute to the intimidating power, even then, of America's Orwellian media combine. One can't help noting that none of Stalin's many apologists among American journalists seems to have felt compelled to write a similar disclaimer.

Sixty years after it was written, the text of *Into the Darkness* is both a refutation of its author's apologia and a rebuke to his detractors. This is a journalistic account that still lives and breathes, that



Lothrop Stoddard

informs and entertains.

Part of this is due to Stoddard's sympathy for so many of his subjects, and his empathy for all of them. Part is due to the book's dynamic objectivity, which arises from Stoddard's efforts to get at the facts behind the German propaganda rather than devise his own counter-propaganda.

And part of the continued vitality of *Into the Darkness* is certainly owing to our knowledge of how things will end, five years hence, for Hitler, Himmler, Goebbels and Tiso, and so many of their countrymen.

This reviewer has no evidence that Lothrop Stoddard actively opposed American entry into

either the First or the Second World War. His *Into the Darkness*, nevertheless, is a vivid reminder that Germany under Hitler, as late as 1940, was not the inferno of persecution alleged by its detractors. Reading it today, armed with a hindsight unavailable to Stoddard, one may profitably wonder whether the (actual, as opposed to invented) Nazi excesses over the following five years owed more to the war and its conduct by the Allies than to the evil of the Nazis or the Germans.

Noontide's new edition of *Into the Darkness* includes an up-to-date and informative introduction on Stoddard's career by Rachel Dixon, and a new cover design which easily excels that of any of the author's earlier books. Neither revisionists nor connoisseurs of Stoddard's various writings on race will want to be without this highly readable, and most informative, re-issue.

"When ancient opinions and rules of life are taken away, the loss cannot possibly be estimated ... From that moment we have no compass to govern us, nor can we know distinctly to what port to steer."

— Edmund Burke

"A thinking man is the worst enemy the Prince of Darkness can have; every time such a one announces himself, I doubt not there runs a shudder through the nether empire; and new emissaries are trained with new tactics, to, if possible, entrap and hoodwink and handcuff him."

— Thomas Carlyle

Truthful Light

While hopping about the web researching a novel I am writing, I recently came across the article about Simon Wiesenthal [from the July-August 1995 *Journal*]. Having read many books on World War II (as well as being the child of a WWII vet), I found the article intriguing to say the least. I found it incredible that the points made in the article could be true until I checked a few of the sources cited. Very interesting and very helpful. Thank you for shining a truthful light in the world.

S. L. S.
[by e-mail]

A Record of Misanthropy

As I make my way through Kevin MacDonald's book, *Separation and its Discontents* [reviewed in the May-June 1998 *Journal*], I am generally impressed — once I got past the first chapter, which is packed with incomprehensible sociological jargon.

My interest grew tremendously as I read his survey of the history of anti-Semitism. As MacDonald shows, the same complaints about Jews keep emerging century after century, in widely divergent nations and cultures, both Christian and non-Christian, European and non-European. The persistence of this pattern forces one to consider that these complaints may have some basis in fact.

This book also helps me to understand the Jewish passion for socialism. It's always difficult to discern the real motives of others, but having closely observed the phenomenon for many years, it is my strong impression that socialism is a manifestation of misanthropy. That is, the socialist despises his fellow man.

As Kevin MacDonald points out, Jews have been prone to mis-

anthropy for centuries, as suggested by the persistent pattern of complaints against them wherever they have lived.

C. C.
The Woodlands, Texas

Irving's Doomed Libel Suit

As I recall I said, at a dinner in New York with some revisionists around last Christmas time, that to the extent that Irving claims that Lipstadt damaged his reputation in any measurable sense, he will lose. Irving was not blackballed by the publishing industry because of Lipstadt's book. There was not the element of what American lawyers call "but for cause."

Most of the time the trial considered other issues whose involvement in a libel suit was hard to understand. However, as the legally vital claim of damage by, specifically, the Lipstadt book, could not be sustained Irving's position was hopeless from the outset.

Arthur R. Butz
Evanston, Illinois

No Gas Chamber in Dachau

The May-June 1993 *Journal of Historical Review* (page 12) contains a letter by Dr. Martin Broszat [of the Institute for Contemporary history in Munich] regarding the Dachau concentration camp. Broszat mentions a gas chamber there, never completely finished or put into operation.

Toward the end of World War II I was a US Army captain on the staff of Ambassador Robert Murphy, political advisor to General Eisenhower. I was at Dachau about a month after it had been liberated, either the end of May or the beginning of June, 1945. There was no gas chamber there, nor did I see one in the process of construction. What did occur was

that some higher authority in the American occupation government, whether a civilian or military, I don't know, decreed that a gas chamber should be built, which was subsequently done.

I was also at the Buchenwald camp a few days after it was liberated on April 11, 1945. There was a crematory there but no gas chamber.

Homer G. Richey
Charlottesville, Virginia

My Path to Historical Revisionism

I was born here in Turku, Finland, in 1978, and have lived here all my life. As a boy I was very interested in ancient history, especially the history of the Roman Empire. My best grades in high school were in history and religion.

Because I loved history, naturally I read lots of history books. When I first read William Shirer's *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, it immediately became a favorite, mainly because Shirer's prose is so lively. There is not a single boring page. My copy has numerous underlinings and notations in the margins, which shows that I did not just read it through. From Shirer I learned how the Nazis tried to eliminate Jews and Slavs from Europe. It was most of all because of this book that I came to think of Hitler and his followers as the most evil people to ever walk the planet. Shirer's book reflected my own political outlook. Although nowadays I'm ashamed to admit it, for a short time I was even a member of a Communist youth organization.

But soon I realized that Marxian Socialism had an even bloodier history than National Socialism. And even though I continued to regard Hitler and Nazism as very evil, I returned to conservative values.

When I was about 15 years old I read an article in a local magazine about British historian David Irving. I was shocked to read that he had spoken to a neo-Nazi meeting in Germany, where he was cheered when he told the crowd that the Auschwitz gas chamber was built after the war by the Poles. "Irving must be mad," I thought. "Anyone who denies the Holocaust must be completely crazy because there's so much undeniable evidence for it."

At about that same time I saw a documentary film on Finnish television, "Profession: Neo-Nazi," which showed an arrogant young Nazi at Auschwitz telling visitors that gassings of prisoners in the gas chamber there were physically impossible. It also showed man named Ernst Zündel. After viewing that film, I naturally regarded him, along with Irving, as one of the world's most evil liars.

In a standard reference book in Finland, *Mitä Missä Milloin* ("What, Where, When"), one reads, under the entry for "Oswiecim," that "about four million people, mostly Jewish, were exterminated at the Auschwitz concentration camp there between the years 1940-45."

About a year ago, when I was at a meeting in Stockholm, I met a man who told me that he didn't accept the Six Million figure of wartime Jewish deaths. I replied by saying that I was willing to believe that this might be exaggerated, and that the true figure might be about four million. He responded by saying that it's much less than that, and he told me about Paul Rassinier, a French wartime resistance activist who was interned in German concentration camps. Rassinier, I learned, put the number of wartime Jewish dead at about one million. That's impossible, I thought. The man also told me that, in his view, David Irving is a serious historian. I strongly disagreed, telling him that I regarded Irving as a neo-Nazi.

A few months ago I read a

book, written by a University of Turku historian, that mentioned "Holocaust denial" groups in the final chapter. It specifically cited the Institute for Historical Review, which was described as tool of neo-Nazis to whitewash wartime Nazi crimes. As far as I was concerned, the IHR was nothing more than a small group of Nazis thousands of kilometers from Europe who wrote ridiculous articles denying obvious facts that historians have established on the basis of massive documentation and eyewitness testimony.

But what this book told about the Leuchter Report [the 1988 forensic report about Auschwitz "gas chambers"] made me think. It quoted Leuchter's conclusion, which was something like this: "After a thorough examination of the alleged execution facilities in Poland and their associated crematories, the only conclusion that can be arrived at by a rational, responsible person is the absurdity of the notion that any of these facilities were ever capable of, or were utilized as, execution gas chambers."

I began to wonder: Could I have been wrong? Could William Shirer have been wrong? And, most unbelievable: Could all the prominent Holocaust historians be wrong?

On the Internet I quickly found the IHR web site, and from there links to other revisionist web sites. On the VHO site, I was startled to read about modern-day collective hatred against Germans. What a claim, I first thought to myself. And yet, when I was in junior high school, all the classes went to see "Schindler's List," which was the first film I saw that I did not myself choose to watch. And now in Berlin, more than 50 years after the end of the war, a huge memorial to Holocaust victims is being built. Isn't that like a reminder to Germans: You are a nation of murderers!

I was struck to realize that laws in Germany, France and other countries that make it a crime to deny the Holocaust really

do violate human rights. I was reminded of Communist-era laws. To be a good citizen, you must believe in the Holocaust. And how painful it must be for Germans, who have to believe that their fathers and grandfathers were murderers.

The more I thought about it, the more I realized that I had swallowed the Holocaust tale whole. I soon understood that whether Hitler was a devil or a saint is not relevant to real historical understanding. When I realized how I had mixed politics and history, I became a revisionist almost overnight.

Now looking at that period skeptically, I pondered the evidence presented by Shirer for the Holocaust, above all the "confession" of Auschwitz commandant Höss — which I learned had been extracted by torture. I considered that all the Nuremberg Tribunal judges were from the victorious, Allied side. I also considered the case of Nuremberg defendant Julius Streicher, who was sentenced to death even though he held no official state position during the war. The more I thought about it, the more that Nuremberg seemed like a murder tribunal.

I sent away for the marvelous, detailed report [compiled by Barbara Kulaszka] on the 1988 Toronto Zündel trial, *Did Six Million Really Die?* Now I would like your help organizing a revisionist group here in Finland. I have already found some supporters.

V. L.
Turku, Finland

We welcome letters from readers. We reserve the right to edit for style and space. Write: Editor, P.O. Box 2739, Newport Beach, CA 92659, USA, or e-mail us at editor@ihr.org

The Heart-warming, Infuriating, Informative, and Revisionist memoir that Dares to Tell the Truth About the Postwar Trials of the Germans

INNOCENT AT DACHAU

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

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

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

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

Innocent at Dachau is also the story of how, four decades later, Joe Halow went back — back to the long-classified records of the Army's trials at Dachau where he found astounding confirmation from official sources of his own misgivings about the trials; and back to Germany for a moving visit with one of the German SS men Halow watched testify about his role at Nordhausen concentration camp.

Outspoken, informative, moving, *Innocent at Dachau* is a unique testimony to one American's quest for truth, understanding and honor, in a realm ruled even today

by shibboleth and taboo — a book that deserves to be read, and read again.

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

INNOCENT AT DACHAU

by Joseph Halow

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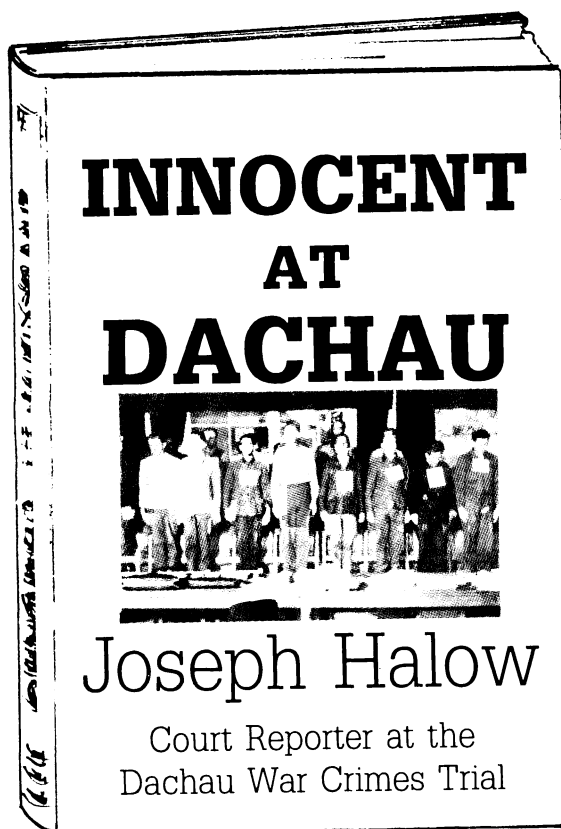
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TOP: The author at publisher's 1990 historical conference.

INSET: Germany, 1946: The author transcribing his courtroom "take" for the record.



WHO REALLY KILLED THE ROMANOVs. . . AND WHY?

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WHEN THE NEWS OF THE COLD-BLOODED MASSACRE of Tsar Nicholas II, his wife Alexandra, and their five children reached the outside world, decent people were horrified. But the true, complete story of the murders was suppressed from the outset—not only by the Red regime, but by *powerful forces operating at the nerve centers of the Western nations*. Nevertheless, one intrepid journalist, Robert Wilton, longtime Russia correspondent of the *London Times*, dared to brave the blackout. An on-the-scene participant in the White Russian investigation of the crime, Wilton brought the first documentary evidence of the *real killers, and their actual motives*, to the West.

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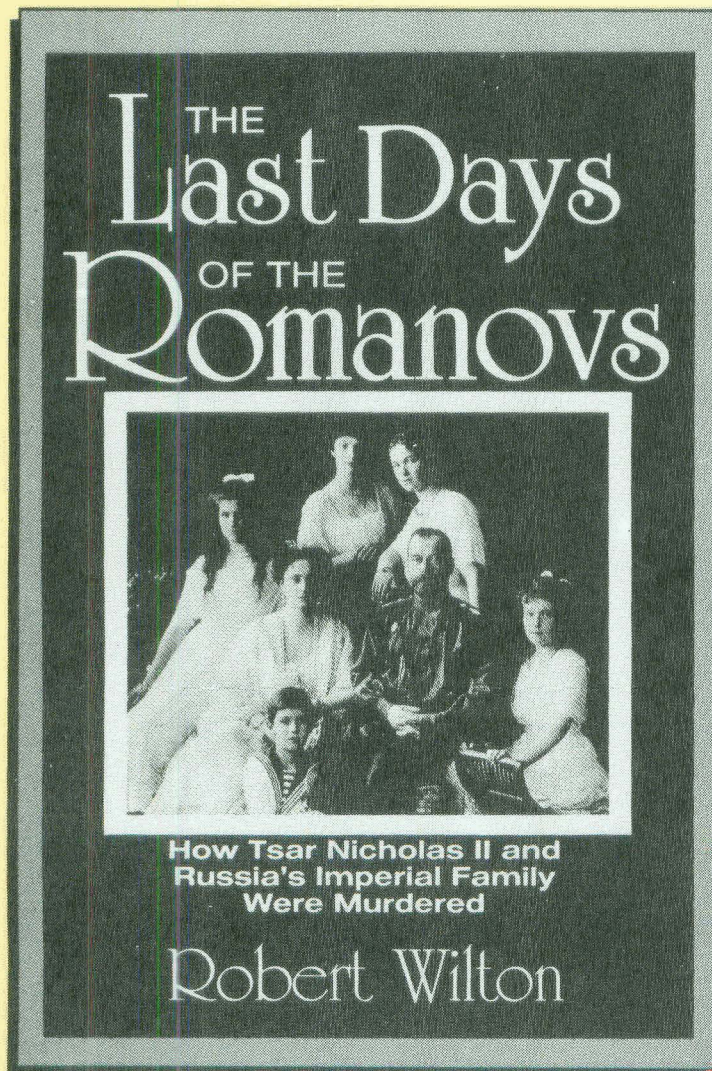
Wilton's book, *The Last Days of the Romanovs*, based on the evidence gathered by Russian investigative magistrate Nikolai Sokolov, was published in France, England, and America at the beginning of the 1920's—but it soon vanished from the bookstores and almost all library shelves, and was ignored in later "approved" histories. The most explosive secret of Wilton's book—the role that *racial revenge played in the slaughter of the Romanovs*—had to be concealed. And it continued to be concealed for decades—as the same motive claimed the lives of millions of Christian Russians, Ukrainians, Balts, and other helpless victims of the Red cabal.

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The Journal of Historical Review

Volume 19, Number 3

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May/June 2000



The 13th IHR Conference: A Resounding Success

'Conference of the Persecuted': Keynote Address

Mark Weber

New Treblinka Investigation Finds No Mass Graves

Revisionist Thesis Furor in New Zealand

ADL Loses Big Defamation Case

Three Letters to *Le Monde*

Robert Faurisson

On Prejudice, the 'Jewish Question,' and Communism's Legacy

Joseph Sobran

The Irving Trial, 'Human Rights' Double Standard, and Jewish- Zionist Arrogance

Doug Collins

— Review —

'Nuremberg' TV Drama

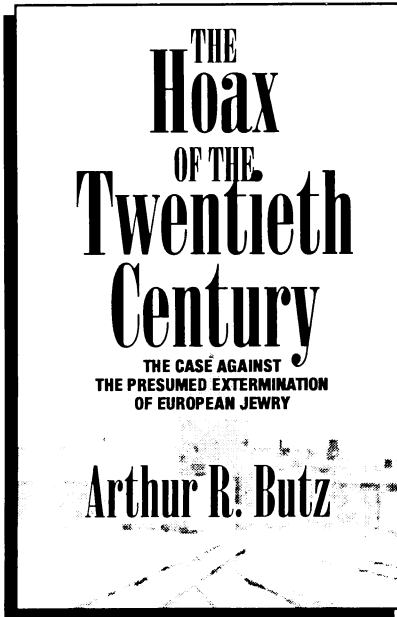
Greg Raven

— 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

In spite of the many important breakthroughs in revisionist scholarship since it was first published in 1976, Dr. Butz' brilliant pathbreaking study remains unsurpassed as the most comprehensive one-volume scholarly refutation of the Holocaust extermination story.

With an engineer's eye for technical detail and a mature scholar's mastery of the sources, the Northwestern University professor ranges from Auschwitz to Zyklon in debunking the gas chamber and the Six Million stories.

In nearly 400 pages of penetrating analysis and lucid commentary, Dr. Butz gives 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 more than half a century.

Chapter by solidly referenced chapter, Butz 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, Butz re-examines the very German records so long misrepresented. He re-evaluates the concept and technical feasibility of the legendary extermination gas chambers. Reviewing the demographic statistics, which do not allow for the loss of six million European Jews, he concludes that perhaps a million

may have perished in the turmoil of deportation, internment and war.

Maligned by persons who have made no effort to read it, bitterly 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 Zionist interests and the international Holocaust lobby that its open sale has been banned in several countries, including Israel and Germany.

In three important supplements included in this edition, the author reports on key aspects of the still unfolding global Holocaust controversy.

Now in its tenth US printing, this classic, semi-underground best seller remains the most widely read revisionist work on the subject. It is must reading for anyone who wants a clear picture of the scope and magnitude of the historical cover-up of the age.

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 and Computer

Engineering. 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.

The Hoax of the Twentieth Century

by Arthur Butz

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On the cover: Speakers at the 13th IHR Conference, May 27-29, 2000.

Standing, left to right: Glayde Whitney, Bradley Smith, John Sack, Robert Countess, Germar Rudolf, Charles Provan, Theodore O'Keefe, Ernst Zündel, Greg Raven and Jürgen Graf. Seated, left to right: Fredrick Toben, Robert Faurisson, Arthur Butz, Mark Weber and John Bennett. Not shown here are Pete McCloskey and David Irving.

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 2739, Newport Beach, CA 92659. 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. Donations to the IHR are tax-deductible.

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13th IHR Conference: A Resounding Success

Optimism, Confidence Mark International Revisionist Meeting

A landmark meeting, characterized by confidence and optimism, brought together scholars, activists and friends of the Institute for Historical Review over the weekend of May 27-29, 2000. Some 150 men and women — some flying in from as far away as Australia, Argentina, Chile, Switzerland and Finland, as well as from across the United States — met in a spirit of continuity and renewal at a pleasant hotel in Irvine, southern California.

This 13th IHR Conference, by all accounts a resounding success, and perhaps the most spirited and successful ever, featured leading figures in the international revisionist movement. The forthright banquet talk by former Congressman Pete McCloskey and the rousing address by British historian David Irving were probably the most memorable high points of the three-day meeting. Four of the featured speakers — Robert Faurisson, Arthur Butz, John Bennett and Ernst Zündel — had addressed the very first IHR Conference in 1979, and one attendee — Harvey Taylor — had been at all 13 IHR conferences.

This Conference not only had more featured speakers than any previous IHR meeting — 17 in all — it also had more students and younger people in attendance. Also, more students than ever were given financial assistance to attend. An unusually high portion of attendees, perhaps 30 to 40 percent, had never before been to an IHR conference. Appropriately for a meeting held over Memorial Day weekend, quite a few of those attending were US armed forces veterans.

Bringing together attendees and speakers from a wide range of political leanings and varied ethnic and religious backgrounds was a common passion for intellectual freedom and truthful history, scorn for the enemies of free thought and expression, and a healthy skepticism of dogmatic or “official” history.

As usual, this was an ideal opportunity for like-minded men and women from near and far to compare experiences and exchange views. Some remained engrossed in conversations until well into the early morning hours. This year’s Conference was unmarred by disruption or incident. Given the attacks by Jewish activists against past IHR meetings, the precise location of this Conference was not made public. (In 1989, for example, the Jewish Defense League used threats, intimidation and

harassment to force the IHR from two hotels.)

Live Internet Broadcast

This was the best publicized IHR gathering ever. For the first time, lectures were broadcast live over the Internet through the **www.Revisionism.com** web site. (Links to the recordings can be found at the IHR’s web site, **www.ihr.org**.) While some 400 people listened in on the first evening, this number grew rapidly over the next few days. Altogether some 4,445 people tuned in to live or recorded lectures between May 27 and June 2. So many were listening at one point that the main server carrying the broadcast crashed on the third day. However, people were still able to listen through an alternate server.

Unprecedented Media Coverage

For the first time ever, a major daily paper closely covered an IHR meeting. Veteran *Los Angeles Times* journalist Kim Murphy attended nearly every lecture, producing a rather detailed report, 40 column inches in length, that included apt quotes from addresses by Irving and McCloskey, and four paragraphs of excerpts from IHR Director Mark Weber’s keynote address. Murphy’s report was read not only by hundreds of thousands of *Times* readers when it appeared on May 30, but many others learned about the IHR and its conference when a lengthy portion of her article appeared in other daily papers.

A leading Israeli daily, *The Jerusalem Post* (June 1), also reported on the IHR Conference in an item based largely on the *Los Angeles Times* piece. In the meeting’s aftermath, Weber conducted interviews with the leftist Los Angeles radio station KPFK and the Los Angeles bureau of the Reuters news agency.

Because it was unusually informative and generally objective, Murphy’s *Times* report predictably enraged Jewish community figures. “Once again,” complained Michael Berenbaum, a prominent Jewish activist and a former US Holocaust Memorial Council official, “the *Los Angeles Times* has allowed itself to be used as a propaganda instrument for Holocaust denial [sic] ...” The *Times* story, Berenbaum went on, “portrays the deniers [sic] as persecuted lambs who are harassed because of their ideas ... It can’t seem to get the story right...”

Two southern California Jewish community



Conference speakers. Standing (left to right): Glayde Whitney, Bradley Smith, John Sack, Robert Countess, Germar Rudolf, Charles Provan, Theodore O'Keefe, Ernst Zündel, Greg Raven and Jürgen Graf. **Seated (left to right):** Fredrick Toben, Robert Faurisson, Arthur Butz, Mark Weber and John Bennett. **Not shown here are** Pete McCloskey and David Irving.

weekly papers — the Los Angeles *Jewish Journal* and *Heritage / Southwest Jewish Press* — responded to the *Times* report with fury bordering on hysteria. *Heritage* called the IHR Conference a meeting of “cuckoos,” “Nazis” and “narcissistic psychopaths” who gathered to “exchange fulminations, conspiracies, delusions and lies.” The Jewish weekly blasted the IHR as a “Nazi front,” and lashed out at the *Los Angeles Times* as a “towering monument to journalistic arrogance, incompetence, bias and stonewalling.”

Murphy, a seasoned *Times* journalist with an impressive record covering the Middle East and the Bosnia war, had also written a generally fair front-page piece (January 7) on the Irving trial that, for the first time ever, informed readers of a major American daily paper of the routine legal persecution in Europe of revisionists. She cited specific cases of dissidents in Germany, France and other countries who have been imprisoned, fined or driven into exile merely for challenging official historiography.

Michael Shermer, editor-publisher of the anti-revisionist *Skeptic* magazine, attended a few of the Conference lectures. He is the co-author, along with veteran Jewish-Zionist activist Alex Grobman, of a just-published anti-revisionist polemic, *Denying History: Who Says the Holocaust Never Happened and Why Do They Say It?* (University of California Press).

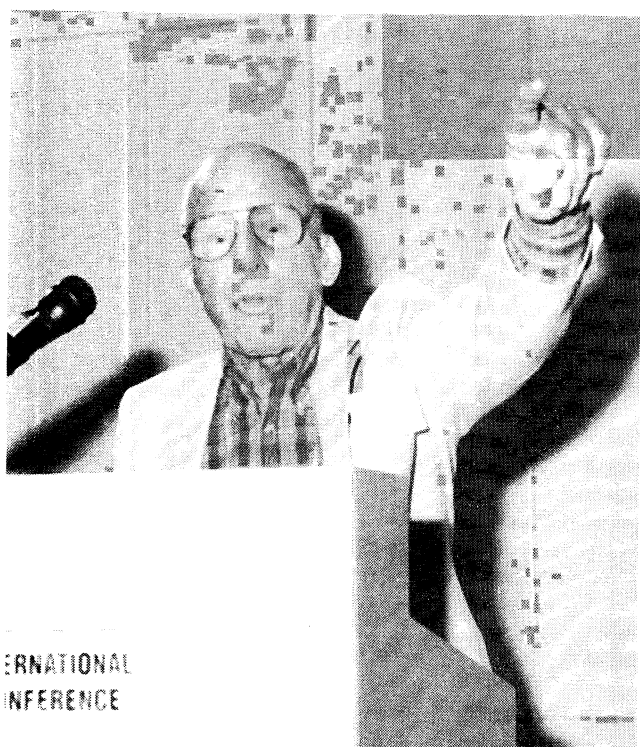
Greg Raven, *Journal* associate editor, opened the Conference on Saturday evening with a formal welcome to attendees and speakers. Then, as MC, he capably kept the proceedings on track during the next two days with succinct, informative and witty introductions.

Pete McCloskey

“I came because I respect the thesis of this organization,” said former Congressman Paul (Pete) McCloskey, Jr., “that thesis being that there should be a reexamination of whatever governments say or politicians say or political entities say.” In his Sunday evening banquet address, the one-time federal lawmaker from northern California spoke bluntly about the corrupting role of Jewish-Zionist special interest groups, especially the powerful Anti-Defamation League.

Jewish leaders promptly denounced McCloskey’s participation in the Conference. Rabbi Abraham Cooper of the Simon Wiesenthal Center, for example, said that his “appearance under the same tent as someone who has just been crowned the leading intellectual Jew-hater in the world [Irving], I guess speaks volumes.”

McCloskey spoke in some detail about the ADL’s record of illicit spying activities against groups deemed harmful to Israeli interests. The ADL, he noted, secretly arranged with officials of major metropolitan police departments to exchange unlaw-



John Sack

ference of the persecuted," with several of the speakers having been imprisoned, fined, beaten, dismissed, and banned for expressing dissident views on 20th century history. He went on to highlight the powerful Jewish-Zionist forces behind the worldwide campaign of intimidation, persecution and censorship to enforce what amounts to a Jewish view of history. "We are expected to look at US and world history from what, in truth, is a Jewish perspective," said Weber.

"How a society views history both reflects and greatly helps to determine its essential values and priorities," he said. "How we view the past is crucially important in determining how we view ourselves, our place in the world, and, more important, our future as a people or society." Citing specific, telling examples, he explained how our view of history has been drastically skewed over the past century.

Speaking of the devastating six-year-old legal dispute caused by the embezzlement of millions of dollars from the IHR and its parent corporation, Weber said that "the Institute has weathered the storm." He spoke of the future with confidence. After six belt-tightening years, he said, the IHR is now rebuilding. This Conference, he added, is an expression of that renewal.

Weber concluded by stressing the Institute's determination to carry on, "with greater clarity and sense of purpose than ever... our educational work

of truth in history, for the sake not only of our own nation and heritage, but for all humanity."

John Sack

In a dramatically delivered and information-packed lecture, John Sack traced the origins and impact of *An Eye for an Eye*, his headline-making exposé of the brutal mistreatment of ethnic Germans by Jewish Communist authorities in postwar Poland. The book — now available from the IHR in an expanded and thoroughly referenced new edition — explains that 60,000 to 80,000 Germans perished in the 1,255 concentration camps operated in Communist-ruled Poland by the notorious "Office of State Security," and that three-fourths of its officers were Jews.

The veteran journalist and author related his adventures in censorship at the hands of the US Holocaust Memorial Museum and other enemies of open discourse. He said that the World Jewish Congress called him, and his US publisher, "anti-Semites" (even though he is Jewish himself). During an interview on the nationally-broadcast "Charlie Rose" television show, Sack said, Deborah Lipstadt called him an "anti-Semite" and a "neo-Nazi." And during a one-on-one telephone conversation, he related, Lipstadt told him that he is "worse than a Holocaust denier."



Robert Faurisson

During a question and answer period, Sack was asked when Jewish groups such as the ADL might permit a Holocaust revisionist to address their meetings. To everyone's delight, he responded: "They won't even let *me* speak!"

Sack affirmed that he accepts that Jews were killed in gas chambers at Auschwitz-Birkenau and other wartime German camps. His participation at this IHR conference thus discredits the often-made charge that the Institute for Historical Review is ideologically dogmatic, sectarian or anti-Jewish.

Robert Faurisson

"Revisionism is not an ideology, it is a method," stressed Robert Faurisson, the French professor who for decades has been Europe's foremost revisionist scholar. In his well-received address, Dr. Faurisson called for a revisionism that is bold, daring and severe, a "nuts and bolts revisionism" that "goes to the center of the question." Revisionist scholarship, he went on, should be free of pedantry.

Faurisson brought to the podium the insight, wit and savvy of a scholar who was educated at the Paris Sorbonne, and who served for years as a professor at the University of Lyon II. His groundbreaking writings and courageous advocacy of Holocaust revisionism have resulted in academic sanctions, endless trials and murderous assaults.

Faurisson also spoke about the Anne Frank diary, relating his first-person interview with Otto Frank, Anne's father, at his home in Switzerland in 1977, and responded to the "definitive" version of the diary published in 1989 by the Netherlands State Institute for War Documentation.

Germar Rudolf

Speaking with authority based on bitter personal experience, Germar Rudolf reported on the growing legal repression of dissidents in Germany. Between 1994 and 1999, he related, 58,000 persons were prosecuted in Germany for "thought crimes." In 1999 there were 11,248 such prosecutions, of which 8,698 were "right wing" violations, 1,015 were "leftist," and 1,525 involved foreigners or non-German issues.

Among recent German efforts to curtail human and civil rights, Rudolf cited attempts to curb access to supposedly subversive Internet materials. He also spoke of the country's insidious "youth protection" measures. While ostensibly designed to "protect youth," they are largely a pretext for ideologically-driven censorship. "Germany today is a totalitarian police state," said Rudolf, adding that freedom is similarly restricted in Austria.

The 35-year-old German-born chemist, a leading representative of a younger generation of revisionist scholars and activists, was forced into exile in



Germar Rudolf (left) with Greg Raven

1996 after being sentenced to 14 months imprisonment for his critical on-site forensic examination of the Auschwitz and Birkenau "gas chambers" (the "Rudolf Report"). Since 1997 he has been editor of the German-language revisionist journal, *Vierteljahreshefte für freie Geschichtsforschung*.

Rudolf spoke of the strong (Jewish) religious-ethnic or ideological prejudices of Robert Jan Van Pelt, a prominent defense witness in the Irving-Lipstadt London trial who is now widely regarded as a world-class expert on German wartime "gas chambers." In "Mr. Death," the recent documentary (by Jewish film maker Errol Morris), Van Pelt spoke of Auschwitz-Birkenau as the "holy of holies," and of World War II as a "moral war ... a war between good and evil," and that "the core of this war... is Auschwitz." ("Mr. Death" is reviewed in the Sept.-Dec. 1999 *Journal*, pp. 62-69.) Rudolf also mentioned important new documents about Auschwitz-Birkenau found by Italian researcher and author Carlo Mattogno.

Of his own decision to carry out a forensic investigation of Auschwitz-Birkenau, an undertaking that he knew might well upset his life, Rudolf said that he first hesitated, asking himself "Why me?" But he then asked himself "Why not me?," and resolved to go ahead.



Ernst Zündel

In October Graf will begin serving the 15-month prison sentence that was handed down in July 1998 for his "thought crime" violations of Switzerland's recent "anti-racism" law. (See "Swiss Court Punishes Two Revisionists," July-August 1998 *Journal*, pp. 2-13.)

He prefers to serve the outrageous sentence rather than go into political exile and lead the life of a fugitive (as Germar Rudolf has done).

John Bennett

Since the late 1970s, John Bennett has been a leading voice for revisionism in Australia, where he is also well known as a staunch defender of civil liberties. Copies were made available to attendees of the most recent edition of his widely-distributed handbook, *Your Rights*, which often contains revisionist material. Bennett made comments and offered suggestions based on his years of experience. For one thing, he said, he would welcome more humorous treatment of Holocaust claims, especially the obviously ludicrous ones.

Bradley Smith

Bradley Smith, veteran of hundreds of radio and television appearances, brought attendees up-to-date on his work in bringing revisionism to America's colleges and universities. In his usual genial manner, Smith told how his ad campaign and new magazine, *The Revisionist*, have shaken up one campus after another across the country, enraging the traditional self-appointed censors.

Robert Countess

Robert Countess, scholar and revisionist ambassador, provided an enthusiastic and anecdote-filled

report about his globe-trotting activism, including insights from his role in the recent international Holocaust conference in Stockholm. He also spoke about his role in helping to produce the forthcoming English-language anthology of revisionist writings, *Dissecting the Holocaust*, compiled and edited by Germar Rudolf. During the Conference, he promoted new "No holes, No Holocaust" T-shirts.

Ernst Zündel

Canada's leading revisionist activist spoke with his usual verve and passion about his seemingly unending struggle for freedom of expression and truth in history in his adopted homeland. Twice Zündel was brought to trial in two history-making "Holocaust trials," but was ultimately vindicated only when the country's Supreme Court threw out as unconstitutional the archaic "false news" law under which he had been prosecuted.

Holding forth in his typically upbeat and irrepressible style, Ernst Zündel delighted attendees with a vivid report on the latest political and judicial efforts to silence him and the California-based "Zündelsite" web site operated by Ingrid Rimland. Speaking optimistically about the future, the prominent German-Canadian civil rights figure provided apt observations on the recent Irving-Lipstadt trial in London, and on the much-publicized 1999 documentary film "Mr. Death" (about Fred Leuchter, whose forensic examination of Auschwitz he commissioned for his 1988 trial in Toronto).

"Our job now is to ring the bell for freedom for as long as we can," Zündel said. "The ghetto will not win!" he concluded defiantly.

Charles Provan

Charles Provan, independent researcher and author, presented a lively dissection of the "testimony" of Dr. Miklos Nyiszli, a physician at Auschwitz-Birkenau whose memoir has been



At the Conference (left to right): Robert Faurisson, John Bennett, Ernst Zündel, Bradley Smith and Fredrick Toben



Mark Weber delivers the Conference keynote address.

not even come into popular usage until the 1970s.

In this drastic re-writing of history, the fate and role of Jews is a paramount consideration. Michael Berenbaum, one-time Research Director of the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, and a Georgetown University theology professor, put it this way several years ago: "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."¹

We are often asked why we seem obsessed with "the Holocaust." The answer is very simple. As any child can easily observe, it is not revisionists or the IHR who are fixated on the fate — 55 or 60 years ago — of a small minority of the population of a foreign continent. It is, rather, our own political, social and intellectual leaders who have made the fate of Europe's Jews during World War II a central icon of our age. We deal with the Holocaust as we do because it has come to play a major, even crucial role in our society.

If anyone in 1950 or even 1960 had predicted that by the end of this century political leaders of the United States and other major countries, even Germany, would routinely be honoring something called "the Holocaust" or "the Shoah," he would have been dismissed as delusional. But so swiftly and drastically have things changed that by 1992 Israeli Holocaust historian Yehuda Bauer, a professor at Hebrew University in Jerusalem, was moved to declare:²

Whether presented authentically or inauthentically, in accordance with the historical facts or in contradiction to them, with empathy and understanding or as monumental kitsch, the

Holocaust has become a ruling symbol of our culture... Hardly a month goes by without a new TV production, a new film, a new drama, new books, prose or poetry, dealing with the subject, and the flood is increasing rather than abating.

Since 1993 we have even had, in Washington, DC, an official, taxpayer-funded United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, run by a federal government agency, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum — a mighty expression of, and a monument to, Jewish power.³ There is no comparable US museum dedicated, for example, to the vastly greater numbers of victims of Soviet tyranny, or to the victims of slavery.

Jewish scholar and rabbi Michael Goldberḡ, in his book *Why Should Jews Survive?*, wrote with insight about what he calls "the Holocaust cult," a cult with "its own tenets of faith, rites and shrines."⁴ No less a figure than Abraham Foxman, national director of the Zionist Anti-Defamation League, has affirmed the iconic, even religious character of this cult. In a 1994 issue of the ADL newsletter, Foxman wrote: "The Holocaust 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."⁵ When one starts talking like this, one is no longer dealing with history, but rather has crossed over into dogmatic mysticism.

No comparable attention is given to the tens of millions of other World War II victims, including, for example, the many millions of Chinese who perished in the war. Largely forgotten in this cult of the Holocaust have been the tens of millions of victims of America's great wartime ally, Stalinist Russia, along with the tens of millions of victims of China's Maoist regime, as well as the 12 to 14 million Germans, victims of the flight and expulsion of 1944-1949, of whom some two million lost their lives.

We are expected to look at US and world history from what, in truth, is a Jewish perspective.

One can tell the real values and priorities of a society by what it prohibits. As several of those here in this room this evening can attest from personal experience, what our society — and by this I mean the United States and most of Europe, as well as Japan — forbids is anything deemed to be anti-Semitic. What is particularly prohibited in our "new world order" is any questioning or playing down of what has become the most sacred icon of our age — the Jewish "Holocaust" or "Shoah."

From the late 1940s until the 1970s, the official, or at least prevailing view was that the dreadful Nazi regime was more or less foisted on the basically decent people of Germany, Austria, and other European countries by Hitler and his evil hench-



Jürgen Graf and Mark Weber in conversation during a break.

men. However, since the late 1970s, and especially during the past decade, this has changed drastically. Now the prevailing, socially-sanctioned view is that Nazism (or even less accurately, "fascism") — by which we are supposed to understand, above all, the harsh suppression of Europe's Jews in the 1930s and 1940s — was supported, or at least passively tolerated, by nearly the entire Western world.

The supposed "guilt" for what is often characterized as the most evil deed in history is now routinely ascribed to, not only the great majority of Germans (a view most outspokenly presented by Jewish academic Daniel Goldhagen in his hateful book *Hitler's Willing Executioners*) but to virtually all of non-Jewish humanity. Entire nations, we are now told, must acknowledge a collective responsibility, even a collective guilt or complicity, for this allegedly greatest of all human crimes. Excepting only a small number of such "righteous gentiles" as Oskar Schindler, the Germans, the Poles, the Hungarians, the Ukrainians, the French, and so forth, are held to be historically responsible for the "Shoah." In one of the most amazing re-writings of history, even Pope Pius XII and the leadership of the Roman Catholic Church are held to share in this common guilt.

History or historiography is, of course, an academic pursuit, a specialized field of scholarship. But it is also much more than that. How a society views history both reflects and greatly helps to determine its essential values and priorities. How we view the past is crucially important in determining how we view ourselves, our place in the world, and, more important, our future as a people or society. As Oswald Spengler put it "history lessons and the

political education of the people are one and the same."

In this sense, "history" is not and cannot be "neutral." Different groups understandably look at the past from very different perspectives. In a valuable book published some years ago, *America Revised*, historian Frances Fitzgerald explained not only how our common perspective on American history has changed radically over the past half century, but how it is impossible to portray American history in a way that is "positive" and coherent for all of America's diverse population groups.⁶

The history books now being produced for use in American colleges and universities both reflect and help to shape the "politically correct" spirit of our age. Typical is a new book by Cornell University history professor Richard Polenberg, *The Era Of Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1933-1945*.⁷ Polenberg praises Roosevelt for his supposed commitment to moral principles and his "pragmatism." But he also criticizes FDR for his failure to do more "to advance the cause of racial justice," and for his wartime internment of West Coast Japanese. And, of course, Polenberg subjects Roosevelt to special criticism for his not doing more on behalf of Europe's Jews. While the book devotes five pages to what the index calls "Jews, government response to Holocaust," it contains just a single, neutral mention, and only in passing, to Stalin — Roosevelt's important wartime ally. Readers of this all-too-typical book can easily be forgiven for failing to appreciate the crucially important historical role played at the time by Stalin and Soviet Russia. Polenberg similarly ignores Roosevelt's well-documented record of lying on a massive and routine scale to the American public, his covert, unconstitutional war-mongering, his friendship with the Soviet dictator, or the massive US material and military support for the Soviet war machine.

During the past 20th century, we have witnessed an unbelievably enormous increase in Jewish power and influence everywhere in the world. It was in 1896 that Theodor Herzl, the founder of the modern Zionist movement, published his seminal book *Der Judenstaat* ("The Jewish State"), in which he argued that Jews around the world constitute a *Volk*, that is, a people or nationality, with interests different than those of the non-Jews among whom they live. (Consistent with that, Israeli political figures and Jewish community leaders in the United States routinely speak of "the Jewish people.") And a year later, in 1897, Herzl convened the First Zionist Congress in Basel, Switzerland. Five decades later — in May 1948 — the Zionist state of Israel was proclaimed in Palestine. Today, armed even with nuclear weapons, Israel is one of the world's

most important military powers. What an amazing expression of resolve, determination and power that achievement represents!

Just how important is this Jewish power and influence today? Well, as early as 1968 the renowned drama critic Walter Kerr could declare in *The New York Times*:⁸

What has happened since World War II is that the American mentality has become part Jewish, perhaps as much Jewish as anything else ... The literate American mind has come in some measure to think Jewishly. It has been taught to, and it was ready to. After the entertainers and novelists came the Jewish critics, politicians and theologians. Critics and politicians and theologians are by profession molders; they form ways of seeing.

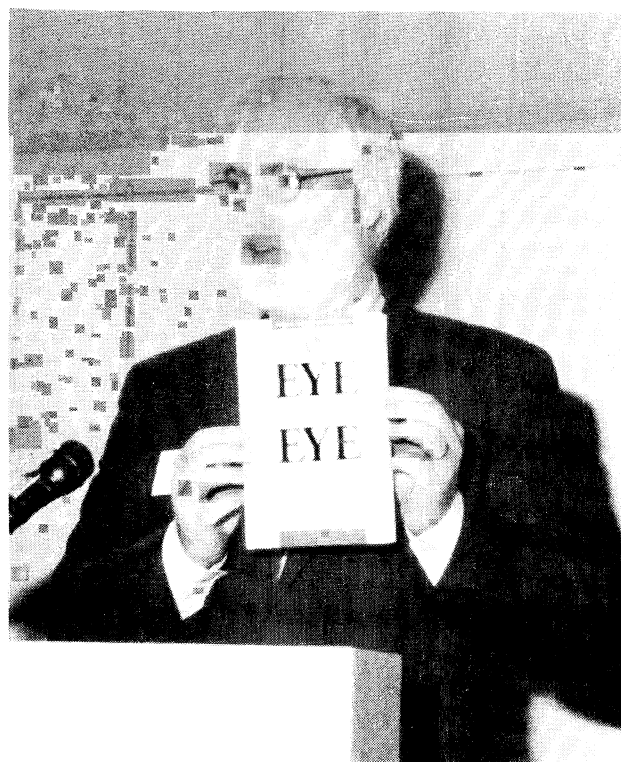
As accurate as those words were when they were written more than 30 years ago, they are vastly more true today. In a book published in 1995, *Jews and the New American Scene*, two well-known Jewish writers, Seymour Martin Lipset and Earl Raab, noted:⁹

During the last three decades Jews [in the United States] have made up 50 percent of the top two hundred intellectuals ... 20 percent of professors at the leading universities ... 40 percent of partners in the leading law firms in New York and Washington ... 59 percent of the directors, writers, and producers of the 50 top-grossing motion pictures from 1965 to 1982, and 58 percent of directors, writers, and producers in two or more primetime television series.

And even more recently, the prominent French Jewish writer Alain Finkielkraut, writing in late 1998 in the prestigious Paris daily *Le Monde*, had this to say:¹⁰

Ah, how sweet it is to be Jewish at the end of this 20th century! We are no longer History's accused, but its darlings. The spirit of the times loves, honors, and defends us, watches over our interests; it even needs our imprimatur. Journalists draw up ruthless indictments against all that Europe still has in the way of Nazi collaborators or those nostalgic for the Nazi era. Churches repent, states do penance ...

Consistent with this, Jewish power enforces a pervasive double standard in our political and cultural life. While Jews are encouraged to cultivate and promote their peoplehood and particular group interests, Westerners are expected to accept, even embrace, their own collective racial-cultural dispossession. Thus, while Jewish leaders routinely



Greg Raven, Conference MC, displays the new, revised edition of John Sack's *An Eye for An Eye*.

express alarm that so many Jews are marrying non-Jews, a comparable attitude if expressed by non-Jews is swiftly denounced as "racist." (Just recently, for example, a professor at Bar-Ilan University in Israel bluntly declared that intermarriage "violates the most basic norms of Judaism [and] threatens Jewish survival.")¹¹

Benjamin Netanyahu, until recently Israel's prime minister, just last February addressed a gathering of nearly a thousand Jews here in southern California, in which he said: "If Israel had not come into existence after World War II then I am certain the Jewish race wouldn't have survived."¹² The Israeli leader went on to exhort his audience: "I stand before you and say you must strengthen your commitment to Israel. You must become leaders and stand up as Jews. We must be proud of our past to be confident of our future." Similarly forthright appeals by non-Jews to racial-ethnic pride are, of course, routinely condemned as "racist" or "neo-Nazi." As a matter of basic state policy, Israel actively encourages immigration of Jews — defined by ancestry — from around the world, while at the same time discouraging settlement by non-Jews, even forbidding immigration of non-Jews who were born in what is now Israel.

Can this awesome Jewish power become any greater than it already is? Unfortunately, there are



Mark Weber, holding his two-year-old son, Andrew, in conversation with Jürgen Graf.

signs that the situation can get even worse.

During the recent libel trial in London, David Irving performed a great public service by presenting to the world details of just how international Jewish organizations work together to silence and ruin those who, like Irving, are perceived, because of their writings, to threaten Jewish interests. One of the most ominous consequences of Judge Gray's April 11 ruling in the Irving-Lipstadt trial, I think, is that it has greatly emboldened these powerful enemies of free speech, strengthening their resolve to destroy their intellectual adversaries. For example, one high-level Zionist official, in the aftermath of the ruling, called for what amounts to a worldwide ban on travel by those who dispute Holocaust extermination claims. Israel's ambassador to Britain, Dror Zeigerman, called on Australia and other countries to bar Irving and "other members of the Holocaust denial movement."¹³

The recent Irving-Lipstadt trial also showed, once again and with clarity, that behind this ruthless international Jewish campaign is a deep-seated, implacable hatred. At a recent meeting in Los Angeles, Deborah Lipstadt herself called David Irving "a contemporary Amalek," referring to the traditional biblical foe of the Jews.¹⁴ Similarly, in an essay about the trial distributed worldwide by a major Jewish news agency, a Jewish academic who teaches at Gratz College near Philadelphia wrote: "Deborah Lipstadt's work reminds us, as the Torah does in its passage about Amalek, of the importance of memory. In my opinion, it is David Irving and his ilk who should beware."¹⁵

For devout Jews, such words are very serious. According to the Torah,¹⁶ the Jewish god called on

the ancient Hebrews to "smite Amalek, and utterly destroy all that they have, and spare them not; but slay both man and women, infant and suckling, ox and sheep, camel and ass." Accordingly, we are told, the early Jews "utterly destroyed all the people with the edge of the sword." Even today, Jews are admonished never to forget their emblematic enemy, and to wage "war with Amalek from generation to generation" — that is, forever. The obvious inference here is that Irving and "his ilk" deserve to be killed.

In this same spirit, a high-ranking Israeli government official publicly suggested, in the wake of Judge Gray's April 11 ruling, that those whom he calls "Holocaust deniers" deserve to be put to death. Rabbi Michael Melchior, Israel's Minister "for Israeli Society and World Jewish Communities," said that Judge Gray's ruling "delivered the message that Holocaust deniers should be regarded alongside the worst of the Nazis."¹⁷ As the world knows, of course, "the worst of the Nazis" were shot or hanged.

The Institute for Historical Review and our supporters openly declare our defiance of the ADL, the Simon Wiesenthal Center, the World Jewish Congress, and so forth — and all their non-Jewish helpers. Against their power the IHR stands, and will continue to stand, as a beacon and a bulwark, not only for truth and reason in understanding the past, but for sanity in tackling the challenges of the future.

While we are confident that the march of revisionist scholarship is ultimately unstoppable, we are also encouraged by the knowledge that our adversaries' power is artificial and unrooted. It is built on an inherently unstable foundation of deceit and hypocrisy — something that is acknowledged, if only indirectly, by their constant expressions of anxiety that their power can and may be suddenly swept away.

To stand against this power is often thankless and disheartening work, but it is absolutely necessary. Our adversaries are enemies not only of freedom of speech and free historical inquiry, they also strive relentlessly to belittle and break down the cultural, religious, racial and ethnic integrity and cohesion of all groups other than their own. And because it attacks traits of our being that make us human, this insidious power harms all of non-Jewish humanity.

Exposing this insidious power — in its many manifestations — will continue to be a major task of the IHR. In this new century as well, we pledge to carry on — with greater clarity and sense of purpose than ever — our educational work of truth in history, for the sake not only of our own nation and heritage, but for all humanity.

Notes

1. *The Washington Times*, Jan. 10, 1991. Quoted in *The Journal of Historical Review*, May-June 1994, p. 44.
2. From a 1992 lecture, published in: David Cesarani, ed., *The Final Solution: Origins and Implementation* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), pp. 305, 306. Also, quoted in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Sept.-Dec. 1999, p. 56.
3. On the occasion of the opening of the US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC, Jewish author and critic Melvin Jules Bukiet wrote: "It's not Jewish tragedy that's remembered on the Mall this week; it's Jewish power to which homage is paid." Melvin Jules Bukiet, "The Museum vs. Memory: The Taming of the Holocaust," *The Washington Post*, April 18, 1993, p. C3.
4. Michael Goldberg, *Why Should Jews Survive?: Looking Past the Holocaust Toward a Jewish Future* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1995), p. 41.
See also: Tim Cole, *Selling the Holocaust: From Auschwitz to Schindler: How History is Bought, Packaged and Sold* (New York: Routledge, 1999), and, Peter Novick, *The Holocaust in American Life* (Houghton Mifflin, 1999).
5. Abraham Foxman, "Director's Corner: Schindler's List — The Meaning of Spielberg's Film," *On the Frontline* (ADL newsletter), Jan. 1994, p. 2. Also quoted in *The Journal of Historical Review*, March-April 1994, p. 41.
6. Frances Fitzgerald, *America Revised: History Schoolbooks in the Twentieth Century* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1979 [and, New York: 1980]).
7. Richard D. Polenberg, *The Era Of Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1933-1945: A Brief History With Documents* (New York: St. Martin's Press, [March] 2000). Polenberg is a professor of American history at Cornell University. He is the author of several books, and was once a visiting professor at Hebrew University in Israel.
In April 1996 St. Martin's Press, with much fanfare and in response to tremendous Jewish pressure, cancelled its publication of David Irving's biography *Goebbels: Mastermind Of The Third Reich*.
8. Walter Kerr, "Skin Deep is not Good Enough," *The New York Times*, April 14, 1968, pp. D1, D3. Quoted in: Kevin MacDonald, *The Culture of Critique* (Praeger, 1998), p. 243. (Cited in the Sept.-Dec. 1999 *Journal of Historical Review*, p. 49.) Walter Kerr (1913-1996) was a playwright and Pulitzer prize-winning drama critic, for years with the *New York Herald Tribune* and then *The New York Times*.
9. Seymour Martin Lipset and Earl Raab, *Jews And The New American Scene* (Harvard Univ. Press, 1995), pp. 26-27. (Quoted in the Sept.-Dec. 1999 *Journal of Historical Review*, p. 56.)
A 1985 study written by Lipset and Raab, "The Political Future of American Jews," found that Jews are effectively the single most influential ethnic or religious group in American political life. According

to the study, which was sponsored by the American Jewish Congress, Jews contribute to political parties disproportionately to their numbers in the US population: Jews give more than half the money collected by the Democratic Party and up to a quarter of Republican funds. K. Sawyer, "Jews Cautioned on Narrow Issues," *The Washington Post*, March 6, 1985, p. A5.

The influence of American Jewry in Washington is "far disproportionate to the size of the community, Jewish leaders and US official acknowledge. But so is the amount of money they contribute to [political] campaigns." One member of the influential Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations "estimated Jews alone had contributed 50 percent of the funds for Clinton's 1996 re-election campaign." Janine Zacharia, "The Unofficial Ambassadors of the Jewish State," *The Jerusalem Post* (Israel), April 2, 2000. Reprinted in "Other Voices," June 2000, a supplement to *The Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*, June 2000, p. OV-4.

10. Alain Finkielkraut, "Mgr Stepinac et les deux douleurs de l'Europe," *Le Monde*, Oct. 7, 1998, p. 14. Quoted by Robert Faurisson in his essay in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Nov.-Dec. 1998, pp. 11-12.
11. *Los Angeles Times*, April 17, 2000, p. A14 R. The Bar-Ilan university professor is Charles S. Liebman.
"...Policy recently handed down by the Conservative [Jewish] movement's rabbinical authorities" holds that "Judaism has, from its earliest roots, been concerned about the issue of intermarriage. Statements found in early sources are unequivocal in their prohibition of intermarriage." Fears that sharing food and drink with non-Jews could lead to intermarriage prompted prohibitions against drinking the wine of non-Jews or eating their bread. Source: E. Gootman, "Conservative Jewry...", *Forward* (New York), Oct. 16, 1998, pp. 1, 13.
12. "Strengthen your commitment," *Daily Pilot* (Newport Beach/ Costa Mesa, Calif.), Feb. 28, 2000, p. 1.
13. AAP dispatch, *The Australian*, April 13, 2000.
14. Tom Tugend, "Lipstadt Recounts Battle With 'Amalek'," *The Jerusalem Post*, May 2, 2000.
15. Rela Mintz Geffen, "First Person FOD (Friend of Deborah) exits trial believing Irving is one to 'beware'," Jewish Telegraphic Agency, March 21, 2000.
16. Exodus 17:16, Deuteronomy 25:17, 1 Samuel 15:3-20.
17. "Racist Who Twisted the Truth," *The Times* (London), Wed., April 12, 2000.

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Anti-Defamation League Suffers Major Legal Defeat

Colorado Jury Orders Jewish Group to Pay \$10.5 Million for Defamatory Statements

In a legal decision rich with irony, a jury in a federal court case in Denver, Colorado, has found that the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), a powerful Jewish special interest group, had defamed a local couple. On April 28, 2000, the jurors awarded \$10.5 million in damages to William and Dorothy Quigley. This is the first court verdict ever against the influential 87-year-old organization. The award, a quarter of the ADL's \$45 million annual budget, was substantially more than the Quigleys had requested.

At a 1994 news conference, the ADL had accused the Quigleys, a couple in the Denver suburb of Evergreen, of perpetrating the worst anti-Semitic incident in the area in ten years. The ADL accused them of launching a campaign against their Jewish neighbors, Mitchell and Candace Aronson, to run them out of town and threatening to commit acts such as painting oven doors on their neighbors' home. Concluding a four week trial, the jury found that more than 40 statements by Saul F. Rosenthal, director of the ADL's Mountain States chapter, were defamatory and "not substantially true."

The Quigleys, who are Roman Catholic, and the Aronsons — neighbors on the same street two houses away — got along until the Aronsons' large dog allegedly attacked the Quigley's smaller dog. As the dispute escalated, Mitchell Aronson tuned in a police scanner to eavesdrop on private conversations by the Quigleys over their cordless telephone. The Aronsons' nearly 100 hours of recorded telephone conversations violated the amended federal wiretap law, which makes it illegal to record conversations on a cordless telephone, to transcribe the material, and to use the transcriptions for any purpose.

The Aronsons sought help from the ADL, whose local director publicly denounced the Quigleys as anti-Semites. Director Rosenthal illegally used the tapes to charge at a news conference in December 1994 that the Quigleys were engaged in "a vicious anti-Semitic campaign." He expanded on these charges later that same day in an interview on a Denver radio talk show.

No overt acts or physical actions followed any of the recorded conversations.

Acting on complaints from the Aronsons, the

local District Attorney filed ethnic intimidation charges against the Quigleys. But the county prosecutor later dropped the charges and, in an open letter, apologized to the couple, saying he had found no evidence that either had engaged in "anti-Semitic conduct or harassment." The DA also paid the Quigleys \$75,000 as part of an out-of-court settlement.

Lawsuits by the Aronsons and the Quigleys against each other were eventually resolved, with no exchange of money.

In their lawsuit against the ADL and its local director, the Quigleys charged not only that the ADL had defamed them, but that the Jewish group was supportive of the illegal invasion of their privacy through its use of the improperly recorded telephone conversations.

During closing arguments, Quigley attorney Jay Horowitz said that while Dorothy Quigley had a "big mouth," and may have said things over the telephone that she later regretted, there is no evidence that the Quigleys were anti-Semites. When talking about damages suffered by the Quigleys, Horowitz noted that William Quigley, who was employed by United Artists theaters, was a marked man because of the ADL's public allegations of anti-Semitism. His income, Horowitz argued, was less than half of what it would have been.

The numerous damage awards include one million dollars in economic and non-economic damages for William Quigley and \$500,000 for Dorothy Quigley. The couple was also awarded more than \$8.7 million in punitive damages and other, lesser amounts.

The ADL is appealing the verdict, expressing confidence that the jury's award will be reduced, or even that the verdict will be thrown out altogether.

The *Washington Jewish Week*, a paper that serves the Jewish community of the nation's capital, commented with sympathetic concern in an editorial: "In a disturbing irony, the Jewish world's premier discrimination fighter, whose mission is 'to stop the defamation of the Jewish people and to secure justice and fair treatment for all people alike,' found itself convicted of defamation ... When does being in the forefront mean invading someone's personal privacy, and even violating the human dignity that ADL holds so dear?"

The Denver court's verdict shows that the sometimes seemingly invincible Jewish activist group is not invulnerable. Unlike prominent political and social figures, who are often beholden to special interest groups such as the ADL, independent-spirited citizens, acting as jurors, can sometimes still defy such powerful organizations.

The ADL's defeat in a Denver court was a consequence of its own arrogance in recklessly defaming the Quigleys. Such brazen contempt — not only for decency and common ethics, but even the law — is nothing new for the ADL. Similar arrogance was also manifest in the ADL's extensive spying operation, which was uncovered in 1993, and its decades of censorship and intimidation activities directed against libraries, book publishers, journalists and Internet service providers. (See *The Watchdogs: A Close Look at Anti-Racist Watchdog Groups*, a well documented 102-page booklet by independent researcher Laird Wilcox [and available through the IHR].)

Although the ADL claims to fight discrimination and promote "fair treatment," for decades it has been a staunch defender of Israel and its well-entrenched policies of discrimination against non-Jews, and of the Zionist state's wars of aggression and numerous violations of international law. Similarly, in the United States the ADL upholds a double standard in ardently promoting Jewish ethnic-religious particularism while protesting comparable ethnic-racial particularism by non-Jews.

(Sources: "Charges of bigotry backfire," *The Denver Post*, April 29, 2000; M. Janofsky, "Privacy Rights Win Over Bias Charges in Defamation Case," *The New York Times*, May 13, 2000; "ADL won't be deterred by court defeat," JTA, *Washington Jewish Week*, May 18, 2000, p. 14; "Defaming Defamers," Editorial, *Washington Jewish Week*, May 16, 2000, p. 16; H. Berkowitz & A. Foxman, "ADL in Denver: setting the record straight," *Washington Jewish Week*, May 25, 2000, p. 18.)

"An old error is always more popular than a new truth."

— German proverb

Thanks

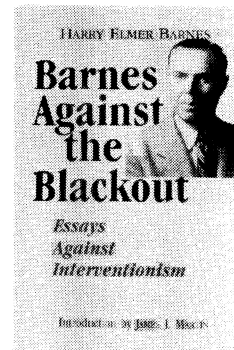
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Treblinka Ground Radar Examination Finds No Trace of Mass Graves

A detailed forensic examination of the site of the wartime Treblinka camp, using sophisticated electronic ground radar, has found no evidence of mass graves there.

For six days in October 1999, an Australian team headed by Richard Krege, a qualified electronics engineer, carried out an examination of the soil at the site of the former Treblinka II camp in Poland, where, Holocaust historians say, more than half a million Jews were put to death in gas chambers and then buried in mass graves.

According to the *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust* (1997), for example, "a total of 870,000 people" were killed and buried at Treblinka between July 1942 and April 1943. Then, between April and July 1943, the hundreds of thousands of corpses were allegedly dug up and burned in batches of 2,000 or 2,500 on large grids made of railway ties.

Krege's team used an \$80,000 Ground Penetration Radar (GPR) device, which sends out vertical radar signals that are visible on a computer monitor. GPR detects any large-scale disturbances in the soil structure to a normal effective depth of four or five meters, and sometimes up to ten meters. (GPR devices are routinely used around the world by geologists, archeologists, and police.) In its Treblinka investigation, Krege's team also carried out visual soil inspections, and used an auger to take numerous soil core samples.

The team carefully examined the entire Treblinka II site, especially the alleged "mass graves" portion, and carried out control examinations of the surrounding area. They found no soil disturbance consistent with the burial of hundreds of thousands of bodies, or even evidence that the ground had ever been disturbed. In addition, Krege and his team found no evidence of individual graves, bone remains, human ashes, or wood ashes.

"From these scans we could clearly identify the largely undisturbed horizontal stratigraphic layering, better known as horizons, of the soil under the camp site," says the 30-year old Krege, who lives in Canberra. "We know from scans of grave sites, and other sites with known soil disturbances, such as quarries, when this natural layering is massively disrupted or missing altogether." Because normal geological processes are very slow acting, disruption of the soil structure would have been detectable even after 60 years, Krege noted.

While his initial investigation suggests that there were never any mass graves at the Treblinka

camp site, Krege believes that further work is still called for.

"Historians say that the bodies were exhumed and cremated towards the end of the Treblinka camp's use in 1943, but we found no indication that any mass graves ever existed," he says. "Personally, I don't think there was an extermination camp there at all."

Krege is preparing a detailed report on his Treblinka investigation. He says that he would welcome the formation, possibly under United Nations auspices, of an international team of neutral, qualified specialists, to carry out similar investigations at the sites of all the wartime German camps.

Krege and his team are associated with, and funded by, the Adelaide Institute, a south Australia revisionist "think tank." Its director, Dr. Fredrick Toben, was jailed in Germany for seven months in 1999 for disputing Holocaust extermination claims.

(Sources: "Vernichtungslager Treblinka: archaisch betrachtet," by Ing. Richard Krege, in *Vierteljahreshefte für freie Geschichtsforschung*, June 2000 [4. Jg., Heft 1], pp. 62-64; "No Jewish mass grave in Poland," *The Canberra Times*, Jan. 24, 2000, p. 6; "Poland's Jews 'not buried at Treblinka'," *The Examiner* [Australia], Jan. 24, 2000. [The latter two newspaper items are reprinted in facsimile in *VHO-info*, May 2000, p. 30.]; Information provided by Richard Krege; M. Weber and A. Allen, "Treblinka," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1992, pp. 133-158; "German Court Sentences Australian Holocaust Skeptic," *The Journal of Historical Review*, July-August 1999, pp. 2-5; Y. Arad, "Treblinka," in I. Gutman, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust* [New York: 1997], pp. 1481-1488.)

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Revisionist Master's Thesis Under Fire

New Zealand University Resists Jewish Demands

A New Zealand university is rejecting demands by Jewish groups to revoke a master's degree it awarded six years ago for a thesis that disputes Holocaust extermination claims. Citing academic traditions of open scholarship, the University of Canterbury (in Christchurch) has told Jewish community leaders that it will not rescind the degree earned by Joel Stuart Hayward, who endorsed revisionist arguments about Germany's wartime policy toward Europe's Jews in his master's thesis.

Hayward, who now teaches at Massey University in northern New Zealand, recently expressed regret over the thesis.

At the center of the dispute is Hayward's carefully researched 360-page overview of the development and impact of Holocaust revisionism from 1948 to 1993. Written in 1991 and 1992, *The Fate of the Jews in German Hands: An Historical Enquiry Into the Development and Significance of Holocaust Revisionism*, was approved in 1993 with first class honors by the University of Canterbury.

In it Hayward presents evidence to show that there was no German policy to exterminate Europe's Jews, that fewer than six million European Jews died during the Second World War, and that numerous claims of killings in gas chambers are untrue. He points out the unreliability of "eyewitness" evidence of "Holocaust survivors," and notes that numerous Holocaust claims "have been quietly dropped by historians over the years, although few non-specialists have been informed of this and, consequently, the claims are continually repeated."

On the emotion-laden question of wartime killings of Jews in gas chambers, Hayward wrote: "A careful and impartial investigation of the available evidence pertaining to Nazi gas chambers reveals that even these apparently fall into the category of atrocity propaganda." Among the evidence he marshals in support of this view, Hayward cites the 1988 forensic examination by American gas chamber expert Fred Leuchter of the alleged "gas chambers" at Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek ("The Leuchter Report"). "Leuchter's unorthodox conclusions, which at first seem incredible, do appear to be supported by ample evidence," wrote Hayward.

In summing up "the revisionists," Hayward writes: "It is worth repeating one point made above:



Joel Hayward

some revisionist books and articles (such as those by Weber, Irving and Faurisson) are balanced and authoritative, containing both solid research and highly-developed analysis. They contribute substantially to the accumulated body of knowledge about the Holocaust, and should not be ignored or discounted out-of-hand by historians upholding received opinion. The truth-seeking historian has nothing to fear from these scholars." In a 60-page chapter on the Institute for Historical Review, Hayward praises Mark Weber (now IHR Director) as a "thoughtful and serious historian" who has produced "consistently well-researched and cogently-argued writings on the Holocaust and other historical topics."

In his thesis' conclusion, Hayward sums up:

... The gassing claim is irreconcilable with the overwhelming weight of evidence on the nature of official Nazi policy on the Jewish question. That policy, our careful and unbiased reading of the evidence suggested, was not one of total extermination, but was a brutal policy of deportation and forced labor.

... The weight of evidence supports the view that the Nazis did not systematically exterminate Jews in gas chambers or have an extermination policy as such, [even though] it cannot be denied that Jews in German hands suffered terribly during the Second World War ... The total would undoubtedly be more than one million and far less than the symbolic figure of six million.

In an analysis of the thesis published in the *New Zealand Jewish Chronicle* (April 2000), a Jewish academic, Prof. Dov Bing, speculated that "in 1991 it seems that Joel Hayward had been caught in the web of Holocaust deniers. Although he set out to critically analyze their views in an objective academic manner, he ended up supporting them. He came to admire people like Irving, Faurisson and Weber."

Jewish groups are understandably upset with

Hayward's thesis, especially because it was approved — after seemingly careful supervision and review — with first class honors, and then remained unchallenged for five years. The New Zealand Jewish Council, the main body representing organized Jewry in that country, has asked Canterbury University to revoke Hayward's master's degree.

As soon as the thesis was accepted, Hayward imposed an embargo on it, allowing only those with his permission to see it. Until last year its contents remained unknown, except to a small number of revisionist scholars around the world. Then it was posted, without his authorization, on the Internet, and Fredrick Toben, director of the revisionist Adelaide Institute, sought to use it (also without Hayward's authorization) in a legal dispute in Australia.

At this point, Hayward issued an addendum to his now-public thesis, repudiating its main conclusions. In his "recantation" he wrote:

My thesis represents an honest attempt on my part to make sense of events I wanted to understand better. Yet I now regret working on such a complex topic without sufficient knowledge and preparation, and I hope this brief addendum will prevent my work causing distress to the Jewish community here in New Zealand and elsewhere, or being misused by individuals or groups with malevolent motives ... With the benefit of hindsight and eight years of subsequent research, I can now see that it [the thesis] contains several errors of fact and interpretation ...

In a recent letter to the *New Zealand Jewish Chronicle*, Hayward wrote: "I believe that, without doubt, around six million Jews perished during World War II. They were murdered by Nazis and their allies. The perpetrators used a range of methods, including gas chambers, shooting, physical exhaustion and starvation, to carry out this monstrous crime."

How sincere is Hayward's "recantation"? One indication that his most recently expressed views on the Holocaust may be less than entirely sincere is that they were issued only after his thesis had (without his authorization) been made public, and was beginning to come under attack. As recently as November 1998, Hayward was sharply critical of anti-revisionists. For example, he called Deborah Lipstadt's book, *Denying the Holocaust*, "hopeless. Very poor indeed."

Hayward was born in 1964 in Christchurch, New Zealand. While in his twenties, he adopted Joel as his first name to affirm his partial Jewish ancestry. Today he is a well regarded member of the academic faculty at Massey University in Palmerston North,

New Zealand, where he is "senior lecturer" and program coordinator of defense and strategic studies in the university's School of History, Philosophy and Politics.

Hayward writes and teaches on military history, strategy and operational art. In addition to numerous articles published in scholarly journals, he is the author of a critically well-received 395-page historical study, *Stopped at Stalingrad: The Luftwaffe and Hitler's Defeat in the East, 1943-1943*, which was published in 1998 by the University of Kansas Press.

The Kupka Affair

In a related affair in New Zealand, Jewish groups recently demanded that Waikato University expel from its doctoral study program a German student who, they charge, is an anti-Jewish "Holocaust denier." Hans-Joachim Kupka, 55 years old, had been working on a Ph.D. dissertation that would analyze the contribution to New Zealand society of immigrants from Germany and Austria.

Jewish groups expressed alarm that before moving to New Zealand in 1992 Kupka had been active in Germany in the allegedly "neo-Nazi" Republican party. During the 1980s he was the party's regional chairman in lower Bavaria, and in 1987 became deputy chairman of the party's Bavarian section. Jewish academics also cited writings by Kupka in recent years that he had posted on the Internet, calling them "anti-Semitic Holocaust denial." Jewish students organized protest marches at the University demanding his expulsion.

On the other hand, three Waikato University professors who evaluated Kupka's writings concluded that they "could in no way be interpreted as being remotely right-wing." Similarly, the university's vice chancellor found that the writings did not constitute "Holocaust denial."

With Jewish pressure mounting, Kupka suddenly withdrew from his doctoral study program. In spite of this, the local *Waikato Times* reported (July 6, 2000), "the Jewish community will not let the matter rest," and demanded a critical review of the university's handling of the matter.

The Roques Affair

The Hayward and Kupka affairs recall the 1986 case of Henri Roques, a French scholar whose doctoral degree was revoked by government order — for the first time in the nearly eight centuries of French university life — because the revisionist conclusion of his doctoral dissertation enraged Jewish groups. In his dissertation, Roques closely examined the "confessions" of SS officer Kurt Gerstein, which for decades have been a main piece of evidence for gas chamber killings. Roques concluded that Gerstein's

postwar testimony is "extravagant and crammed with improbabilities," lacks the evidentiary value one should require of a historical document, and cannot be accepted as a proof for the existence of wartime homicidal gas chambers.

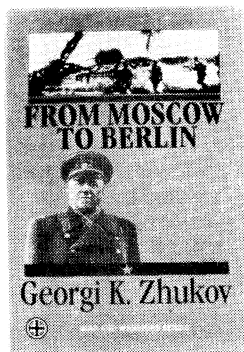
Roques' doctorate was revoked even though his dissertation had been accepted by a panel of three professors at the University of Nantes. And even after the "Roques scandal" became public, the prominent British historian Hugh Trevor-Roper (Lord Dacre) praised Roques' dissertation (in a 1990 letter) as "an entirely legitimate, scholarly and responsible work of *Quellenkritik* [source critique] on a limited but important subject." (See the Sept.-Oct. 1993 *Journal*, pp. 40-41.)

Roques, a member of this *Journal's* Editorial Advisory Committee, addressed the Eighth (1987) IHR Conference. (See H. Roques, "From the Gerstein Affair to the Roques Affair," in the Spring 1988 *Journal*, pp. 5-23.) His dissertation was published in English by the IHR under the title *The 'Confessions' of Kurt Gerstein*, and is still available for sale from the IHR.

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Henri Roques

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British historian Hugh Trevor-Roper (Lord Dacre) praised this study as "an entirely legitimate, scholarly and responsible work of *Quellenkritik* [source critique] on a limited but important subject."

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German Professor, Accused of Revisionism, Commits Suicide

Werner Pfeifenberger, a German professor of political science, took his life in Austria on May 13, 2000, a few weeks before he was to go on trial in Vienna for an allegedly revisionist and “neo-Nazi” essay published five years ago. The 58-year-old scholar was scheduled to appear on June 26 before a district criminal court, where he faced up to ten years imprisonment for a 1995 writing that allegedly violated Austria’s anti-Nazism law. His attorney said that Pfeifenberger, fearing an unfair trial, had announced his intention to take his life.

Pfeifenberger, born in October 1941, was once a well-regarded scholar. After studying law, economics and political science, he taught at colleges or universities in Salzburg, Münster, Paderborn, Grenoble (France), Stellenbosch (South Africa), and Taipei (Taiwan). For a time he served as director of the semi-official Austrian Institute for Political Education, and from 1978 to 1983 was responsible for its periodical, “Political Education.”

For years Prof. Pfeifenberger had been under fire from leftist and Jewish groups, which cited his support for allegedly “neo-fascist” or “neo-Nazi” organizations such as the “Austria Cultural Foundation” and the “German-South Africa Society.” Critics also cited his defense of the apartheid government in South Africa, and his writings for “right wing” periodicals.

His troubles became much more pronounced after his essay, “Internationalism and Nationalism: a Never-Ending Mortal Enmity?,” appeared in the 1995 Year Book of the Academy of Austria’s Freedom Party. A prominent Jewish journalist, Karl Pfeifer, took aim at Pfeifenberger and his essay. Writing in the magazine of Vienna’s Jewish Community, Pfeifer accused him of employing “neo-Nazi tones” (“Neo-Nazi Töne”), of extolling the “national community” (“Volksgemeinschaft”), and of reviving “the old Nazi legend of a Jewish world conspiracy.” The Jewish periodical cited Pfeifenberger’s mention of a “Jewish war against Germany,” referring to world Jewry’s 1933 declaration of an international boycott action (economic war) against Third Reich Germany, and his portrayal of former Austrian president Kurt Waldheim as a victim rather than a perpetrator.

The Jewish journalist’s broadside began a campaign against Dr. Pfeifenberger that finally ended with the professor’s suicide.

In Germany, a leading member of the Social Democratic faction in parliament expressed concern about the essay’s supposedly “anti-Semitic tenden-



Werner Pfeifenberger (1941-2000): Death Claims a Victim of Legal Persecution

cies,” and in 1997 the government of the state of North Rhine-Westphalia dismissed Pfeifenberger from his teaching post at a specialized college (*Fachhochschule*) in Muenster. This summary dismissal was overturned in April 1998, and in October 1999 he was given a new position at a specialized college in Bielefeld. However, because this substitute position was only as a researcher, his career as a teacher was effectively finished.

In Austria’s parliament, members of the Social Democratic and Green parties denounced Pfeifenberger’s essay, and pressed for legal action against the Year Book’s publisher, namely the rival Freedom Party of Joerg Haider. And a court in Vienna, affirming a charge made by the Jewish community magazine, found that Pfeifenberger’s essay contained “Nazi tones” (“Nazitöne”).

Typical of such cases in Germany and Austria, the accuracy or truthfulness of Pfeifenberger’s writing was not an issue. An offensive “tone” or “diction”

is enough to bring legal action against an author.

This was also manifest in a case involving David Irving. At a meeting in Munich in April 1990, the British historian told his audience that the “gas chamber” shown for decades to tourists at the Auschwitz I main camp is a fake. Irving was quickly charged, and a German court duly fined him 10,000 marks. In January 1993 a Munich court trebled the fine to 30,000 marks (about \$21,000). It simply didn’t matter that Irving’s provocative statement was, in fact, completely true. Remarkably, even Robert Jan Van Pelt, a major defense witness in the recent Irving-Lipstadt trial in London, has himself acknowledged that the infamous Auschwitz I “gas chamber” is actually a fraudulent postwar reconstruction. (See: R. Faurisson, “The ‘Gas Chamber’ of Auschwitz I,” Sept.-Dec. 1999 *Journal*, pp. 12-13.)

The Pfeifenberger case is not only another blow against freedom of expression and research in Germany and Austria, it manifests the hypocritical “democracy” that prevails in much of Europe today.

Even before he decided to commit suicide, noted the Vienna weekly paper *Zur Zeit* (June 2-8, 2000), Werner Pfeifenberger’s professional life had already been destroyed. Rather than endure further disgrace and ruin, he chose death. The “politically correct” enemies of freedom of expression and scholarly research can proudly claim another victim. Whatever justification there may have been for Austria’s law banning any revival of National Socialism (Nazism), the paper went on to comment, the broadening of that law in 1992 has provided the enemies of intellectual freedom with a “fascism club” to intimidate adversaries. “As one can see,” *Zur Zeit* continued, the 1992 law has proven to be “a serious mistake, for which Werner Pfeifenberger has paid with his life.”

Pfeifenberger’s death recalls the suicide five years ago of a retired German chemist. On April 25, 1995, Reinhold Elstner took his life in downtown Munich by setting himself on fire in protest half a century of “defamation” and a “Niagara flood of lies pouring down on our nation.” In a statement written before his death, he explained: “Fifty years of ceaseless defamation, ugly lies and demonization of an entire people are enough!... Now 75 years old, there’s not much more I can do. Through my death in flames I can nonetheless still give a final visible expression of my views. If, as a result, even one German comes to his senses and finds the way to truth, then my sacrifice will not have been in vain ...” (See “A German Takes His Life to Protest Defamation and Historical Lies,” Sept.-Oct. 1995 *Journal*, pp. 23-24.)

— M. W.

Polish Professor Fired for Dissident History Book

A Polish history professor has been fired by his university and banned from teaching elsewhere for publishing a book suggesting that wartime Germany did not have an overall plan or policy to exterminate Europe’s Jews. The state-run University of Opole announced in early April 2000 that Dariusz Ratajczak, 37, had violated ethical standards and would be banned from teaching at other universities for three years.

Ratajczak, who is popular with students, was suspended in April 1999 from his teaching post with the university’s Historical Institute after state prosecutors opened an investigation into the publication of his book *Tematy niebezpieczne* (“Dangerous Themes”). With a child to support, his financial situation is precarious. (See: “Polish Professor Under Fire for ‘Holocaust Denial,’” May-June 1999 *Journal*, p. 31.)

In December 1999 a court in Opole (Silesia) found Ratajczak guilty of spreading revisionist views on the Holocaust, but the court did not punish him, saying that the book’s limited distribution was not damaging enough to warrant punishment under a Polish law that makes it a crime to publicly deny German wartime or Communist-era crimes. The court also noted that Ratajczak had distanced himself from revisionist views in a preface to the second edition of the book. (See “No Punishment for Polish ‘Holocaust Denier,’” in the Sept.-Dec. 1999 *Journal*, p. 47.)

Ratajczak argued that he had merely summarized opinions of historians who hold dissident views on the Holocaust issue, and that his own views are not in line with all the opinions in his book. “I was only presenting various views on the Holocaust to students,” he said.

In a five-page section of his book entitled “Holocaust Revisionism,” Ratajczak matter-of-factly cited the work of such revisionists as Paul Rassinier, Robert Faurisson, David Irving and Ernst Zündel, who contend that there was no German plan or program to exterminate Europe’s Jews. He also cited the forensic investigations carried out at Auschwitz and Birkenau by Fred Leuchter and Germar Rudolf, and their conclusions that, for technical reasons, well-known claims of killing millions of Jews in gas chambers are impossible.

While Ratajczak did not explicitly endorse these views, he did call Holocaust “eyewitness” testimony “useless,” and described establishment Holocaust writers as “followers of a religion of the Holocaust” who impose on others “a false image of the past.” He also argued that three million Jews died in “the

Holocaust,” not the often-claimed six million.

Ratajczak published 320 copies of the book in March 1999 at his own expense. Only a few were sold at the university bookstore or directly to students, or were given away to friends, before police seized the remaining copies. In September 1999 he financed a second edition of 30,000 copies, which were offered in kiosks and by mail order across Poland. The publisher, a small firm in Warsaw, reportedly censored the most “extreme” statements, placing them in notes at the book’s end. A few thousand copies have been sold, Ratajczak reports.

“Holocaust denial” is a crime in several European states, including Germany, France, and Austria.

— M. W.

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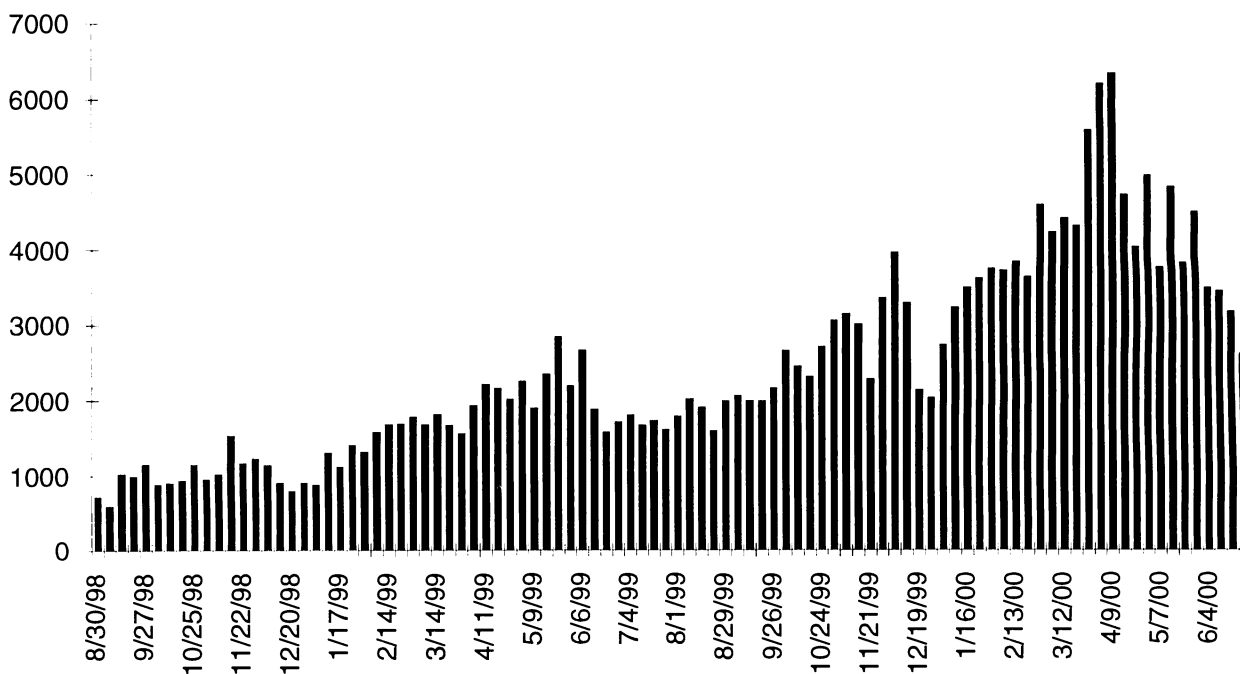
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The Irving Trial, 'Human Rights' Double Standard, and Jewish-Zionist Arrogance

DOUG COLLINS

The Irving Trial

Having been out of the country when the Irving-Lipstadt libel trial verdict came down [April 11] and for some time thereafter I was not able to write anything about it. I was in Jerusalem, where our tour guide did not fail to mention the Holocaust and the six million Jews. Politeness being one of my weaknesses I did not argue with him.

Some people are now asking what I thought of the decision, in which, of course, Mr. Irving was denounced as an anti-Semite, a racist, and a Holocaust denier. My answer, in short, was what I had said while the trial was still on: that he stood not a cat's chance in hell of winning. No judge, British or otherwise, was about to take on the world-wide Jewish Establishment. He would himself have been branded an anti-Semite, a racist, and a Holocaust denier.

The victors are now dancing the Hora, and may be forgiven for thinking that the argument about the Holocaust and its politics is now over. But they would be wrong. In the first place, the trial judge did not validate the six million story even though he claimed, with Deborah Lipstadt, that Irving had distorted history. At the same time he, the judge, confessed he was no historian, which hardly

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The three columns published here are dated, in order, April 27, May 10, and May 22, 2000.



Doug Collins

strengthens his decision.

All historians believe their own theses, and as Professor Donald Cameron Watt pointed out in London's *Evening Standard* [April 11], "Show me any historian who has not broken into a cold sweat at the thought of undergoing similar treatment," meaning that Irving had to endure two months of being attacked by hostile historians and top-ranking (and ranting) Jewish lawyers.

One against 20, and the judge paid the star of this show the compliment of stating that "Mr. Irving knows his stuff." In the *New York Press* [April 18], George Szamuely wrote that "though he lost the case, he held his own against scholars of international repute."

In short, although Irving lost, and will be ruined if his appeal is unsuccessful (which, again, I expect it to be) he has also won. Never before has there been such an ocean of critical publicity on this subject. It has dominated the pages of the world's media and has already led to opinions being expressed that would not have been, pre-trial.

As David Cesarani, who I believe is Jewish, reported in *The Guardian* [Jan. 18], "David Irving

may be isolated in his high court battle, but a growing number of respectable academics are criticizing what they have dubbed the 'Holocaust Industry' ... Serious scholars on both sides of the Atlantic who scorn [Irving's] methods and arguments are questioning the purposes to which the Holocaust is being put. They are asking if it deserves a special protected place in the public consciousness."

Some, he went on, are asking whether memorialization of the Holocaust, as well as Holocaust studies in schools and universities, are not being used wrongly, or simply getting out of hand. (Hello there, you government lickspittles in Victoria, who have just stepped into line with British Columbia's very own Memorial Day!)

Even before the Lipstadt trial began, an announcement that there were plans for a "Shoah Centre" in Manchester caused Brian Sewell of the *Evening Standard* to write: "Can we not say to the Jews of Manchester that enough has been made of their Holocaust and that they are too greedy for our memories?"

The case for Irving's being a "Holocaust denier" seems to rest on his claim that there were no gas chambers at Auschwitz and on his rejection of the six million story. Here the judge said in his ruling that Irving was right to point out that contemporaneous documents "give ... little clear evidence of the existence of gas chambers designed to kill human beings." To support his judgment, he relied on witnesses for the defense. Which raises the question what, precisely, is a "denier"? Irving, after all, had said that between one million and four million Jews died.

Denial depends on who and what is being denied. Historian Robert W. Thurston is one of several who have claimed that Stalin was not guilty of mass murder from 1934 to 1941. For them, too, the Gulag didn't exist, except for criminals who would have been in jail in any country — the kind of bilge that Eleanor Roosevelt swallowed.

No disgrace for them, though. They are hardly noticed. Even if they were, and faced a case against their critics, there would be no millions of dollars forthcoming for their defense from the Spielbergs, the Bronfmans or the American Jewish Committee, as they were for Lipstadt.

To repeat: this trial marks the start of a new look

at the politics of the Holocaust. And it will continue. Have I ever lied to you?

To get the international media comment on this case, I recommend Irving's web page. It's all there, pro and con, at <http://www.fpp.co.uk/online.html>

Milquetoasts, Malcontents and the Zeitgeist

What is it about this country that prevents people from facing reality. Why is it, for instance, that the authorities ignore the excesses of the Left, while any similar actions of the Right would result in outrage?

For the most part we can blame what the Germans call *der Zeitgeist*, or the Spirit of the Times. On the West Coast, for instance, a riot against the Canadian Free Speech League in the Vancouver Public Library excited only yawns. But if rightists had rioted against the Left or against B'nai B'rith, the event would have scorched the front pages of the nation's press. TV pundits and editorialists would have viewed with brow-wrinkling alarm, and cartoonists would have had a field day drawing swastikas.

The riot in question took place last September 29th, as I attempted to raise funds for my court challenge to the British Columbia Human Rights Act, under which I have twice been hauled before kangaroo court tribunals. About 150 invading leftists — scum to a man, and woman — howled for the blood of gladiators Doug Christie and myself, while two dozen policemen and six library security guards could not control them as they wrecked the affair. Bedlam had nothing on it. Yet no charges were laid. Which, these days, is par for the course,

the Zeitgeist being what it is. But the real story is what the library did or did not do about it.

Multiculters, Jews (if it isn't anti-Semitic to say so!), Communists and Socialists screamed that "hate groups" like the Free Speech League should not be allowed to darken the library doors, and never mind that the title of my talk was "The NDP's Attack on Free Speech" — a reference to that party's appalling Human Rights Code that permits Pre-



David Irving enters the London court building for another day of arguments in the Irving-Lipstadt libel trial.

mier Ujjal Dosanjh and Co. to go after anyone who tells a Newfie joke.

In response, the library board held a public forum in April to test opinion as to whether people like the League should be able to rent library premises. Needless to say, Mary Woo-Sims was there, she being the leather-jacketed Lesbian who heads the Human Rights Commission. So was Alan Dutton, the leftist who gets \$100,000 a year in government grants to plead the multicult cause and who told the CBC that he would continue to oppose with force any "so-called free speech meetings."

To its credit, the library board did not entirely collapse in the face of this attack. But it stated that renters would have to agree not to contravene the Criminal Code or the Human Rights Act of British Columbia while holding meetings.

This was more than passing strange, since one might conclude from that that the League had done so.

So I wrote back to point out that if anyone had contravened the code it was the rioters. Why didn't the Library Board say so? And why was the riot not condemned? As for not contravening the Rights Act, could any speaker guarantee not to tell a Newfie joke?

Mr. Christie also took pen in hand. He wanted to know why the library had not announced that the law regarding peaceful assembly would be enforced. "Is it your policy," he asked, "that if someone screamed and shouted at a person reading a book you would not have them evicted from the property? I doubt it. More than likely you would call the police and the person would be arrested for causing a disturbance. Why would the same principle not apply to protection of the right of peaceful assembly...?"

He went on to deal with the silly ruling regarding the Human Rights Act, pointing out that it is under challenge in the courts, and that people should instead be asked to "maintain and uphold the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, specifically freedom of speech, thought, belief, opinion and freedom of assembly. These are equally important values, which apparently you are not prepared to maintain with the same strict requirements."

"All in all," concluded Mr. Christie, "the policy you have adopted, in the long run, seems inclined to gradually squeeze from public discussion and discourse those who are vilified by the extreme left-wing in Canada."

It is doubtful that the Library Board will provide any substantive answers to our questions because our points are unanswerable. Instinctively, the Board recognizes where the power lies, especially in British Columbia, which is why I will not try to speak in the library again.

Does that mean that the scum have won? No.

They haven't managed to control the Internet, and it is to be hoped that they don't yet control the courts. Also, an election is due next year in which the NDP will disappear down the drain of iniquity.

But for the time being the Zeitgeist prevails. He blows with the wind, however, and the wind can change. Meanwhile, it is up to all freedom lovers to make sure it does.

Tits and Tats

"Arrogance: Aggressively assertive or presumptuous; overbearing." — *Oxford English Dictionary*

There is no lack of arrogance in our world. In the scales of argument, arrogance certainly outweighs humility, and I hereby award the Nobel Prize for Arrogance to groups like the Canadian Jewish Congress, B'nai B'rith, and the Simon Wiesenthal Center. All are arrogantly opposed to free speech, which in their book is hate speech if they don't like what is being said.

Stating such qualifies one to be condemned to the Devil's Island of Anti-Semitism, of course. For, as is obvious to everyone except the intellectually blind or cowardly, any criticism of things Jewish becomes "anti-Semitic." And not only to Jews, but to lickspittles in government and "liberals."

Subversive thoughts of that sort are not new and have led to my being chased by human wrongs commissions. As *B.C. Report* magazine put it a while back, the human rights industry has declared war on civil liberties and free speech.

I know of no groups who wage that war more fanatically than B'nai B'rith, etc., but I wouldn't say so once again were it not for some comments on the subject by Joseph Sobran, an American syndicated columnist and one of the sharpest intellects in the media.

"The Jewish lobby ..." he writes in his newsletter [reprinted in the Jan.-Feb. 2000 *Journal*, pp. 67-69], "now inspires enormous fear because of its power to ruin politicians, writers, and businesses. It wields such dreaded labels as anti-Semite and bigot with abandon and — here is the real point — with impunity."

"Far from being persecuted, or remotely threatened with persecution, Jews in the modern democracies are very powerful. That is why they are feared, and why their labels terrify. If they were really helpless victims, there would be no reason to fear them ..."

"Most Jews," he adds, "take no active part in the thought-control campaign and many would oppose it if they considered it seriously; but the major secular Jewish organizations are determined to silence any public discourse that is not to their liking, as witness the fate of people as disparate as [David]

Irving, Louis Farrakhan, and Pat Buchanan" (not to mention my far humbler self).

Sobran was dealing with the situation in the United States. But it is no different in Canada and is even worse in Europe, where the slightest murmur questioning the official version of the Holocaust can land people in jail.

The Holocaust, indeed, has become a massive shield used not only in the democracies but also in the Middle East, as the Palestinians have learned to their cost. The standard account of the Holocaust, states Sobran, serves political interests. Israel "has enjoyed great indulgence from the United States by justifying its violence against its Arab neighbors and its abuses of its Arab minority as necessary defensive measures by a people still traumatized by persecution and threatened by annihilation."

The Zionist lobby, he says, has become one of the most powerful forces in American politics, and any criticism of Jews or of Israel becomes "anti-Semitism." Holocaust denial, meanwhile (or what passes for Holocaust denial) "has become a capital thought-crime."

Its real function, he continues, "is not to identify and disarm real hostility to Jews, but to terrorize".

An example of that was evident after the riot in the Vancouver Public Library last September, when I spoke about the threat to free speech as represented by the B.C. Human Rights Code.

The Canadian Jewish Congress and B'nai B'rith arrogantly lobbied the library to prevent "known hate groups" from using its premises, and in a recent issue of the *Western Jewish Bulletin*, Jewish biggies deplored the fact that it had failed to do so. Some of the most controversial rentals, they claimed, had been to "outspoken anti-Semites". (Names, please.)


Up popped the Holocaust again, too. B'nai B'rith's Harry Abram, a devoted enemy of free speech said that survivors of the Holocaust would feel intimidated if there were speakers in the library who were denying that it ever took place. A fine broth, that. The man makes no sense, as usual.

For my part, I have never said it didn't take place. But even if someone told me that the Second World War itself had never taken place — and I was in it for six years — I would laugh at them. Laughs are in short supply, however, where Abrams is concerned. Or perhaps not. He once suggested that I was preparing the ground for another Holocaust.

Meanwhile, aren't the above named Jewish organizations hate groups? They certainly hate little old harmless me (as witness the "rights" complaints against me) and are selectively opposed to free assembly, which, the last time I looked, is supposedly guaranteed to all who nest in the True North.

If they ever use it, perhaps we should lobby to

keep *them* out of the library. Doesn't every tit deserve a tat?



Even Japan has learned what happens to those who commit sacrilege against the secular religion of the Holocaust. "Holocaust Pressure Groups Shut Down Japan's *Marco Polo* Magazine," a 30-page IHR Special Report, includes a translation of Dr. Nishioka's headline-making *Marco Polo* article, facsimile copies of numerous reports from American and Japanese English-language newspapers on the *Marco Polo* furor, a feature article from the March-April 1995 *Journal*, and more.

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"I defended freedom in the 1940s when Hitler was on the loose, in the 1970s when the federal hate laws were passed, and in the 1990s when those idiots in Victoria passed their misnamed Human Rights Act, and that I shall go on defending freedom until the day I die."

— Doug Collins

"The Irving libel case is the nearest thing liberal London society can get to a trial for witchcraft or blasphemy."

— Doug Collins

"As societies grow decadent, the language grows decadent, too. Words are used to disguise, not to illuminate, action: you liberate a city by destroying it. Words are to confuse, so that at election time people will solemnly vote against their own interests."

— Gore Vidal, *The Day the American Empire Ran Out of Gas* (1987)

On Prejudice, the 'Jewish Question,' and Communism's Legacy

JOSEPH SOBRAN

Created Equal

The United States was founded in the republican conviction that heredity shouldn't be destiny. This doctrine has many ramifications, not all of them strictly logical or mutually consistent. The Declaration of Independence declares that all men are created equal; the Constitution forbids titles of nobility; it eventually outlawed chattel slavery; "civil rights" has come to mean that even private employers must not hire according to ethnic criteria; racial prejudice, "racism," has become a social taboo; and even generalizations about ethnic groups are frowned on (unless they flatter the "contributions" of this or that group). The only trait it's now safe to ascribe to whole races is victimhood.

And yet common sense tells us that groups and nations do have distinct characters, with characteristic vices as well as virtues. When we aren't on our guard against the thought police, we may discuss such things freely. American individualism is balanced by the earthy sociology of stereotypes, which, as the great sociologist John Murray Cuddihy assures us, "are more or less accurate." Obviously what is true of the group may not apply to this or that member, but the group still has its own habits and ways, maybe even its own culture (or "subculture," to use a word my generation learned in college). The individual may show the group's traits for the same reason he speaks in the accents of his native place: from early childhood he imitates those around him, often without even realizing it.

How does a group get a reputation that lasts

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over centuries? Is any such reputation a "prejudice"? A "prejudice" need not be a prejudgment; it may be the settled conclusion of long experience. In Europe Jews and gypsies were unpopular for centuries. Many Jews blame this fact, which they call "anti-Semitism," on Christianity, which they consider superstition, thereby denying any empirical foundation to the gentiles' distrust. The word *anti-Semitism* itself implies that all frictions between Jews and gentiles must be blamed on the gentiles. Hence the campaign to tar Pope Pius XII and the Catholic Church as "anti-Semitic."



Joseph Sobran

But the slang words *jew* and *gyp* tell another story: the bad reputations of both groups have less to do with religion than with practical experience and word-of-mouth tradition. Notice that the unpopularity of such groups has more to do with distrust than with simple hatred. The verbs *jew* and *gyp* imply sharp dealing and low ethics. The Middle East bears witness that the Jews may be unpopular even

where most of the population is non-Christian. They haven't endeared themselves to Muslim Arabs; just as they were unpopular in the ancient pagan world. As a matter of fact, most of the world's Jews have chosen to live in Christian countries. Would they have done so if Christians were always hostile to Jews?

Majority populations sometimes explode in violence against these minorities, but that has always been the exception. And of course our ethnic etiquette forbids us to ask the obvious question: Have the minorities ever done anything to exasperate the majority?

A government can launch a hate campaign and excite the population to violence; this sort of top-down hatred has been a frequent feature of modern states. But most prejudices aren't created by official doctrines; they result from popular experience and the slow spreading of a group's reputation. The first gypsy I ever met — on a street in Rome — grabbed a wad of money out of my hand. I'd been too naive to

be wary of her, though my companions had warned me against her.

Hilaire Belloc's book *The Jews*, published in 1922, should be required reading for anyone who wants to understand what used to be frankly called (even by Jews) "the Jewish problem." Belloc addressed the problem from the Christian point of view, but he did it in an even-handed way, acknowledging that the vices of the Jews are often the obverse of their virtues. He wrote at a time when "Jewish Bolshevism," based in Russia, menaced Christendom. The Jewish Communists in every country seemed to embody, in extreme form, every bad trait ascribed to the Jews: hatred of the majority and its religion, duplicity, materialism, lust for power.

The Jews' long survival is often called "miraculous." It would seem so — literally. Judaism is based on divine revelation, and the highly tribal and patriarchal Mosaic law, so contrary to every precept of modern liberalism, has created a race of people who have refused assimilation to their surrounding populations over many centuries.

Moreover, the Jews have preserved as their holy books (which Christians call the "Old Testament") writings which portray them in a very unfavorable light. They repeatedly stray from the Law and God has to keep rebuking the "stiff-necked people" and punishing them with terrible severity, even allowing their enemies to conquer them. In all this the Jews are in striking contrast to the ancient Romans, for example, who glorified themselves and developed a self-congratulatory mythology (as in Virgil's *Aeneid*). Today the mighty Roman Empire is long gone; the Jews are still here, thanks in large part to their capacity for spiritual self-criticism. "Whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth." The Jews, to their glory, took his chastenings to heart.

Jews who adhere to their religion also believe that moral laws are as objective as physical laws. Their moral sense is stern, vigorous, and realistic, without the sentimental Christian tendency to turn

The Irving-Lipstadt Trial

"A veteran lawyer, commenting on David Irving's disastrous lawsuit against Deborah Lipstadt and Penguin Books, asks a good question: Why do rightists, knowing how corrupt the legislative and executive branches are, think the judiciary is any better? Why turn for justice to an ambitious judge who knows what he can expect if he rules the wrong way? The forces who conspired to destroy a single dissident historian wouldn't stick at destroying a judge too, if necessary. Even his physical safety couldn't be assured."

— Joseph Sobran

morality into mush, with every sinner getting an infinite number of second chances. In that respect, early Christianity was much closer to Judaism than to modern watered-down Christianity.

Of course most Jews no longer believe in Judaism; many are hostile to any religion, including their own. In substituting Zionism for Judaism they have adopted a self-exalting modern nationalism, rejecting all criticism as "anti-Semitism." The state of Israel practices every form of discrimination against non-Jews that secularized Jews reject when they are a minority anywhere else in the world. But this obvious fact is mentioned publicly at one's own risk. The idea of the Chosen People is separated both from the Mosaic Law and from any sense of a transcendent mission to the goyim — "the nations." And Zionist jingoism, forever casting Jews as innocent victims, has taken its toll on the ancient Jewish capacity for rigorous self-criticism. Just as gentile criticism of Jews has become "anti-Semitism," Jewish self-criticism has become "self-hatred."

Modern Jewry violently resented the 1975 United Nations declaration (later rescinded) that Zionism is "a form of racism and racial discrimination," but that is what Jews would rightly call any state based on similar laws consigning Jews to inferior status. Israeli laws on intermarriage and residence (92 per cent of the land of Israel is for Jewish residence only) recall Southern Jim Crow laws and Germany's Nuremberg laws. But only a few bold critics have pointed out this double standard. Actually, it goes beyond normal double standards: it's the application of standards that are directly *opposite* to those the modern, more or less "liberal" Jews insist on elsewhere.

"Israel's right to exist" really means the right of Jews to dominate non-Jews. That is the foundation — the virtual constitution — of the Jewish state, and Jewish courts have ruled that non-Jews may not claim the same rights as Jews. Under the "right of return," any Jew in the world may "return" to Israel (even if none of his ancestors ever lived there) and immediately claim rights denied to Palestinians whose ancestors have lived there for untold centuries.

Such facts, along with Israel's heavy dependence on American aid, confirm the very stereotypes Jews constantly protest: of Jews as duplicitous "parasites" who recognize no moral obligations of Jews toward gentiles. So do Israeli espionage and technology theft against this country. The convicted spy Jonathan Pollard is widely celebrated as a national hero in Israel. And yet we are told, not only by Jews but by our own native prostitute politicians, that Israel is our "reliable ally" as well as a model of "democracy."

Before Zionism seemed to have any prospect of

success, many Jews thought Communism was “good for the Jews.” Of course they also insisted that Communism was good for “the proletariat.” Russia under the tsars didn’t have much of a proletariat, but when it became the Soviet Union it was transformed into “the workers’ paradise.” Until the heroic Alexander Solzhenitsyn published his great trilogy, *The Gulag Archipelago*, in the 1970s (excerpts of which, be it noted, were carried in the *New York Times* under its Zionist editor Abe Rosenthal), the heavily-Jewish U.S. liberal media still maintained that the Russian people were far better off under Communism than under the despotic tsars.

In Germany, especially after Jewish-led Communist insurrections there and in Hungary and Romania, Hitler could argue plausibly that Soviet Communism showed what the Jews meant to do to other countries. Traditional suspicion was easily raised to a hysteria that found persecution not only permissible, but prudent. In America, Father Charles Coughlin, the radio priest, warned of Jewish Bolshevism too, cataloguing the real Jewish names of the Soviet ruling circles and accusing the Soviet regime of murdering 20 million Christians (a figure that later turned out to be far too low, according to Solzhenitsyn and others). Nevertheless, Stalin enjoyed widespread support from Jews around the world, even after his bloody purge of most Jewish members of the Soviet hierarchy.

Is there a “Jewish problem” in the United States today? In the media age, Jews prevail in the media — in television news, punditry, major newspapers, and Hollywood entertainment. They also constitute a powerful lobby, devoted to a range of liberal causes: feminism, “civil rights,” legal abortion, banning religion from public places — whatever seems to irritate the Christian population. Many ethnic Jews (as well as many nominal but effectively apostate Christians) still carry what might be called the Bolshevik gene code.

But Jews are so powerful in this country that any mention of the Jewish angle in liberalism is taboo, whereas the interests of “the Christian Right” are freely reported, often with scornful overtones. As I have reason to know, a journalist may endanger his career by discussing Jewish interests in any light except a highly favorable one. An especially vivid illustration is provided by the media’s concerted hate campaign against Pat Buchanan. Jewish power is such that even Jews in the media are themselves afraid of it.

To some extent this is merely the result of the Jews’ success in a free society. They have enormous wealth and power, but they also have enormous talent and determination. They are “overachievers” from the cradle, and if there is one trait they surely have, it’s the ability to focus on a long-term purpose.

Despite an occasional Sandy Koufax, Jews are notoriously unathletic; but not necessarily because they lack physical ability. The chief reason is that they are serious. As the great Jewish polemicist Maurice Samuel explained, Jews have a general contempt for sports and games and don’t waste their time on these gentile frivolities. Try to imagine a Jewish couch potato sitting in front of the television with a six-pack watching three football games in a row! It’s hard to picture.

But their seriousness also shows in their vindictiveness. People who don’t hate the Jews are nevertheless afraid of them, afraid of crossing them. Believing the mythology of their own eternal victimhood, the Jews (by and large) feel that criticism of them means persecution, and they are quick to paint swastikas on their critics. Given their inordinate power in the media, this means that the general public hears very little criticism of them, even when they deserve it. It amounts to private censorship. Jewish power inhibits free speech even when the press is absolutely free from government control.

Of course the Jews are only exercising their rights as property owners when they bar their critics from their networks and newspapers, but the result is still a severe curtailment of full public discussion. The news media not only inform, but “disinform” the public by suppressing both facts themselves and comment on those facts.

The general public has become accustomed to judging everything from a Jewish point of view. This is most striking — to me, anyway — in the constant harping on World War II, which has long since ceased revolving around Pearl Harbor and Japan and now centers obsessively on the “Holocaust” — a word never used during the war itself. We are taught that it is good that the United States won, because Hitler was destroyed. In fact, the real victor was Stalin, who quickly took ten Christian countries under Communist rule; but since Communism enjoyed a good deal of Jewish support and most of its victims were Christians, its role in the war is barely acknowledged. Even Jewish anti-Communists (of whom there are now many) say next to nothing about the savage Communist persecution of Christians. In contrast to the endless hunt for old Nazis, there has been no campaign to find and punish aging Communist criminals, or to exact reparations for the cruelty and suffering they inflicted.

Until recently, Jews passionately supported (and, to a large extent, controlled) the “civil rights movement,” which was really a socialist campaign to extend the power of centralized government over private individuals and institutions. The unadmitted premise of the movement, ironically enough, was white supremacy and black inferiority. It was

assumed that black children couldn't get a proper education in segregated schools; only if they sat in classrooms with whites could they become achievers. But public schools, once integrated, didn't remain integrated long; whites fled as soon as they could.

Again, the alleged reason was "prejudice" — or what Bill Clinton would homiletically call "fear of those who are different," as in "the color of their skin." But whites weren't afraid of skin pigment; they were afraid of violence. They went to great lengths and great expense to escape it. Even liberals notoriously put their children in safe, that is, mostly white, schools. If sheer, irrational racial prejudice motivated "white flight" from black-dominated cities, it should also have made whites equally fearful of Orientals and other nonwhites.

There is an obvious difference between defensive and aggressive prejudices — a distinction liberalism doesn't acknowledge. When one group sees another group as threatening and is actually willing to pay a high price to avoid close contact with it, the prejudice would seem to have at least some foundation. The liberal response to this market judgment is to outlaw the market, making contact compulsory, without asking why such a policy is necessary. When such policies fail, liberals conclude that even more drastic policies must be imposed.

Even today, black "leaders" like Jesse Jackson appear to be white supremacists. Jackson admits that blacks pose a certain crime problem; he once confessed that when he hears footsteps behind him on a dark street, he is relieved if he turns and sees a white man. The huge disparity between interracial crime committed by blacks and that committed by whites — the ratio is about 50 to 1 — causes no comment; a violent crime committed by a white against a black makes national headlines.

The forbidden prejudice against blacks makes its appearance indirectly, in the low expectations everyone has of blacks (contrast the high expectations of Jews). Jackson and others, in making demands on whites, always imply that blacks are incapable of achievement on their own, outside the areas of sports, entertainment, and the performing arts; they can't even envision blacks as creators, inventors, innovators. They can see them only as recipients of white largess, cogs in the white man's economic machinery. Though they complain about the injustice of casting the black man in menial roles in the white man's world, they seem unable to conceive him as a builder of civilizations.

Jackson and his ilk may not realize it, but they constantly reinforce the idea that blacks aren't even capable of moral responsibility. By blaming the white man for everything, they teach that only the white man is morally autonomous, and that blacks

can be only what the white man chooses to make them. The white man becomes the Superman — the black man's excuse for failure. Whatever Jackson's words say, this is what his actions mean. Nor do many others seem to disagree. As Bernard Shaw remarked, a man's deepest beliefs are to be inferred not from the creed he professes, but from the assumptions on which he habitually acts.

Outside of sports — where the black man is as secure in his domain as the Jew in his — most of the blacks who are celebrated for their "achievements" are political. That is what black "leaders" do: they fight to enlarge the power of the state, narrowing the white man's freedom and taking his money for racial purposes. The state is of course a coercive and parasitic institution, creating and producing nothing, dispensing to some only what it takes from others — "organized plunder," as Bastiat called it. Success in politics is nothing to be proud of.

Demands for "reparations" for blacks, for the "lingering effects" of slavery, overlook the fact that slavery is the one institution this country ever imported from Africa. Moreover, when slavery came here it was far more humane than the African kind: American slaves weren't mutilated or castrated as in the African "homeland." Since black leaders sentimentalize Africa (they now want to be called "African-Americans"), no reparations are demanded of the descendants of African slave merchants, while American whites are assigned total responsibility for the problems of today's blacks.

Nobody should be surprised if disreputable "stereotypes" continue to persist, since they often have the unintended but implicit sanction of the very people who deplore them. But a stereotype of any group is by its nature based on an external and usually unsympathetic view of that group. Despite liberal denials, the stereotype has some empirical validity; but it overlooks the internal life of the group — the variety, divisions, and arguments that make it impossible for the group to be monolithic. Every group bound by a set of traditions is also riven by bitterly conflicting interpretations of its traditions. Its members, keenly conscious of this, may justifiably feel that its critics don't really understand the complications that underlie the behavior that outsiders find objectionable.

By the same token, minorities have their own prejudices and stereotypes, also with some basis in experience of majority behavior. The success of so many black and Jewish comedians is largely due to their perspective as members of outnumbered and culturally overwhelmed races who have kept their ability to see the absurdities of which members of the majority are unconscious. It's a happy comment on human nature that the majority itself often finds such caricatures of itself hilarious.

Of course stereotypes can also be favorable, respectful, and even affectionate. Jews are universally respected for their intelligence, and Jewish celebrities are often loved precisely for the qualities that make them seem "Jewish." Blacks in movies were often portrayed as earthy, warm, dignified, and wise, at least until fashion decided that benevolence toward whites was Uncle Tom-mish, with "black pride" prescribing an attitude of rancor and menace. Most whites still see Orientals as polite and industrious. The Irish and Italians, formerly typed as drunks and mafiosi, are now the subjects of benign stereotypes. Yet in their day, the old stereotypes probably had their measure of truth and utility.

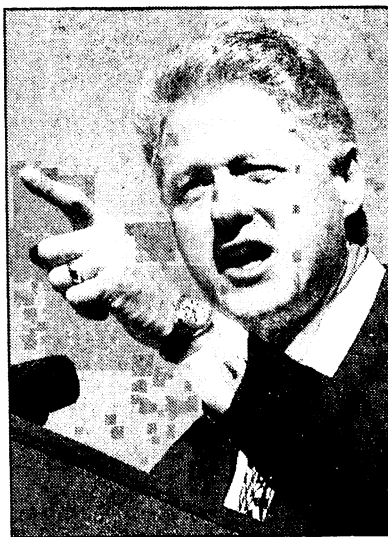
According to Bill Clinton's mantra, "Diversity is our greatest strength." Though Clinton has made a career of pandering to minorities (including sexual deviants), it is still true that we should delight in human variety. But there are limits; society also needs unity and an orthodoxy more solid than liberal bromides.

The Forgiven Holocaust

The columnist Sidney Zion of the *New York Daily News*, a forthright partisan of Israel's Likud faction, has qualified his celebration of his hero Franklin D. Roosevelt by charging him with indifference to "the extermination of the Jews of Europe" during World War II. It's a little surprising that Zion's admiration for Roosevelt can survive such a qualification at all.

Zion cites Edmund Burke's famous aphorism: "The only thing necessary for the triumph of evil is for good men to do nothing." He comments: "FDR did next to nothing to stop the massacre of the Six Million, a fact that has been established by historical documentation running back at least 20 years. If ever there was a 'good man,' it was Roosevelt, and if ever evil triumphed, it was the Holocaust."

Well, evil has triumphed on a number of other occasions, and on one of them this "good man" was likewise indifferent. Soon after taking office as president in 1933, Roosevelt extended diplomatic recognition to the Soviet Union, which was already establishing its record as the most murderous regime of all time. Specifically, it had pursued agricultural "collectivization" by confiscating harvest and starving Ukraine into submission. Low esti-



"Diversity is our greatest strength," said President Clinton in his State of the Union address, February 4, 1997.

mates put the number of dead at seven million; the highest estimate is 13 million. In some places it was reported that dead children were not even being buried; they were being eaten.

The Ukraine famine is sometimes called "the Forgotten Holocaust." It might better be called the Forgiven Holocaust. The anti-Communist Hearst papers covered it extensively at the time, thereby incurring the wrath of liberals. (Orson Welles portrayed William Randolph Hearst as a corrupt capitalist in "Citizen Kane.") But Walter Duranty of the *New York Times*, eager for Stalin's favor, denied that there was any starvation in Ukraine and won a Pulitzer for his reportage. His Pulitzer has never been revoked; the *Times* continues to honor him among its stellar journalists of the past.

Privately, by the way, Duranty admitted to the British ambassador in Moscow that as many as 15 million had died. That his estimate may have been high only underlines his mendacity. He gave the American establishment an excuse for ignoring Communist crimes which had been amply confirmed by others, and which made most of Europe terrified of Communism between the wars. In any case, Roosevelt had no excuse. No president depends entirely on the *Times* for his information.

Since Pius XII is (falsely) accused of "silence" about the Nazi persecution of the Jews, it is worth mentioning that his predecessor Pius XI was far more "silent" about the Ukrainian famine and, later, the equally great Soviet purges of the later 1930s. Popes rarely commented on specific events; they condemned Communism and Nazi racialism in principle and felt it unnecessary, or unavailing, to add detailed condemnations when evil principles were put into practice.

Of course those who condemn Pius XII for silence about the murder of Jews don't condemn Pius XI for silence about the murder of Ukrainians and others. But neither do they condemn Roosevelt or anyone else for overlooking the Communist horrors. This gross double standard is a key to understanding not only Roosevelt's time, but our own.

If the official world had condemned and quarantined the Soviet Union for its "democide" (an apt word coined by Professor R. J. Rummel), Hitler himself might have thought twice about imitating that precedent whose numbers of victims he never even approached. Today liberal opinion condemns "Holo-



Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin, the Allied “Big Three,” at the Yalta Conference, February 1945, where they agreed on plans for postwar global hegemony by the United States, the Soviet Union, and Britain.

caust denial” that has no effect on events long past; but it maintains its own silence on the timely denials of Communist horrors *while they were happening* — denials that not only helped them to continue, but allowed the killers to escape punishment and censure.

Later, when the numbers of Soviet victims had surpassed the total number of the dead of World War I, Roosevelt’s generosity to Stalin and the Soviet Union actually increased. He gave Stalin aid against Germany, eagerly formed an alliance with him, and praised him as a great ally in the democratic war against “fascism.” He even pressured Warner Brothers to produce a major motion picture, “Mission to Moscow,” portraying Stalin as the benign grandfather of the Russian people. The film was based on the memoir of Joseph Davies, Roosevelt’s former ambassador to Moscow; Davies defended even Stalin’s purges, taking the view that anyone Stalin killed probably got what was coming to him.

While all this was going on, Hitler was not alone in blaming Communism on the Jews. Secularized Jews had been prominent in the first generation of Soviet leadership; and even after Stalin had purged those Jews, other Jewish intellectuals, propagandists, and activists were conspicuous in the world Communist movement. Many Europeans crudely equated Jews with Communism. This fact in no way justifies the slightest violation of the rights of Jews, but it does explain the readiness of many Germans to follow Hitler and the preference of many others for Hitlerite over Stalinist rule. With war looming, most people forget morality and think of their own hides. Besides, in the late 1930s Hitler was not even in the mass murder business yet; Stalin was.

This whole side of the period between the wars,

officially ignored at the time, is officially forgotten now. It has become customary to speak as if Hitler arose in a vacuum, the German masses followed him out of sheer malevolence, and the French collaborated with him out of sheer cowardice. Today anyone who even advocated neutrality toward Hitler is condemned; the America First movement and other “isolationists” are spoken of as if they had actually been pro-Hitler.

That view is tenable only if you pretend that Communism didn’t exist. Hitler’s unforgivable acts were made possible by the people who forgave Stalin everything. But Roosevelt’s latter-day admirers see no moral connection between his friendship for the Soviet Union and his indifference to the extermination of Jews.

After Roosevelt’s death the extent of his administration’s secret favors to the Soviets became exposed and was seen in a very different light. The revelation that Alger Hiss and many others had been active Soviet agents led to the McCarthy era. The liberal intellectuals’ condemnation of “McCarthyism” was of a piece with their general ridicule of the very idea of a Communist “threat.” For them Communism had been the Great Progressive Hope, and they had far more pity for “victims of McCarthyism” who had lost sensitive government jobs than for the millions of victims of Communism who had lost their lives and freedoms. (Professor Rummel puts the number of dead under Soviet Communism at nearly 62 million.)

“Victims of Communism” is not a phrase that rolls easily off liberal lips. The huge, tax-supported Holocaust Museum near the Mall today commemorates the victims of Nazism, chiefly Jewish, but also gypsy, homosexual, whatever. (The victims of Communism may have a plaque somewhere. Who knows?)

Liberals, Zionists, and “responsible” conservatives now occupy a rhetorically Hitlercentric universe, in which Nazism is the measure of all evil and Roosevelt is redeemed by his determination to crush Germany. The stain of guilt for Nazism constantly spreads — to ordinary Germans, allies of Germany, neutrals, isolationists, Swiss bankers, and Pius XII himself. The stain even spreads backward in time, to pre-Hitler anti-Semites, Martin Luther, Christian culture in general, even (according to the film-strip shown at the Holocaust Museum) to the authors of the Gospels. In a new theory of causation, even the slightest historical injustice to Jews “led to” the Holocaust. Scholarly books, popular movies, and everyday rhetoric are saturated with this theme. Everyone and everything are measured on a single scale, which might be called the Hitler Continuum.

But there is no corresponding Stalin Continuum.

Those who aided and defended and celebrated Stalin at the height of his crimes incur no guilt or obloquy. To have dreamed the Communist dream is evidence of idealism, not guilt or even irresponsibility. Under "McCarthyism" Communists actually became victims themselves! Books, movies, and rhetoric dramatize the plight of innocent Communists in the America of the 1950s. Old Communists like Lillian Hellman can publish their memoirs of persecution — how they suffered firing, blacklisting, or sharp questioning by the House Un-American Activities Committee — and be hailed as heroes and champions of *liberty*, no less, even if it took them until 1956, the year of Khrushchev's famous denunciation, to see the error of Stalin's ways.

Khrushchev, after all, didn't repudiate Communism; he merely accused Stalin of having betrayed it. How? By murdering countless innocent people? No, by purging loyal Party members!

So the stain of Communist guilt, far from spreading metaphysically, shrinks to one man, the erstwhile "Uncle Joe." He and he alone is blamed for all that carnage. We don't even ask what "led to" such astounding violence and terror, let alone why he enjoyed such complicity by powerful, influential, intelligent, and seemingly respectable people. Even Stalin's warmest admirers and benefactors aren't tainted; that would be "guilt by association," a McCarthyite tactic.

Certain shoes, for some reason, are never put on the other foot. Imagine what would be said today of a president who had given Hitler a little help when he needed it. Or an ambassador who had written eulogies to Nazi jurisprudence. Or a reporter who had written from Berlin that Jews weren't being abused in the Third Reich. Or an "idealist" who had seen Nazi Germany as the hope of mankind.

You don't have to imagine a world in which people are forgiven for doing the same things for the Soviet Union. You're living in that world right now.

The Black Book

It's always easy to start an uproar in France: just say something critical of Communism. The latest such uproar has resulted from an 800-page tome titled *The Black Book of Communism*, by the historian Stephane Courtois, which enumerates in considerable detail the mass murders of the Soviet, Maoist, and other Communist regimes.

Courtois writes provocatively: "Recent emphasis on the singularity of the genocide of the Jews, by concentrating attention on an exceptional atrocity, blurs our perception of affairs of the same order in the Communist world." "The child of a Ukrainian kulak deliberately starved to death by the Stalinist regime is worth no less than a Jewish child in the

Warsaw ghetto starved to death by the Nazi regime." "The fact is that Communist regimes committed crimes affecting about 100 million people, against some 25 million for Nazism."

These quotations are taken for the *New York Times*, where the very occurrence of the Ukrainian famine was denied, even as it was still in progress, by the reporter Walter Duranty, who got a Pulitzer prize for his mendacious efforts. The paper has never repudiated Duranty, and it continues to list him proudly among its Pulitzer winners.

Writing about Courtois' book on the paper's Dec. 22nd [1997] op-ed page, Tony Judt draws this moral: "The tale of human cruelty in our times is too complicated and variegated to be captured by ideological labels alone, whether 'left' or 'right.'" But it's not just a problem of abstract "human cruelty." It's a practical problem of state power. A limitless state that doesn't feel bound by divine or natural law is capable of anything.

Even the most notoriously harsh of Christian states — Spain during its Inquisition — claimed no authority to kill people en masse. Never mind whether Spain deserved its reputation among Protestants; even the highest estimates of its victims 30,000 over more than three centuries, probably five times the actual total) doesn't approach the slaughters of the modern state. The reason is simple: The accused had to be tried and executed as individuals. In each case, the state had to make some showing of personal guilt.

The modern state abolished guilt and embraced determinism. This was supposed to be a humane philosophy, relieving the individual of responsibility. But in practice it relieved the state of responsibility. Since people were mere passive products of racial or economic causation, their undesirable behavior (from the state's point of view) could be inferred and predicted from their membership in certain social categories. So it became rational to round them up and exterminate them, on the most advanced and enlightened principles of social science.

So why was Communism excused by so many intellectuals for so long? Judt explains that "we are still heirs to the victorious alliance with the Communists that defeated Hitler — in Nazism was Absolute Evil, then the allies who helped us destroy it cannot be utterly evil themselves." But he goes on to say that "many" of Communism's Western sympathizers, unlike fascism's, were "well-intentioned." Well, that takes care of that!

But Communism had already claimed millions of lives before World War II, when the Nazi murders began. By the 1930s countless Russian refugees had poured into Western Europe with grim accounts of the atrocities that began under Lenin and acceler-

ated under Stalin. Anyone who really wanted to know already knew, by then, what Communism was. Those who didn't want to know had no excuse, then or later.

It's time to acknowledge that the man Congress has honored with a huge memorial, Franklin D. Roosevelt, was the greatest ally Communism ever had. It's inconceivable that Congress would honor anyone who had given Nazi Germany comparable aid and sympathy: Roosevelt once even dared to compare the US and Soviet constitutions, assuring Americans that the Soviets guaranteed freedom of religion, too, in their own way. (This was perhaps the only occasion on which he showed the slightest respect for the US Constitution.)

Duranty's Denials

In an important and specific way, Walter Duranty of the *New York Times* may have been the most influential journalist of the twentieth century. He was the wrong man at the right time, and his reportage helped change the course of events to a degree that few reporters ever have. It's a pity that Stalin wasn't more grateful to him.

During the 1930s the Soviet Union needed all the Western support it could get. But it had a bad reputation because it was, to put the matter in simple terms, killing a lot of people. Western and Central Europe were terrified of Bolshevism and of the Bolshevik movement that was spreading through other countries.

The killing reached a peak in the forced famine of 1932-3, as Stalin's "agricultural policy" punished recalcitrant Ukrainian and Kazakh peasants who rebelled against the confiscation of their lands and harvests. Nobody knows how many starved; historians's estimates range from three to twelve million.

At the time, Duranty reckoned the figure toward the high end of the scale — at around twenty million. That was his private guess, anyway. Publicly, in his dispatches to the Times, he said there was no evidence of any famine. (His story is told in S. J. Taylor's brisk biography, *Stalin's Apologist* [reviewed in the Winter 1991 *Journal*]).

Duranty, a learned, cynically witty Englishman with a wooden leg, was the most respected foreign correspondent in Moscow. His word carried weight even when it was false; other journalists followed his lead or were afraid to contradict him. He was never a believing Communist, but he sympathized with Stalin's efforts to subdue a huge country and he saw his opportunity. Holding ordinary people in contempt, he was unmoved by the terrible suffering they endured at the hands of the man he admired not as a Marxist leader of the masses, but as a sort of Nietzschean hero.

Anyone who reported Stalin's atrocities to the West could expect to be expelled and to cause his paper's Moscow bureau to be shut down; travel was restricted, and most correspondents based their reports on what they read in the Soviet press. But a few, notably Malcolm Muggeridge of the *Manchester Guardian* (who boldly took an unauthorized tour of Ukraine), nevertheless reported honestly.

Honesty, however, was no temptation for Duranty. He lied. For his services he received a rare exclusive interview with Stalin himself; he was awarded a Pulitzer Prize; he enjoyed the high life in the midst of proletarian poverty, keeping a mistress and a small son in his spacious Moscow apartment. For Walter Duranty, Communism paid off in caviar.

All the Western governments knew of the famine through their embassies, but none dared to denounce the Soviet regime for fear of diplomatic reprisal. Duranty's version became the more or less official version for everyone: What famine? Reports of it in the Western press were so spotty that it was hard for the public to believe them or at least to keep them in mind for long. Duranty's denials were enough to confuse Western opinion and to make the huge famine seem unreal to the outside world.

His fiction, propagated through the Paper of Record, gave the Roosevelt Administration cover to extend diplomatic recognition to the Soviet Union in late 1933. Duranty was appropriately *present at the* White House ceremony at which the Soviet ambassador was formally received. He enjoyed a celebrity rare among journalists then, and he wrote a memoir, *As I Please*, which became a best-seller.

One of his many distinguished friends in Moscow was Roosevelt's ambassador, Joseph Davies, another Stalin apologist (more sincere than Duranty), whose 1941 book *Mission to Moscow* became a major Warner Brothers picture, filmed at the urging of Roosevelt himself. Davies was so deluded that he argued that the difference between Communism and Nazism was that Communism was compatible with Christianity — that if it had been expressly grounded on Christian principles, "it would probably be declared to be one of the greatest efforts of Christian altruism in history to translate the ideals of brotherhood and charity as preached by the gospel of Christ into a government by men."

"That is the difference," Davies added: "the communistic Soviet state could function with the Christian religion in its basic purpose to serve the brotherhood of man. It would be impossible for the Nazi state to do so. The communistic ideal is that the state may evaporate and be no longer necessary as man advances into a perfect brotherhood. The Nazi idea is the exact opposite — that the state is the supreme end of all." The Soviet government even guaranteed "constitutional protection for civil

and religious liberty.” The Soviet “leaders” were moved by “altruistic concepts,” “ethical ideals,” and “spiritual aspirations” and were “devoted to peace.” “To the Red Army which stands at the ramparts of our civilization, to the Soviet government and the Soviet people, we owe a measureless debt.” And much more in the same vein. For Davies, the Soviet system, though somewhat rough-hewn and not quite on a par with American democracy, was nevertheless synonymous with “the brotherhood of man.”

“Thus,” he concluded, “it is bad Christianity, bad sportsmanship, bad sense to challenge the integrity of the Soviet government. Premier Stalin has repeatedly told the world that the Soviet government seeks no territory in this war. It does not seek to impose its will on other peoples.”

Duranty would never have been fatuous enough to write such words. But he was living in a climate where some powerful men were fatuous enough to believe them, and he took full advantage of the fact for his own purposes.

Knowledgeable people, including the foreign press corps in Moscow, understood perfectly well that Duranty was lying for Stalin’s favor. Some of his colleagues, Eugene Lyons among them, had also begun as Communist sympathizers, but changed their minds and came to despise his urbane mendacity, which lacked even their excuse: their perverse conviction that they were merely concealing the blemishes of an essentially good cause. In time his reputation subtly eroded and his drinking took its toll on his talent. After he left Moscow he could for a time support his lavish and thriftless habits by public speaking in America, but finally even this became a strain.

In the late 1940s Duranty, now living in New York, decided to attempt a comeback by writing a book, which was to be called *Stalin’s Russia*. He intended neither to repeat nor to repudiate his lies, but merely to edge away from them; a skillful writer, he could change his tune without overtly changing his story. But when word of his plans got out, he received a letter from his former mistress in Moscow warning him obliquely that if his book displeased Stalin, she and their son would be in danger. Such was the gratitude he earned from the Soviet strongman he had served so well. One wonders how this cynical man felt about Stalin’s even more ruthless cynicism.

Curiously, Duranty incurred no special notoriety during the Cold War and the McCarthy era, though nobody had earned notoriety as he had. He was ignored and forgotten, living largely on loans, never repaid, from his faithful and generous friend John Gunther. His career and health continued to decline until his death in the 1970s.

To this day, Duranty’s Pulitzer for foreign corre-

spondence has never been revoked. The fact says something about liberalism’s attitude toward Communism. Liberals would have reacted very differently to a journalist who had reported from Berlin that Jews weren’t being mistreated by Hitler, thereby enabling the slaughter to proceed. But Duranty’s lies were in keeping with the liberal agenda; in a sense, they still are. Even now liberalism would rather stigmatize anti-Communists than Communists. Stalin’s greatest benefactor has just been honored with a grand memorial in Washington.

In many Western countries it is actually a crime to deny that Hitler’s mass murders occurred, though such denials can’t change the facts. But Duranty’s denials of the Great Famine did change the facts, allowing the famine to continue with impunity. They may even have helped save Communism by making possible Stalin’s profitable alliance with Roosevelt.

In a way, Duranty eventually paid for his corruption. But not nearly as much as the rest of the world has paid for it.

A Warning from an American Historian

“... Today we must face the discouraging prospect that we all, teachers and pupils alike, have lost much of what this earlier generation possessed, the priceless asset of a shared culture ... Many of the young practitioners of our craft, and those who are still apprentices, are products of lower middle-class or foreign origins, and their emotions not infrequently get in the way of historical reconstructions. They find themselves in a very real sense outsiders on our past and feel themselves shut out. This is certainly not their fault, but it is true. They have no experience to assist them, and the chasm between them and the Remote Past widens every hour ... What I fear is that the changes observant in the background and training of the present generation will make it impossible for them to communicate to and reconstruct the past for future generations.”

— Carl Bridenbaugh, president of the American Historical Association, 1963. Quoted in Kevin MacDonald, *Separation and its Discontents* (1998), pp. 82-83.

“When regard for truth has been broken down or even slightly weakened, all things will remain doubtful.”

— St. Augustine (354-430).

Faurisson's Three Letters to *Le Monde* (1978-1979)

On December 29, 1978, a short item headed "The Problem of the Gas Chambers' or 'The Rumor of Auschwitz,'" appeared in the pages of France's most influential daily paper, *Le Monde*. With the publication of this piece, written by a professor of literature at the University of Lyon II, the "Faurisson affair" burst into public awareness. In the same issue of the paper were also several anti-revisionist articles, including one entitled "Abundance of Proofs" by the Jewish scholar Georges Wellers.

On the basis of the "right of reply," provided for in French law, Faurisson responded to the barrage of attacks with a second letter in *Le Monde* on January 16, 1979. His adversaries struck back a few weeks later with further items in the issue of February 21, including a solemn declaration drafted by two leading French Jewish intellectuals, Léon Poliakov and Pierre Vidal-Naquet. This declaration, signed by 34 historians, responded to Faurisson's provocative question about how, precisely and technically, the alleged wartime homicidal gassings were carried out by German authorities. In words that amount to an expression of intellectual bankruptcy, the 34 historians declared:

It must not be asked how, technically, such a mass murder was possible. It was technically possible given that it took place. That is the requisite point of departure of any historical inquiry on this subject. It is incumbent upon us to simply state this truth: there is not, there cannot be, any debate about the existence of the gas chambers.

Still under fierce attack in the pages of *Le Monde*, Faurisson sent yet another "right of reply" letter to the Paris daily, this one entitled "One proof ... one single proof." *Le Monde*, doubtless alarmed at the extent to which the affair had grown, refused to publish it. At the same time, though, the paper invited his adversaries to continue their attacks.

In the decades since he wrote those *Le Monde* items, Prof. Faurisson has broadened and refined his outlook in interviews, books and numerous letters and essays. It goes without saying that, on such or such a point, he might today express himself differently. In his letter of January 16, 1979, for example, he almost certainly would not write as he did of the well-known January 1943 Bishoff letter, and its "Vergasungskeller" reference. (On this, see A. Butz in the July-Aug. 1997 *Journal of Historical Review*, pp. 20-23, and S. Crowell in the July-Aug. 1999 *Journal*, pp. 16-17.)

Those who are familiar with the development of revisionist scholarship over the years may note that

occasionally someone will trumpet as his "discovery" something that, in fact, had already been found and announced by Robert Faurisson in 1978-1979. In 1992, for example, a young Jewish-American revisionist named David Cole made quite a fuss over the fact that a young female Polish guide of the Auschwitz State Museum told him, and tourists, that the Auschwitz I "gas chamber" is "in its original state," even though a prominent Museum official told him, on film, that this "gas chamber" is only "very similar" to the original. However, Faurisson had already pointed out this contradiction in his January 16, 1979, *Le Monde* letter. Of course, this room is not at all "very similar" to an original "gas chamber," and portraying it as such amounts to an outright fake — as Museum officials more or less acknowledged in 1994. (See R. Faurisson, "The 'Gas Chamber' of Auschwitz I," Sept.-Dec. 1999 *Journal of Historical Review*, pp. 12-13.)

In spite of the passage of time, Faurisson's three *Le Monde* items are still valuable, not only for an understanding of the development of revisionist scholarship, but as trenchant presentations of important revisionist arguments about the "Holocaust." Here, then, are authorized English translations of the complete texts of these three landmark essays.

— The Editor

'The Problem of the Gas Chambers'¹ or 'The Rumor of Auschwitz'

No one questions the use of crematories in certain German camps. The mere frequency of epidemics throughout Europe at war demanded the cremation, for example, of the bodies of typhus victims (see the photographs).

It is the existence of "gas chambers," veritable slaughterhouses for humans, that is called into question. Since 1945, the questioning has been growing. The mass media is aware of this.

In 1945, the official historiography affirmed that the "gas chambers" had functioned in the former [pre-1938 German] Reich as well as in Austria, Alsace and Poland. Fifteen years later, in 1960, it revised its judgment: "gas chambers" had operated, "above all" (?), only in Poland.² This drastic revision of 1960 reduced to naught a thousand "testimonies," a thousand "proofs" of supposed gassings at Oranienburg, at Buchenwald, at Bergen-Belsen, at Dachau, at Ravensbrück, at Mauthausen. Appearing before British or French judicial bodies, the heads of Ravensbrück camp (Suhren, Schwarzhuber, Dr. Treite) had admitted the existence of a "gas chamber" whose functioning they had even, in a



Robert Faurisson addresses the 13th IHR Conference, May 29, 2000, in Irvine, California.

vague manner, described. A comparable scenario had been acted out by Ziereis, of Mauthausen, or by Kramer, of Struthof. After the deaths of the condemned men, it was discovered that those gassings had never taken place. Flimsiness of testimonies and confessions!

The “gas chambers” of Poland — as will surely be admitted in time — were no more real. It is to the Polish and Soviet judicial bodies that we owe most of our information about them (see, for instance, the horrifying confession of R. Höss, *Commandant of Auschwitz*).

Today’s visitor to Auschwitz or Majdanek discovers, in the way of “gas chambers,” facilities in which any gassings would have spelled catastrophe for the gassers and their entourage. A collective execution by gas, supposing that it were practicable, cannot at all be likened either to a suicidal or to an accidental gassing. In order to gas a single convict at a time, with his wrists and ankles shackled, the Americans employ a special gas [hydrogen cyanide] within a small space, from which, after its use, it is extracted and subsequently neutralized. So then, how could two thousand people (and even three thousand) be held in an enclosure of 210 square meters (!), at Auschwitz, for example, to have a common and powerful insecticide called Zyklon B poured onto them; finally, just after the victims’ deaths, how could a team be sent, without gas masks, into that place saturated with hydrogen cyanide, in order to remove the corpses infused with cyanide? Some too little-known documents³ show, moreover: 1) That

the structure in question [at Auschwitz-Birkenau *Krema II*], which the Germans are said to have blown up shortly before their departure, was nothing but a typical morgue (*Leichenkeller*), built underground (to protect it from the warmth of the air) and fitted with a single small door for entry and exit; 2) That the Zyklon B could not be evacuated by a rapid ventilation, and that it needed at least 21 hours to evaporate. Whereas thousands of documents on the Auschwitz crematories (including invoices precise to the last Pfennig) are in our possession, there exists neither a directive to build, nor a study, nor an order of material, nor a blueprint, nor a bill, nor any photograph, as regards the “gas chambers,” which, we are told, adjoined those crematories. At a hundred trials (Jerusalem, Frankfurt, etc.), no evidence has been produced.

“I was at Auschwitz. There were no ‘gas chambers’ there.” Those who dare bear witness on behalf of the accused by pronouncing that sentence are hardly listened to. They are prosecuted. Still in 1978, anyone in Germany who speaks out in favor of Thies Christophersen, author of *“The Auschwitz Lie,”* risks a conviction for “defaming the memory of the dead.”

After the war, the International Red Cross (which had investigated “the rumor of Auschwitz”),⁴ the Vatican (which had been quite well informed about Poland), the Nazis, the collaborators, all declared, along with many others: “The ‘gas chambers’? We did not know.” But how can one know of things that did not exist?

Nazism is dead and gone, together with its Führer. There remains today the truth. Let us dare to proclaim it. The non-existence of the “gas chambers” is good news for poor humanity. Good news that it would be wrong to keep hidden any longer.⁵

— *Le Monde*, December 29, 1978, p. 8.

A Letter from Mr. Faurisson

Until 1960, I believed in the reality of those gigantic massacres in “gas chambers.” Then, upon reading Paul Rassinier, a wartime *résistant* and deportee who had written *Le Mensonge d’Ulysse*, I began to have doubts. After 14 years of personal reflection, then four years of sustained research, I became certain, as have 20 other revisionist authors, that I had before me a historical lie. I have visited and revisited Auschwitz and Birkenau where the authorities exhibit a “reconstituted gas chamber”⁶ together with remains said to be those of “crematories with gas chambers”. At Struthof (Alsace) and at Majdanek (Poland), I have examined the buildings presented as “gas chambers in their original state.” I have analyzed thousands of documents, particularly at the Paris Centre de documen-

tation juive contemporaine: archives, transcripts, photographs, written testimonies. I have tirelessly pursued specialists and historians with my questions. I have tried to find, but in vain, a single deportee who could prove to me that he had really seen, with his own eyes, a "gas chamber." I especially did not want an illusory abundance of evidence; I was willing to settle for one proof, one single proof. I have never found that proof. What I have found, on the contrary, is much false evidence, worthy of the witchcraft trials, dishonoring the judges who have admitted it. And then I have found silence, embarrassment, hostility, leading finally to slander, insults, and physical blows.

The retorts recently prompted by my brief piece on "The Rumor of Auschwitz" are those I have read more than once in 18 years of research. I do not call into question the sincerity of their authors, but I will say that they are teeming with errors long since pointed out by the likes of Rassinier, [Franz] Scheidl and [Arthur] Butz.

For example, in the letter of January 29, 1943, (bearing the regular mention "Secret") which is quoted to me, *Vergasung* does not signify "gassing," but rather "carburetion." *Vergasungskeller* designates the room, below ground, in which the "gaseous" mixture that fed the crematory oven was prepared. This oven and others like it were supplied by the firm Topf & Sons, of Erfurt (Doc. NO-4473).

Begasung designated the gassing of clothing in autoclaves. If the gas used was Zyklon B - "B[lausäure] preparation," that is, Prussic acid or hydrogen cyanide - then "blue gas chambers" were mentioned. Nothing to do with the purported "slaughterhouse gas chambers"!

The Diary of physician Johann Paul Kremer must be cited correctly. It will thus be seen that, if he speaks of the horrors of Auschwitz, it is in allusion to the horrors of the typhus epidemic of September-October 1942. On October 3 he wrote: "At Auschwitz, whole streets have been annihilated by typhus." He himself would contract what is called "the Auschwitz disease." Germans died of it. The sorting of the sick and the well was the "selection," or one of the forms of "special action," carried out by physicians. This sorting was done either inside the buildings or outdoors. Never did Kremer write that Auschwitz was a *Vernichtungslager*, that is, in the terminology invented by the Allies after the war, an "extermination camp" (by which is to be understood: a camp equipped with a "gas chamber"). In reality,



Paul Rassinier (1906-1967)

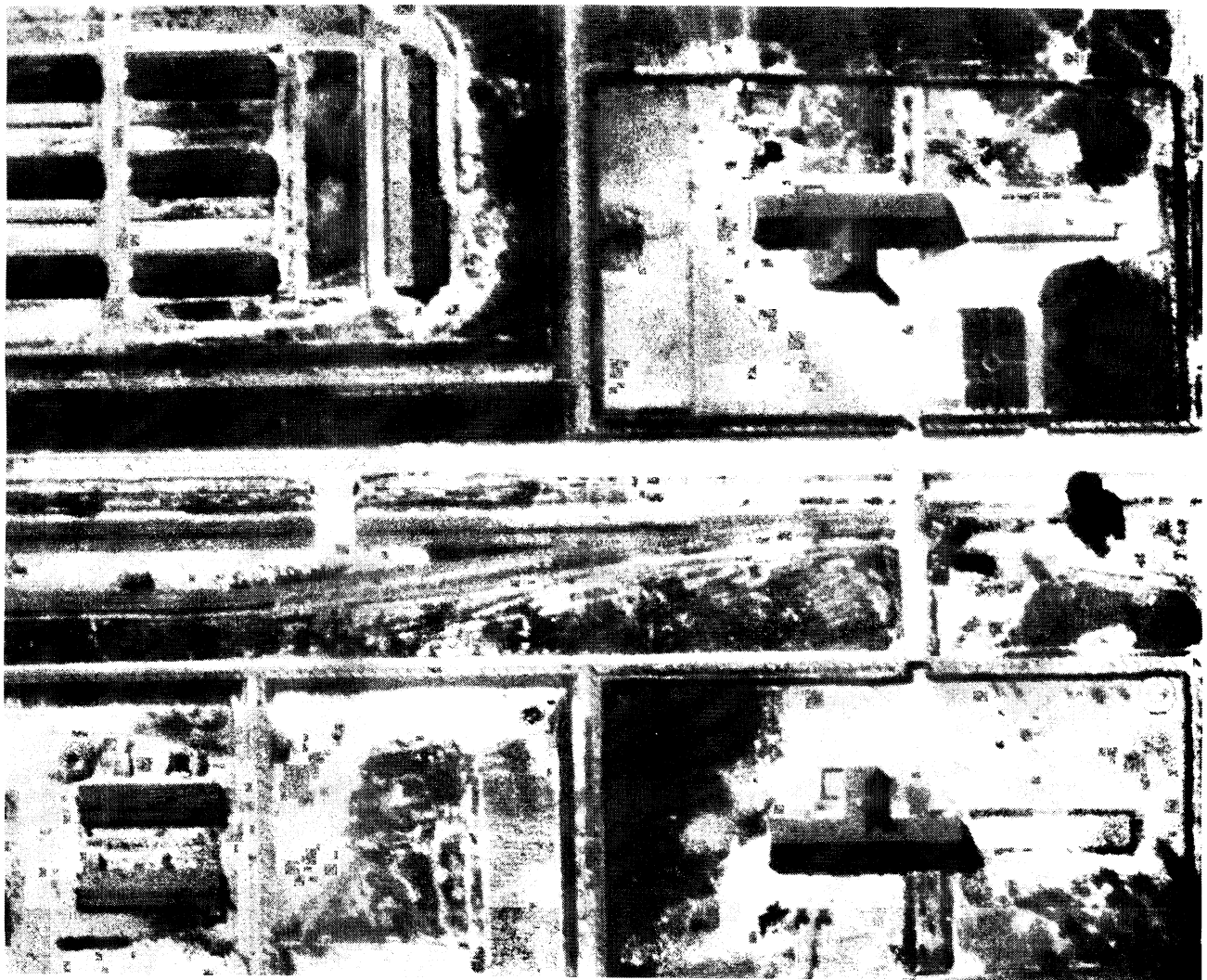
he wrote: "It is not for nothing that Auschwitz is called the annihilation camp (*das Lager der Vernichtung*). In the etymological sense of the word, typhus annihilates those whom it strikes. Another serious translation error: under the date of September 2, 1942, Kremer's manuscript reads: "At three a.m. today I was, for the first time, present at a special action outdoors." Historians and judges traditionally suppress the word "outdoors" (*draussen*) to have Kremer appear to say that the action in question took place in a "gas chamber." Finally, the horrid scenes before the "last Bunker" (that is, in the yard of Bunker 11)

are executions of the condemned, executions that the physician was obliged to attend. Among the condemned there were three women who had arrived in a convoy from Holland: they were shot.⁷

The "*Krema*" buildings of Birkenau were perfectly visible to all.⁸ A good number of plans and photographs prove this, and they prove as well the thorough material impossibility that these "*Kremas*" could have contained "gas chambers."

If, with regard to Auschwitz, someone quotes to me, yet once again, the confessions, memoirs, or miraculously unearthed manuscripts (with which I am already acquainted), I shall ask to be shown in what way the imprecise precision of their information differs from the imprecise precision of the information in all the documents which led the Allied military tribunals to rule that there were "gas chambers" where, in the end, it has since been acknowledged that there were none: for example, in the whole of the former Reich!

In my article I cited the [Nuremberg] industrial documents NI-9098 and 9912. One should read these before countering what I say about the "testimonies" of Pery Broad and R. Höss, or (why not?) the "confessions," made after the war, by J. P. Kremer. These documents establish that Zyklon B was not in the category of gasses considered susceptible to ventilation; its makers had to agree that it was "difficult to remove by ventilation because it sticks to surfaces." In carrying out a chemical test to prove the disappearance of the gas from its confines, a room infused with cyanide by Zyklon B fumigation can be entered only by someone wearing a gas mask fitted with a "J" filter - the very strongest - after approximately 20 hours.⁹ Mattresses and blankets must be beaten in the open air for between one and two hours. Nevertheless, Höss wrote:¹⁰ "Half an hour after the start of gassing, the door was opened and the ventilation device turned on. The removal of



In this detail from an Allied aerial reconnaissance photograph taken of the Auschwitz-Birkenau camp on August 25, 1944, one can plainly see crematory facilities (*Kremas*) II (top) and III (bottom) where hundreds of thousands of Jews were allegedly killed in gas chambers. In none of the many photos taken of the camp during this period — including reconnaissance photos taken on random days in 1944 — is there any trace of the mass extermination supposedly being carried out at the time.

the bodies began immediately." Immediately (*sofort*)! And he goes on to add that the team, assigned to handle two thousand cyanide-infused corpses, entered the place (which was still full of gas, was it not?) and took them out while "eating and smoking," that is, if I understand correctly, without any gas masks. That is impossible. All the testimonies, as vague or conflicting as they may be about the rest,¹¹ agree at least on this point: the crew opened the chamber either immediately or "shortly following" the victims' deaths. I say that this point, in itself, constitutes the touchstone of the false testimony.

In Alsace, the Struthof camp's "gas chamber" is interesting to visit. The confession of Joseph Kramer can be read on the spot. It was through a

"hole" (sic) that Kramer poured a "certain quantity of hydrogen cyanide salts," then, "a certain quantity of water," a mixture giving off a gas that killed in about one minute. The "hole" that is seen today was made in so sloppy a manner, with a chisel, that four earthenware tiles were broken. Kramer used a "funnel with a tap." I cannot see how he could keep the gas from coming back out of this crude hole, or how he could thus willingly allow that gas, leaving the chimney, to spread toward the windows of his own house. Moving on to an adjacent room, I would like to have an explanation of this business of the corpses preserved by Professor Hirt in "vats of formaldehyde solution" that are, in fact, nothing but vats for sauerkraut and potatoes, with simple, non-air-tight wooden lids.

The most commonplace weapon, if suspected of having killed or wounded someone, is subjected to forensic examination. It will be noted with some surprise that these prodigious criminal weapons — the “gas chambers” — have never been subjected to any official examination (whether legal, scientific, or archaeological) whose report may be examined.¹² If, tragically, the Germans had won the war, I suppose that their concentration camps would have been presented to us as re-education camps. By questioning such a presentation of the facts, I should doubtless have found myself accused of being an objective ally of “Judeo-Marxism.” I am neither objectively nor subjectively a Judeo-Marxist nor a neo-Nazi. I feel admiration for those Frenchmen who courageously struggled against Nazism. They defended the right cause. If today I state that the “gas chambers” did not exist, it is because the difficult duty to be truthful obliges me to say so.

[In accordance with the law of July 29, 1881, we hereby publish Mr. Faurisson’s text. Any response directed against him or his statements would in turn offer him a new right of reply.

Nonetheless, we do not consider the case opened by Darquier de Pellepoix’s declarations to be closed.]¹³

— *Le Monde*, January 16, 1979, p. 13.

One Proof ... One Single Proof

In a lengthy declaration, 34 French historians have recently let us know that it is of course “natural” to ask oneself all sorts of questions about the Second World War, but that, nonetheless, “there is not, there cannot be, any debate about the existence of the gas chambers.”

For my part, I remark that there is a debate about the existence or the non-existence of the “gas chambers,” and I believe that this debate is a legitimate one. It has for a long time pitted a few specialists of the school of revisionist historians against a few specialists of the official history. This debate opened, in a way, in 1960 when Dr. Martin Broszat, representing the very official Institute for Contemporary History in Munich, had to make a huge concession to the revisionist Paul Rassinier: he was obliged to acknowledge that in spite of an alleged over-abundance of evidence, documents, testimonies and confessions (all of them reliable), not a single “gas chamber” ever existed in any of the concentration camps in the former Reich. In 1968, the discussion was revived, on the official side, by Olga Wormser-Migot who, in the face of a veritable storm of protest, dared to speak, in her thesis, of what she then termed “the problem of the gas chambers.” Since 1974, this debate has little by little become a public one in western Europe and in the English-

speaking world at large (including, just recently, Australia!). The French press can no longer ignore this, lest it practice a form of censorship.

This debate is already richly instructive. An attentive reader of *Le Monde* will have learned much just from a perusal of the February 21, 1979, issue, where a whole page was exclusively devoted to a rendering of the official history’s arguments. To begin, the reader will have learned that, in certain camps, fake “gas chambers” are presented to “pilgrims and tourists” (the only pity is that he is not told the names of those camps). Then, he will have learned that the figure for Auschwitz of three million dead is “surely an exaggeration,” news that will come as a surprise if he recalls that the official figure is four million. He will have noted that, in places where the German archives are declared to be “silent,”¹⁴ there is a tendency to interpret them. He will have seen that, where Third Reich documents are “apparently innocuous,” they are interpreted to the point, for example, of saying that “to treat accordingly” signifies ... “to gas.” He will have noted that the orders of Himmler either to build or to destroy the “gas chambers” are not in the least precise, the fact being that such orders apparently never existed. He will have learned that the “document” of the SS engineer Gerstein is deemed “unquestionable,” not in its entirety but “for the most part.” With a bit more attention, he will have noted that, according to the passages of the [Gerstein] document that those in charge care to quote to him, there were from 700 to 800 persons in a “gas chamber” whose area was about 25 square meters, with a height of 1.8 meters, which gives us from 28 to 32 persons standing in the space of each square meter! Among the list of the 34 historians, he will perhaps have noticed that there is but a single specialist of the history of the camps. In the bibliography list, he will have twice come across the name of Olga Wormser-Migot for secondary works but not for her thesis, doubtless considered dangerous; and he will not have found any book or any article devoted to the “gas chambers,” for the good reason that, on the official side, there is none, neither in French nor in any foreign language (in this regard, beware of certain deceptive titles!).

The *Le Monde* reader is told of an account of the “final solution to the Jewish question” dated January 20, 1942. One may well wonder why the text of this account is not called by its name, as is normally the case: “Wannsee Protocol.” I observe that, for some time, it has been realized that these strange minutes (for the word “Protocol” is a misnomer) are full of oddities and that they lack any guaranty of authenticity. They were typed on ordinary paper, with no indication of the place or date it was written, no indication of its origin, no official letterhead,

no reference, no signature. That said, I think that the meeting of January 20, 1942, did take place, and that it dealt with "the solution, at last, of the Jewish problem," which is to say that, as their emigration to Madagascar had been made impossible by the war, it was decided to expel the Jewish populations to the East of Europe.

Whoever bases any accusation at all on the Gerstein "document" (PS-1553) shows, by so doing, proof of an inability to find a solid argument for the existence of the "gas chambers." Not even the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg cared to exploit this text, which had emerged from its archives. Other tribunals, it is true, have been content to use it. The confession by R. Höss is not worth any more. I shall not go back over the matter of this "confession," drafted under the surveillance of his Polish and Soviet jailers. The least effort of analysis shows its fabricated nature; on this point I refer the reader to the works of Paul Rassinier and, in particular, to his study of the Eichmann trial (*Le Véritable Procès Eichmann*). As for Kremer's diary, written during the war, it is genuine, but certain meanings are abusively coaxed out of some passages, or indeed the text is twisted in order to have us think that Kremer is speaking of the horrors of the "gas chambers" where, in reality, he describes the horrors of a typhus epidemic. After the war Kremer, indeed, did confess what he was led to confess, in accordance with all the stereotypes of the confession specialists. I am rebuked for having hidden this confession. I have not hidden it. I have expressly mentioned the existence of these "confessions." I have not analyzed the text because, quite simply, my opponents have felicitously refrained from presenting it to me as evidence of the existence of "gas chambers" at Auschwitz! When Kremer speaks of three women being shot, I am willing to believe him. It could happen, I think, that a convoy of 1,710 persons contained three who were to be shot on arrival, at Auschwitz. But when Kremer, after the war, tells us that the incident involved women who had refused to enter the "gas chamber," I believe none of it. I need only go back to what he claimed to have seen of an alleged gassing operation, observed from his car. Kremer is among those people according to whom the reopening of the "gas



In this photograph, taken in May or June 1944, Birkenau crematory building (*Krema*) II can be seen the background. In the foreground are Jews who have just arrived at the camp from Hungary. At no time were Birkenau's *Kremas* ever hidden or concealed. They were in plain view, and even newly arriving Jews could easily see them. As Prof. Faurisson pointed out in a letter published in *Le Monde*, January 16, 1979, the Birkenau *Kremas*, where hundreds of thousands of Jews were alleged killed in gas chambers in 1943 and 1944 as part of a top secret program, "were perfectly visible to all."

chamber" was carried out "a moment" after the victims' death.¹⁵ I have already shown that this is a material impossibility. And then, I note that, in an attempt to explain one confession, Kremer's, another confession is relied upon, that (as chance would have it) of Höss. The disturbing point is that these two confessions, both obtained by Polish military justice, contradict one another much more than they uphold one another. One should take a close look at their respective descriptions both of the victims and the surroundings, and of the executioners and the mode of execution.

I do not understand the reply made in regard to Zyklon B. Used in a "gas chamber," it [hydrocyanic acid] would have stuck to the ceiling, to the floor, and to the four walls, and would have permeated the victims' bodies and their mucous for at least 20 hours. The members of the *Sonderkommando* (in fact, the crematory crew) charged with the task, it is said, of taking the bodies out of the "gas chamber" half an hour after the pouring in (?) of the Zyklon B, would have been instantly asphyxiated. And the Germans could hardly have scoffed at that, for the job would thus not have been done, and no new batch of victims could have been brought to the spot.

One must not confuse a suicidal or accidental

asphyxiation with an execution by gassing. In the latter case, those carrying out the job must avoid the least risk. Thus, the Americans, in order to gas a single prisoner at a time, use a complicated procedure in a small and hermetically sealed space. All movements are begun on the outside. The condemned man has his wrists and ankles bound and his head immobilized. After his death, the gas is extracted and neutralized, and the guards must wait more than an hour before entering the little enclosure. A "gas chamber" is not a bedroom.

For four years I have expressed the wish to debate publicly, with anyone whom the other side may care to name, "the problem of the gas chambers." I am answered with court writs. But the witchcraft trials, like the witch-hunts, never proved anything. I know of a way to move the debate forward. Instead of repeating ad nauseam that there exists an overabundance of evidence proving the existence of the "gas chambers" (let us be reminded of what this supposed overabundance was worth for the former Reich's — mythical — "gas chambers"), I suggest, in order to begin at the beginning, that my adversaries provide me with a proof, one single clear-cut proof, of the actual existence of a "gas chamber," of a single "gas chamber." Then we shall examine that "proof" together, in public.

— 'Right to Reply' letter of February 26, 1979, refused publication by *Le Monde*, responding to items in the issues of February 21, 1979 (p. 23) and February 23, 1979 (p. 40).

Notes

1. The phrase is that of Olga Wormser-Migot (*Le Système concentrationnaire nazi*, thesis published by the Presses Universitaires de France, 1968).
2. "Keine Vergasung in Dachau", by Dr. Martin Broszat, director of the Institute of Contemporary History in Munich (*Die Zeit*, August 19, 1960, p. 16). [Original text, in facsimile, and complete translation in English, in the May-June 1993 *Journal of Historical Review*, p. 12.]
3. On the one hand, photos from the Auschwitz Museum (negatives 519 and 6228), and, on the other hand, Nuremberg trial documents (NI-9098 and NI-9912).
4. See *The Work of the ICRC for Civilian Detainees in German Concentration Camps from 1939-1945*, (Geneva: International Committee of the Red Cross, 1975) [French edition 1946] reproducing in part (I have a copy of the full confidential text) document No. 9925: "Visit by an ICRC delegate to the Commandant of Auschwitz Camp (September 1944)", pp. 76-77 [French edition, pp. 91-92]. A crucial sentence of this document was deftly truncated of three words in the book by Marc Hillel, *Les Archives de l'espoir* ("The Archives of Hope"), Fayard, 1977, p. 257, and the most important sentence ("The inmates themselves said nothing [about a gas chamber]") was simply left

out.

5. Among the score of authors who refute the existence of the "gas chambers," I cite Paul Rassinier, wartime deportee (*Le Véritable Procès Eichmann ...* 1962), and, especially, the American A. R. Butz for his remarkable book on *The Hoax of the 20th Century*.
6. Presented to tourists as being in its original state.
7. *Auschwitz vu par les SS*, Auschwitz State Museum edition, 1974, p. 238, n. 85 [the English edition, *KL Auschwitz seen by the SS*, had been published in 1972.] [See also: R. Faurisson, "Confessions of SS Men Who Were at Auschwitz, Summer 1981, *Journal of Historical Review*, pp. 103-136.]
8. A soccer field "was located beside the Birkenau crematories" (Tadeusz Borowski, in the words of H. Langbein, *Hommes et femmes à Auschwitz*, Fayard, 1975, p. 129) [German edition: *Menschen in Auschwitz*, Vienna, Europa Verlag, 1972.]
9. French regulations concerning the use of hydrogen cyanide are as draconian as the German: see the Ministry of Public Health decree 50-1290 of October 18, 1950.
10. *Kommandant in Auschwitz*, Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1958, pp. 126 and 166.
11. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, University Press Amsterdam, Band XIII (1975), pp. 134-135.
12. The general gullibility is easily satisfied: it is enough to show us a door fitted with a peephole and catch-bolted and there we have it: a "gas chamber"!
13. Louis Darquier de Pellepoix (1897-1980) was head of the Vichy government's Commissariat général des affaires juives ("General Office for Jewish Affairs") from May 1942 to February 1944. With the advent of "Liberation" and the subsequent *Épuration* (purge), he fled to Spain, where he lived until his death. In 1978, some French journalists, besieged with letters from Professor Faurisson and sensing that an "affaire Faurisson," which had been lying quiet like live coals since July 1974, threatened eventually to flare up, decided to make a firebreak. One Philippe Ganier-Raymond, a journalist and part-time swindler (previously held liable by a Paris court, with the aid of Faurisson, for literary fraud concerning a text written by Céline), got in on the act. In October of 1978, in the weekly *L'Express*, he published an alleged interview with Darquier de Pellepoix in which the latter was quoted as stating that at Auschwitz only lice had been gassed. As a result, Faurisson ended up seeming, a few weeks afterwards, like the twin of a notorious wartime collaborator. [Note by translator S. Mundi.]
14. The fact that some deportees were not registered at Auschwitz, as could well be expected, does not signify that those deportees disappeared or that they were "gassed." For more details on this point, see S. Klarsfeld, *Le Mémorial de la déportation des Juifs de France*, Paris, 1978, p. 10 and 12.
15. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, University Press Amsterdam, Band XVII (1977), p. 20.

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From Its Beginning, Israeli Policy Promoted War, Not Peace

DONALD NEFF

On May 14, 1948, Britain ended its mandate over Palestine and Jews declared the establishment of Israel. General Sir Alan Cunningham, the British High Commissioner in Palestine, felt on his departure an "overwhelming sadness ... Thirty years and we achieved nearly nothing."¹

In fact, he and many other Britons felt considerable bitterness toward the Jews. Since the end of World War II, Britain had lost 338 citizens at the hands of Jewish terrorists.² Ahead was a half-century of bloodletting.

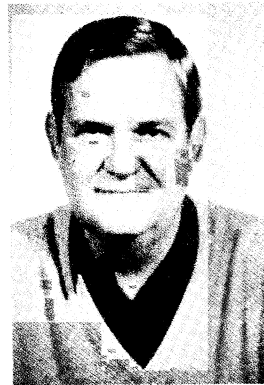
First there came an attempt by the Jews to complete the ethnic cleansing of Jerusalem. As the British withdrew, Jewish troops completed their occupation of most of southern and western Jerusalem, popularly known as New Jerusalem.³ Reported Pablo de Azcarate, secretary of the Consular Truce Commission:⁴

Hardly had the last English soldier disappeared than the Jews launched their offensive, consolidating their possession of Katamon which they occupied two weeks before and seizing the German Colony and the other southern districts of Jerusalem. The last remaining Arabs were liquidated, and from henceforth, the Jews were absolute masters of the southern part of the city.

One Palestinian resident, Naim Halaby, reported "an orgy of looting" by Jews. He saw "one group bring a horse and a cart up to his next-door neighbor's abandoned home and systematically strip it bare. Down the street other looters carried away tires, furniture, kerosene and heaps of clothing from another house."⁵

Arabs living in West Jerusalem accounted for more than half of the Arabs in the city, between 50,000 to 60,000 of the 101,000 total in 1948. They were undefended and either fled or were killed, leaving behind only those residing inside the Old City and three nearby districts. Jewish troops tried

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Donald Neff

to capture the Old City — they attacked Jaffa Gate, Damascus Gate, New Gate, Nebi Daoud Gate — but failed to penetrate them.⁶

When the fighting for Jerusalem finally stopped in the autumn, Israeli forces occupied 12 of the 15 Arab districts in new, western Jerusalem: Deir Abu Tor, Greek Colony, German Colony, Katamon, Lower Bakaa, Mamillah, Musrarah, Nebi Daoud, Sheikh Bader, Sheikh Jarrah, Tal-

bieh and Upper Bakaa. No Palestinians were left. The conquest of these Arab districts provided Jewish immigrants with some 10,000 homes, most of them fully furnished.⁷

Indicative of how the demographics of Jerusalem changed was the ratio between Jews and Arabs over the next two decades. The Jewish population increased from 99,690 in 1947 to 194,000 in 1967, while the Arabs went from 50,000 to zero in Jewish West Jerusalem and from 50,000 to 70,000 in the Old City and its environs.⁸

Proclamation of Independence

At 4 p.m. local time in Tel Aviv, on May 14, 1948, David Ben-Gurion read the proclamation of independence, declaring the birth of Israel as of midnight.⁹

Although Ben-Gurion's proclamation promised in soaring words freedom and justice for all, there was no mention made of the United Nations Partition Plan's call for creation of an Arab state, nor the extent of Israel's borders. The question of Israel's borders went to the heart of the kind of country Israel would be — whether a peaceful state content with its size mandated by the world community or an expansionist Zionist state determined to wrest away the Palestinians' land.

The Jews chose expansion. Two days before declaring independence, the Provisional State Council, the Jewish pre-state government, had voted 5 to 4 not to mention borders. As Ben-Gurion had argued: "If the UN does not come into account in this matter, and they [the Arab states] make war

against us and we defeat them ... why should we bind ourselves?"¹⁰ It was an artful way to say the Jews should grab as much land as they could.

It is clear from its inception that Israel chose to be not only expansionist but also repressive of the Palestinians. In its declaration of independence, Israel adopted "the legal system prevailing on May 14, 1948," including the British Defense (Emergency) Regulations.¹¹ These laws numbered over 160 decrees promulgated by Britain in 1945 to put down Jewish terrorism and gave authorities the right to expel suspects, detain them without trial, restrict their movements, destroy their homes and other extralegal powers.¹²

The martial law regulations gave Israel unfettered power over the 160,000 Palestinians living under Israeli control.¹³ When Britain originally imposed the regulations, the Jews had been furious and charged London with inhumanity. Dr. Bernard Joseph, later Israeli Minister of Justice Dov Yosef, called them "terrorism under official seal." Yaakov S. Shapira, Israel's future attorney general, said: "The regime created by the Emergency Regulations is without precedent in a civilized society. Even Nazi Germany had no such laws ... Only one kind of system resembles these conditions — that of a country under occupation."¹⁴ Menachem Begin called the regulations "Nazi laws" and vowed not to obey them, although he had no complaint about them when Israel later used them against the Palestinians.¹⁵

Martial Law

Israeli writer Tom Segev explained:¹⁶

Martial law was initially instituted to prevent the return of refugees, or "infiltrators," as they were called, and to prevent those who had succeeded in crossing the border from returning to their homes ...

The second role assigned to martial rule was to evacuate semi-abandoned neighborhoods and villages as well as some which had not been abandoned — and to transfer their inhabitants to other parts of the country. Some were evacuated from a "security cordon" along the borders, and others were removed in order to make room for Jews. The third function of martial rule was to impose political supervision over the Arab population. In the process, the Arabs were isolated from the Jewish population.

The regulations were used to rule over Israeli Palestinians until 1966 when martial law was finally declared ended.¹⁷ Since then Israel has found even more imaginative laws to enforce its occupation.

As for expansionism, Israel's actions said more than any proclamation could. When the 1948 fight-

ing ended, Israel held 8,000 square miles, equal to 77.4 percent, of the 10,434 square miles of Palestine's land. Under the UN Partition Plan of 1947, it had been apportioned 56.47 percent even though its population was only half of the Palestinians'.¹⁸

Surely it was no accident — certainly not the "miraculous" event that Israel's first president, Chaim Weizmann, claimed¹⁹ — that nearly two-thirds of the original 1.2 million Palestinian population was displaced and turned into refugees. Under Israeli pressure they fled their homes and businesses and Israelis took them over, enormously simplifying the task of establishing a new state. The value of immovable property left behind by the Palestinian refugees has been estimated at \$4 million to \$80 million in 1947 terms, to as high as seven times that amount.²⁰ This massive loss was the reason that the war became known to Arabs as the *nakba* — the Catastrophe.²¹

Israel completed its conquest of Palestine with the capture of the entire area in 1967, including Syria's Golan Heights. Since then, it has also taken over southern Lebanon and refuses to this day to surrender it as it does the Golan Heights and much of the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Suppression of the Palestinians and conquest of Arab land was a formula for war, not peace. And that was what Israel got for the next half century — and will continue to court until it allows the Palestinians their freedom and the Arabs their land.

Recommended Reading

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Notes

- Collins and Lapierre, *O Jerusalem!*, p. 13.
- Bethell, *The Palestine Triangle*, p. 360. The text of Britain's withdrawal statement is in *The New York Times*, May 14, 1948. The text includes a history of Britain's policy during the Mandate.
- Azcarate, *Mission in Palestine 1948-1952*, p. 43.
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- Collins and Lapierre, *O Jerusalem!*, p. 412.
- Tannous, *The Palestinians*, pp. 565-67.
- Cattan, *Jerusalem*, pp. 51, 61.
- Cattan, *Jerusalem*, p. 63.
- Text of the proclamation is in *The New York Times*, May 15, 1948; Laqueur and Rubin, *The Israel-Arab Reader*, pp. 125-28; Ben Gurion, *Israel*, pp. 79-81.
A total of 37 Jews attended the Tel Aviv independence meeting. Arab critics charged their action had no binding legal force in international law because they represented a minority population and only one of them had been born in Palestine; the others were from European countries. Declared Palestinian scholar Issa Nakhleh: "The Jewish minority had no right to declare an independent state on a territory belonging to the Palestinian Arab nation." See Nakhleh, *Encyclopedia of the Palestine Problem*, p. 4.
- Bar-Zohar, *Ben-Gurion*, p. 161. Also see Flapan, *The Birth of Israel*, pp. 34-36, for a detailed examination of early Israeli territorial intentions.
- Ben Gurion, *Israel: Years of Challenge*, p. 43.

- Quigley, *Palestine and Israel*, p. 102. Quigley points out that the British had rescinded the emergency relations just before their departure, so strictly speaking Israel did not adopt them. A selection of the regulations can be found in Karp, *The Karp Report*, Appendix II, pp. 65-84.
- Lustick, *Arabs in the Jewish State*, p. 49.
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- Epp, *Whose Land is Palestine?*, p. 195; Sachar, *History of Israel*, p. 350. For details of Israel's plans for occupying Palestinian territory, see Khalidi, *From Haven to Conquest*, pp. lxxv-lxxxiii, 755-61. For an excellent study of Jewish land ownership, see Ruedy in Abu-Lughod, *Transformation of Palestine*, pp. 119-138. Also see Davis and Mezvinsky, *Documents from Israel 1967-1973*, pp. 43-54; Morris, *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem*, pp. 155, 179; Nakhleh, *Encyclopedia of the Palestine Problem*, pp. 305-45; Shipler, *Arab and Jew*, pp. 32-36; Segev, *1949*, pp. 69-71.
- Sachar, *History of Israel*, p. 439.
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They Would Shake Their Heads

"The process of 'coming to grips with the past' [*Vergangenheitsbewältigung*] has not gotten very far in Japan, and today the trend is rather in the other direction. Why haven't the Japanese been able to come to grips with their [World War II] past as the Germans have? The answer is simple ... How would the neighboring Asian countries ... react if a Japanese politician, for example, were to call the day of the Japanese capitulation — August 15, 1945 — a day of liberation [as German President Richard von Weizsäcker did]. The neighboring countries would probably laugh him away or strongly protest, and the Japanese themselves, without exception, would shake their heads."

— Tan Minoguchi, Japanese writer, in the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (Munich), Issue No. 157, 1999. Quoted in *Nation + Europa* (Coburg), March 2000, p. 19.

Made-for-TV Movie More Fair than the 'War Crimes' Trial It Depicts

"Nuremberg" (television drama miniseries). Based on the book *Nuremberg: Infamy on Trial*, by Joseph E. Persico. Screenplay by David Rintels. Produced by Alec Baldwin, Jon Cornick, Gerry Abrams, Suzanne Girard, and Peter Sussman. Directed by Yves Simoneau. Turner Network Television (TNT). Actual running time: 180 minutes (four hours with commercials, in two parts). First segment premiere Sunday, July 16; conclusion premiere Monday, July 17. Web site: http://www.tnt.turner.com/movies/tnt-originals/nuremberg/frame_main_exclude.html

Reviewed by Greg Raven

Critics of the International Military Tribunal, and its trial of Third Reich leaders held in Nuremberg after the Second World War, believe it was illegitimate because of its application of *ex post facto* laws, use of questionable evidence and false testimonies, mistreatment of defendants and witnesses, and hindrances to defense attorneys. (See Mark Weber, "The Nuremberg Trials and the Holocaust," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1992). Despite these serious failings, the judgments rendered at the IMT, and at numerous follow-up German war crimes trials, largely shape the modern view of the war. The IMT has achieved such currency that most accounts of its proceedings and verdicts blindly perpetuate the unfairness of the trial itself, with little fear that repeatedly pointing out its flaws will invalidate or even tarnish this progressive standard.

It must be remembered that even documentaries produced by Hollywood are often so far removed from the truth as to be highly misleading, and TNT's made-for-television production of "Nuremberg" is not a documentary, but a drama. As such, it takes considerable license with the facts. Because there is little pretense here that history is being presented as it actually happened, it would be a waste of time to closely compare "Nuremberg" to the historical record.

More important is what is shown in addition to the seemingly obligatory Nazi-bashing common in films dealing with this era. For example, any mention of Adolf Hitler, Nazis or Nazism without harping on the Holocaust is inconceivable, and "Nuremberg" does its share of perpetuating the myth that the trials were necessary, fair, and unre-



Alec Baldwin played Robert Jackson, chief US prosecutor at the Nuremberg Tribunal, in the TNT made-for-television miniseries "Nuremberg." At the left is Jill Hennessy, who played Jackson's secretary, Elsie Douglas.

markable in terms of jurisprudence, largely because of what is alleged to have happened in the German-run concentration camps. But where most sympathetic treatments of the IMT differ only in their attempts to excuse its extra-legal aspects, TNT's "Nuremberg" naively acknowledges its unfairness, as if to say that the ends (the condemnation of Nazism and the punishment of Nazi leaders) justify the means.

What's more, some of the accused, notably *Reichsmarschall* Hermann Göring (Brian Cox), are convincingly portrayed as men with some depth of character, a complete departure from the typical "Nazi = evil incarnate" formula found in most British and American films made since 1933. Although no doubt unintended, the nuances in "Nuremberg" set it apart from nearly all other mainstream treatments of the IMT.

"Nuremberg" establishes right away that the German leaders initially did not expect to be charged as criminals for conduct that up until then had been considered normal behavior by governments, and that many of their Allied counterparts considered it distasteful to turn over for trial men

Thoughts on the Irving-Lipstadt Trial

Your analysis of Judge Gray's decision in the Irving-Lipstadt trial [March-April 2000 *Journal*, pp. 2-8] is brilliant, and could well serve as an outline for Irving's appeal. Based on my own close reading of the trial transcript, as my years of experience as a lawyer, I'd like to chip in with a few comments.

Irving, as a loyal Englishman, seems to have had an unrealistic faith in the fairness of the British legal process. He could have benefited greatly from capable legal help, and I hope he has some to assist him in preparing his appeal.

Why, oh why, didn't Irving produce Germar Rudolf as a witness?

On the "conspiracy" angle, you are right in pointing out that Irving was never able to produce a "smoking gun," or even establish a real link to Lipstadt's book, which was, after all, at the core of his suit.

As Irving put it, Judge Gray's decision was "perverse." As you point out, on the record of this trial, any judge *could* have written a decision in Irving's favor. (To illustrate this point, I've toyed with the idea of writing such a decision myself.) Even on the existing record, in spite of its defects, I believe that a judgement for Irving was amply justified.

I was surprised at the many prejudicial interventions made by Judge Gray in the course of the trial. Numerous times he joined defense attorney Rampton in arguing against Irving. In doing so, he exhibited his own prejudices, which he "cleverly" acknowledged in his judgement while disingenuously claiming that he was able to set them aside in reaching a decision. I thought this very odd, and wondered if it is usual in British legal practice.

Anyway, the Judge's prejudiced interventions could well be cited in an appeal.

A. D.
Florida
[by e-mail]

The 13th IHR Conference

Thank you for a dynamite Memorial Day weekend. The speeches by Faurisson, Rudolf and Graf were nothing less than stirring. The other talks were first class as well. I also appreciate the opportunity to renew old acquaintances.

You all are doing the work of God. Eventually there has to be a daybreak in this endless intellectual night.

E. B.
Dallas, Texas

I learned a lot at the recent IHR Conference, and met some very nice and interesting people. Thank you for the "student scholarship" help. I am a serious history student, and the Conference was a true blessing for me. To be quite honest, I realized just how much I didn't know, and how much more there is still to learn. I am looking forward to beginning work on my Master's degree, and the Conference really helped.

You all did a wonderful and very professional job. Thank you again for a great weekend.

D. W.
Fresno, Calif.

Congratulations on your excellent conference. It was very well organized and informative — very good for everyone's morale.

John Bennett
Carlton, Australia

Swastika Charm

Regarding the March-April 1999 *Journal* article about the swastika, and the remark [p. 34]

that "in India it was revered as a sign of good fortune and prosperity," it is notable that such was also the case in the USA well into the 20th century. An example is seen in the 1931 Hollywood movie "Blonde Crazy." In the latter part James Cagney examines a two inch square metallic "swastika charm." The dialogue makes clear that Americans generally interpreted such a charm as a "good luck piece." (The title of the movie does not fit well. The original title, "Larceny Lane," was better.)

Arthur R. Butz
Evanston, Illinois

An Undeserved Honor

In December a group of "establishment" (that is, politically correct) historians and political commentators named Winston Churchill as the best British Prime Minister of the Century.

How an individual who was responsible for the criminal folly of the inadequately planned First World War Gallipoli campaign could even be considered for such an honor is beyond me. More to the point, Churchill, as First Lord of the Admiralty, was responsible for a similarly disastrous lack of thoughtful planning in Britain's ill-fated 1940 Norwegian campaign, a fiasco for which Neville Chamberlain was blamed and was accordingly replaced as Prime Minister by none other than Churchill himself. (See *The Nameless War* by Captain A.H.M. Ramsay.)

After the fall of France (June 1940), Hitler offered Britain very reasonable peace terms. He had even stopped his panzers from annihilating the British evacuating at Dunkirk as practical proof of the sincerity of his peace terms. But Churchill, who wanted the opportunity to regain his loss of prestige over the Gallipoli disas-

ter refused to consider peace — thus risking the lives of more millions. (See *Ten Days to Destiny*, by John Costello, and *The Nameless War*, by A. H. M. Ramsay.)

Churchill also permitted himself to come under the influence of the money power, which had bailed him out when his expensive lifestyle landed him heavily in debt. (See *Churchill's War*, by David Irving). Today the grip that the money power has on the world is a legacy left to us by the policies of Churchill and Roosevelt, for it is now fairly widely known that Roosevelt, aided and abetted by Churchill, provoked Japan into war in order to bring America in to help defeat Germany. Thus, in this all important game of divide and conquer, the money power won, and indeed the Western world, including Britain, has nothing to thank Churchill for.

S. A.
Caloundra, Qnsld.
Australia

Massive Historical Distortion

While we are inundated with “remembrance” of the greatest war crime that never occurred, the record of the greatest such crime that actually did occur are being expunged. I refer to the expulsion at the conclusion of World War II of twelve million Germans from the real east Germany — Silesia, Pomerania, East Prussia, the Sudetenland, and other areas east of the Oder-Neisse line — which involved the deaths of some two million people.

Then these lands, which constituted a quarter of Germany's territory, were incorporated by the Allied leaders into Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the Soviet Union. Although just as German as the rest of Germany, these regions had the geographic misfortune to be vulnerable to Allied, and especially Stalinist, vengeance.

With this great crime has come distortion of history on a grand scale. My 1986 edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (a work under the guidance of the Univer-

sity of Chicago) refers to east German cities as being “under Prussian control” until “liberated” by the Poles in 1945. A Map of the war on the History Channel and on the boxes of model airplanes show postwar boundaries. An article in the neo-conservative magazine *The American Spectator* imagines a wartime event occurring in “Wroclaw” (Breslau). A few years ago Poles in the city of Stettin (Szczecin) celebrated the city's 800th anniversary. With the current Pope in attendance, they arranged the festivities as a celebration of their history. Even some Germans seem eager to eradicate their historical heritage and collective memory. During a visit to the Nietzsche house in Naumburg in 1998, I was startled to see the philosopher's life traced on wall maps not of his era, but of today.

Eric Rachout, M. D.
Moody, Texas

Fascinating and Helpful

I have been reading several of the articles on your web site. They are very interesting and challenging. After checking and cross-checking the source references, I find your site even more interesting! I've also been downloading and copying quite a few items from your site. Quite a few folks I know are fascinated by this material.

Your work, *The Zionist Terror Network*, is a great read. Absolutely fantastic. It will help greatly in adding color and detail to a novel I am writing. In this novel, I had referred to a mythical Zionist terror organization, but I did not dream that such a thing really existed until I read your material. Also very helpful is your article on Simon Wiesenthal.

Keep up the good work.

S. L. S.
[by e-mail]

Hard Documentation is Crucial

I have always felt that publicizing the truth about what really happened to Europe's Jews during World War II would be in every-

one's best interest over time. Neither the various European governments nor the Jewish lobbies seem to concur, however. Instead, Jewish-Zionist groups have made a cash cow out of the Holocaust. In doing they have acted shamelessly and have denigrated their deceased brothers.

I believe that the only way that the truth about the Holocaust will ever force its way into the mainstream — barring an initiative by the German or American government — is through publishing hard documentation. The Auschwitz “Death Books” alone seem sufficient to force a change in perspective [“Pages from the Auschwitz Death Registry Volumes,” Fall 1992 *Journal*], and I am at a loss as to why much more has not been made of them. In spite of their importance, certainly not one German, or American, in ten thousand has even heard of them.

R. G.
Whiteville, N. Carolina

Hard Evidence for Mass Famine in Ukraine?

In his letter in the Jan.-Feb. 2000 *Journal* (“Myths About Stalin and the Ukrainian famine, pages 70-71), J. C. M. makes the case for the existence of an imposed mass famine in Ukraine during the early 1930s in almost exactly the same way that mainstream historians make their case for “the Holocaust,” and using similarly unreliable evidence. [This letter by J. C. M. is a response to an earlier letter by K. W., “One Sided Revisionism,” in the Sept.-Dec. 1999 *JHR*, p. 71.]

J. C. M. claims that the Ukrainian famine is well-documented because several authors have written about it. That can also be truthfully said about the Holocaust.

He also cites Robert Conquest's estimate of 14.5 million deaths in the Ukrainian famine. In producing this “estimate,” Conquest cooks data, makes unwarranted assumptions about birth rates, overlooks emigration and

population transfers, and ignores the unreliability of the era's population data. (The Soviet Union only instituted national ID cards in 1933, and there were no accurate population statistics until after the Second World War.) Holocaust historians use similarly dubious techniques to "prove" the six million figure.

Just as Holocaust historians can't come up with gas chambers, piles of bodies, or piles of cremated ashes, neither can Conquest, Solzhenitsyn or anyone else come up with real evidence that the Ukrainian famine ever took place.

J. C. M. cites "eyewitness" and "survivor" testimony. Similar testimony is used to prove "the Holocaust." Anecdotal evidence is notoriously unreliable and can easily be fabricated.

Real historians know that anecdotal evidence about a specific or localized incident cannot be extrapolated or generalized to determine the truth about a larger area or time period.

In the vast Soviet archival records that have been accessible for the past ten years, no evidence has been found for an imposed mass famine in Ukraine. It is also interesting to note that the records of the Gulag camps found in the KGB files show that there were never more than 2.5 million prisoners in the Soviet camps at any one time. (To put this in perspective, there are almost as many people imprisoned in the USA today.) The Soviet records also show that the death rates in the camps only exceeded ten percent during two years, 1942 and 1943, when supplies were understandably very short due to the war emergency. Parallels to Bergen-Belsen, Buchenwald and so forth, are obvious. (Source: "Lies Concerning the History of the Soviet Union," by Mario Sousa, in the Dec. 1999 issue of *North Star Compass* [a Stalinist monthly published in Toronto]. See www.northstarcompass.org.)

Revisionists should not be arbitrary or inconsistent, but

should find a solid standard of evidence and stick with it. Revisionism should be applied to anti-Communist propaganda as ruthlessly as to anti-fascist propaganda.

K. W.
Phoenix, Arizona

Argentine Admirer

I am a great admirer of historical revisionism. I have read the book by Jürgen Graf, *El Holocausto Bajo La Lupa*. This is a really good, well documented work. As in so many countries, the

"Holocaust industry" rules here. Anyone who says "What six million?" can be punished as a heretic.

G. I.
Buenos Aires, Argentina

We welcome letters from readers. We reserve the right to edit for style and space. Write: Editor, P.O. Box 2739, Newport Beach, CA 92659, USA, or e-mail us at editor@ihr.org

Through North Africa with the Desert Fox

With Rommel in the Desert

by Heinz Werner Schmidt

No episode in modern warfare can match drama and romance of the 1942-1943 North African campaign, in which its undisputed hero, even for his British adversaries, was German commander Erwin Rommel. For nearly two years, outnumbered and undersupplied, the "Desert Fox" led his celebrated Afrika Korps to one brilliant victory after another, until he was finally overwhelmed by the sheer weight of men and materiel of the combined forces of Eisenhower and Montgomery (who were enormously aided by their ability to intercept secret German battle plans).

Serving at Rommel's side throughout his desert campaigns was the book's author, his South African-born Aide-de-Camp. Schmidt was with the legendary General from his first victories at El Agheila and Abedabia, in triumph at Tobruk, and in defeat before El Alamein. Dispensing with the larger-than-life image of propaganda and legend, the author provides a close-up portrait of Rommel the officer and Rommel the man as he confronts the challenges of a new kind of warfare in a harsh, unforgiving environment. This first-hand account puts the reader at Rommel's side as he bends over battle maps in his command tent, planning a new attack or anticipating the next enemy onslaught.

Written with dry humor and warm human sympathy for the soldiers of all sides, the author provides a detailed, objective account of Rommel's desert campaigns. More than that, he takes the reader bounding across the Libyan desert in a Panzer outside Tobruk, dining on fresh-shot gazelle in the north African desert, and dodging rifle bullets and tank shells in dozens of engagements from Egypt to Tunisia. "It is all here," commented the *Irish Press* on this a military classic, "the thrust and counter thrust, the stratagems and deceptions practised on great armies, the deadly surprises and in the end the wholesale and complete defeat."

With Rommel in the Desert

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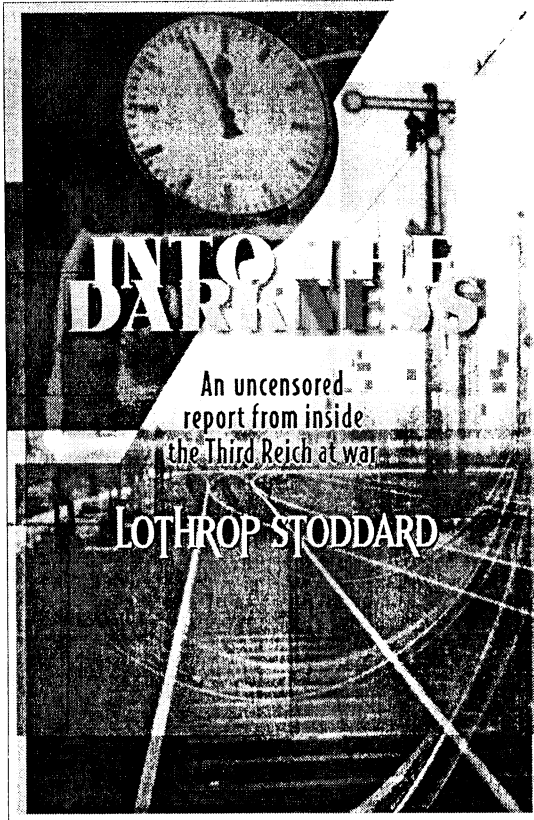
FIRST SUPPRESSED, THEN FORGOTTEN FOR SIXTY YEARS

Lothrop Stoddard's Sympathetic Report from Hitler's Wartime Reich

Twentieth-century America's most perceptive, influential, and prophetic writer on race — Lothrop Stoddard — spent four months in late 1939-early 1940 covering National Socialist Germany, as its leaders and its people girded for total war. Stoddard criss-crossed the Third Reich to observe nearly every aspect of its political, social, economic, and military life, and he talked with men and women from all walks of life, from Adolf Hitler, Heinrich Himmler, and Joseph Goebbels to taxi drivers and chambermaids.

The result — *Into the Darkness* — is not only a classic of World War II reportage, but a unique evaluation of Germany's National Socialist experiment. For Stoddard was no ordinary journalist. A Harvard Ph.D in history, the author of *The Rising Tide of Color* and other works that played a key role in the enactment of America's 1924 immigration act, fluent in German and deeply versed in European politics and culture, Stoddard brought to *Into the Darkness* a sophistication and a sympathy impossible for William Shirer and a myriad of other journalistic hacks.

To be sure, the New England Yankee Stoddard was no supporter of the Hitler dictatorship, but he was deeply interested in National Socialist policies, above all in the social and the racial sphere. Reading *Into the Darkness* brings you to hearings before



a German eugenics court, to an ancestral farm in Westphalia, to the headquarters of the National Labor Service, to German markets, factories, medical clinics, and welfare offices, as keenly observed and analyzed by Stoddard. You'll read, too, of Stoddard's conversations with German policy makers in all fields: Hans F. K. Günther and Fritz Lenz on race and eugenics; Walther Darré on agriculture; Robert Ley on labor; Gertrud Scholz-Klink on women in the Third Reich; General Alexander Löhr on the Luftwaffe's Polish campaign, as well as Hitler, Himmler, Goebbels and many other leaders. And you'll travel with Stoddard to Slovakia, where he interviews Monsignor Tiso, the national leader

later put to death by the Communists, and to Hungary, where the Magyars, still at peace, gaze apprehensively at Soviet Russia.

Into the Darkness (so named from the mandatory air-defense blackout that Stoddard found so vexing) shines a torch of sanity and truth against the vituperation of all things National Socialist that has been practically obligatory for the past sixty years. Knowledgeable, urbane, skeptical, and above all fair, Stoddard's book is a unique, an indispensable historical document, a time capsule for truth, and a stimulating page-turner for everyone interested in the Third Reich and the German people.

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A Horrific, Suppressed Story

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"The events are vivid, the language is powerful, the conclusions appear just. The book should be read and become part of the all too gruesome document the world calls history."

— New York Daily News

In 1945 Poland's new Soviet-dominated government was actively recruiting Jews for its Office of State Security to carry out its own trademark brand of brutal "de-Nazification." The Office's agents raided German homes, rounding up some 200,000 men, women, children and infants — 99 percent of them non-combatant, innocent civilians. Incarcerated in cellars, prisons, and 1,255 concentration camps where typhus was rampant and torture was commonplace, the inmates subsisted on starvation rations. In this brief period, between 60,000 and 80,000 Germans perished at the hands of the Office.

An Eye for an Eye tells the little-known story of how Jewish victims of the Third Reich inflicted equally terrible suffering on innocent Germans. To unearth it, the author, a veteran journalist and war correspondent, spent seven years conducting research and interviews in Poland, Germany, Israel and the United States.

Author John Sack focuses on such figures as Shlomo Morel, a commandant who bragged: "What the Germans couldn't do in five years at Auschwitz, I've done in

five months at Schwientochlowitz."

Not for 60 years has a book been so diligently (and, in the end, unsuccessfully) suppressed as *An Eye for an Eye*. One major newspaper, one major magazine, and

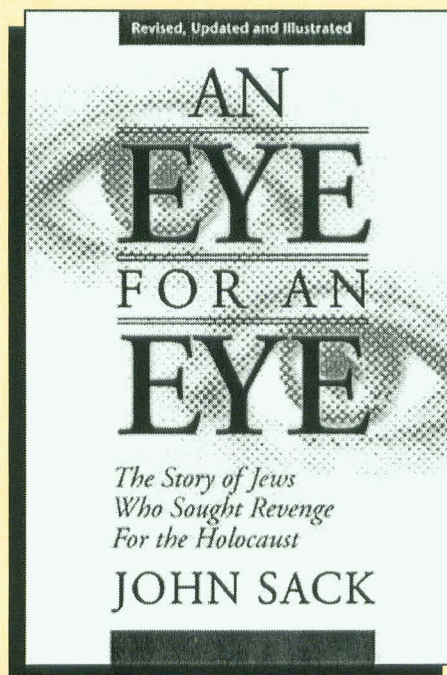
three major publishers paid \$40,000 for it but were scared off. One printed 6,000 copies, then pulped them. Two dozen publishers read *An Eye for an Eye* and praised it. "Shocking," "Startling," "Astonishing," "Mesmerizing," "Extraordinary," they wrote to the author, but all two dozen rejected it.

When it was finally published by Basic Books, it "sparked a furious controversy" (*Newsweek*). And while it became a best-seller in Europe, it was so shunned in America that it also became, in the words of *New York* magazine, "The Book They Dare Not Review."

Since then, both *60 Minutes* and *The New York Times* have corroborated

Sack's riveting expose of atrocities by vengeful Jews against German civilians in Communist-ruled Poland.

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What Happened to the Hungarian Jews Deported to Auschwitz?

Jürgen Graf

On the 1944 Deportations of Hungarian Jews

Arthur Butz

Peenemünde and Los Alamos: Two Studies

Donald E. Tarter

The *Cap Arcona* and *Thielbek* Sinkings

Mark Weber

The Cost of Israel to American Taxpayers

Richard H. Curtiss

Changing Perspectives on History in Germany

Unmasking Zionism's Most Dangerous Myths

In this headline-making work, a prominent French scholar delivers one powerful blow after another to the pernicious historical myths cited for decades to justify Zionist aggression and repression, including the Israeli legend of a "land without people for a people without land," and the most sacred of Jewish-Zionist icons, the Holocaust extermination story.

For financial gain, as an alibi for indefensible policies, and for other reasons, Jews have used what the author calls "theological myths" to arrogate for themselves a "right of theological divine chosenness." The wartime suffering of Europe's Jews, he contends, has been elevated to the status of a secular religion, and is now treated with sacrosanct historical uniqueness.

This readable, thoroughly documented study examines the brutal dispossession and mass expulsion of Palestine's Arabs, exposes the farce of the Nuremberg victors' show trial, and shows that the notorious German "final solution" term referred to a "territorial" program of resettlement, not extermination. *Founding Myths* details the secret collaboration of prominent Jews with the young Nazi regime, and the 1941 offer by some Zionists, including a future Israeli prime minister, to join Hitler's Germany in a military alliance against Britain. The author presents a frank assessment of the powerful Jewish-Zionist lobby in the United States, showing

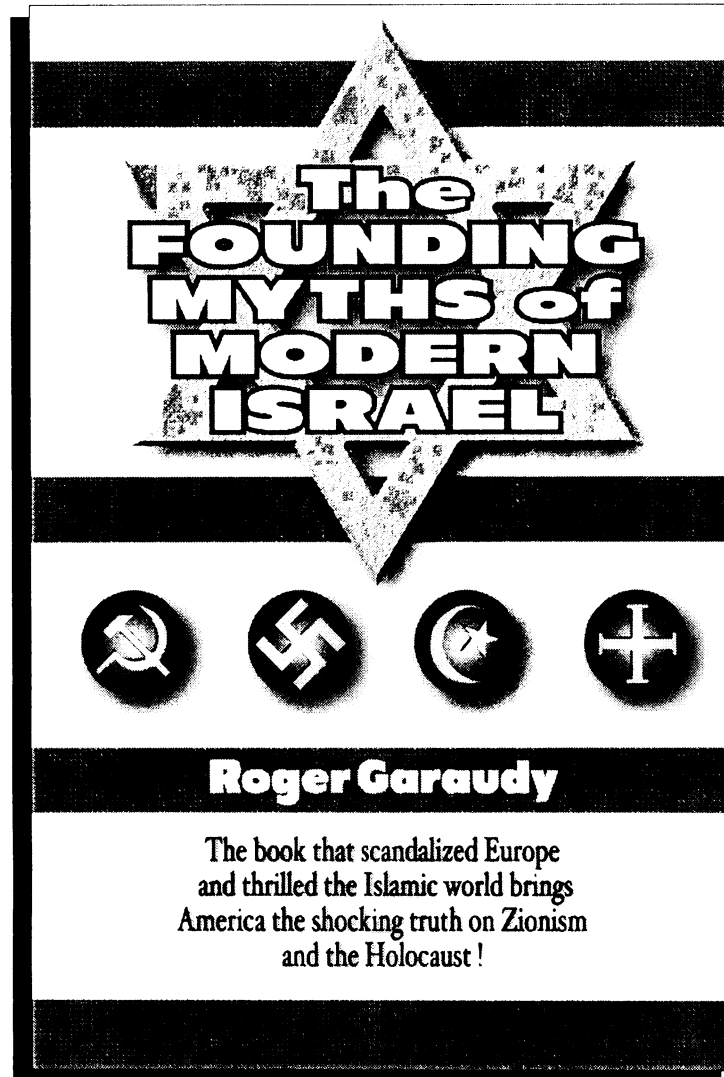
how it effectively controls US policy regarding Israel, and plays a crucial role in shaping American public opinion.

For decades Roger Garaudy was prominent in the French Communist Party, making a name for himself as a Communist deputy in the French National Assembly, and as a leading Marxist intellectual and theoretician. Later he broke with Communism, eventually becoming a Muslim.

When *Founding Myths* first appeared in France, it touched off a storm of controversy among intellectuals and a furious uproar in the media. Soon Garaudy was charged with violating France's notorious Gaysot law, which makes it a crime to "contest" the "crimes against humanity" as defined by the Nuremberg Tribunal of 1945-46. A Paris court found him guilty and fined him \$40,000. His trial and conviction for Holocaust heresy prompted wide international support, above all from across the Arab and Muslim world.

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On the cover: Hungarian Jews upon arrival at Auschwitz-Birkenau, late May or early June 1944. This photograph was taken by a German photographer from the roof of one of rail cars that brought these deportees. A veteran camp inmate, wearing a striped uniform, can be seen in the foreground talking with one of the new arrivals. This photo is from *The Auschwitz Album* (1981), p. 15, one of some 185 published in this book.

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The 1945 Sinkings of the *Cap Arcona* and the *Thielbek*

Allied Attacks Killed Thousands of Concentration Camp Inmates

MARK WEBER

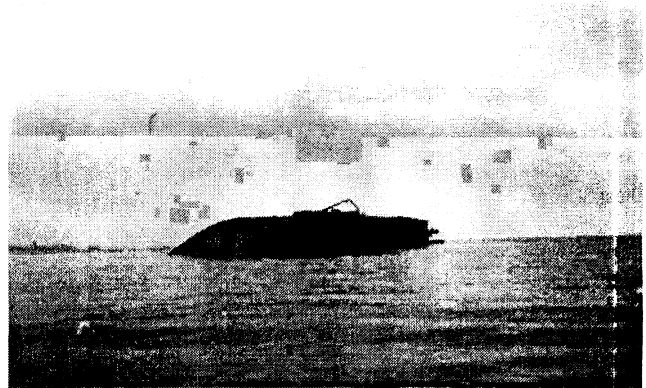
All prisoners of German wartime concentration camps who perished while in German custody are routinely regarded as “victims of Nazism” — even if they lost their lives as direct or indirect result of Allied policy. Similarly, all Jews who died in German captivity during World War II — no matter what the cause of death — are counted as “victims of the Holocaust.”

This view is very misleading, if not deceitful. In fact, many tens of thousands of camp inmates and Jews lost their lives as direct and indirect victims of Allied action, or of the horrors of the Second World War. For example, the many thousands of Jews who perished in the notorious Bergen-Belsen camp during and after the final months of the war in Europe, including Anne Frank, were primarily victims not of German policy, but rather of the turmoil and chaos of war.

Among the German concentration camp prisoners who perished at Allied hands were some 7,000 inmates who were killed during the war’s final week as they were being evacuated in three large German ships that were attacked by British war planes. This little-known tragedy is one of history’s greatest maritime disasters.

The *Cap Arcona*, launched in May 1927, was a handsome passenger ship of the “Hamburg-South America” line. At 27,000 gross registered tons, it was the fourth-largest ship in the German merchant marine. For twelve years — until the outbreak of war in 1939 — she had sailed regularly between Hamburg and Rio de Janeiro. In the war’s final months she was pressed into service by the German navy to rescue refugees fleeing from areas in the east threatened by the Red Army. This was part of a vast rescue operation organized by the German navy under the supervision of Grand Admiral Karl Dönitz. All but unknown in the United States today, this great undertaking saved countless lives. The *Thielbek*, a much smaller ship of 2,800 gross registered tons, was also used to transport refugees as part of the rescue operation.

In April 1945, Karl Kaufmann, *Gauleiter* of Hamburg and Reich Commissioner for merchant shipping, transferred the *Cap Arcona* and the *Thielbek* from naval command, and ordered them to Neustadt Bay in the Baltic Sea near the north German city of Lübeck.



The wreck of the *Cap Arcona* in Neustadt Bay, about 1947.

Some 5,000 prisoners hastily evacuated from the Neuengamme concentration camp (a few miles southeast of Hamburg) were brought on board the *Cap Arcona* between April 18 and 26, along with some 400 SS guards, a naval gunnery detail of 500, and a crew of 76. Similarly the *Thielbek* took on some 2,800 Neuengamme prisoners. Under the terrible conditions that prevailed in what remained of unoccupied Germany during those final weeks, conditions for the prisoners on board the two vessels were dreadful. Many of the tightly packed inmates were ill, and both food and water were in very short supply.

On the afternoon of May 3, 1945, British “Typhoon” fighter-bombers, striking in several attack waves, bombarded and fired on the *Cap Arcona* and then the *Thielbek*. The two ships, which had no military function or mission, were flying many large white flags. “The hoisting of white flags proved useless,” notes the *Encyclopedia of the Third Reich*. The attacks were thus violations of international law, for which — if Britain and not Germany had been the vanquished power — British pilots and their commanders could have been punished and even executed as “war criminals.”

The *Thielbek*, struck by rockets, bombs and machine gun fire, sank in just 15-20 minutes. British planes then fired on terror-stricken survivors who were struggling in rescue boats or thrashing in the cold sea. Nearly everyone on board the *Thielbek* perished quickly, including nearly all the SS guards, ship’s officers and crew members. Only about 50 of

the prisoners survived.

The burning *Cap Arcona* took longer to go under. Many inmates burned to death. Most of those who were able to leap overboard drowned in the cold sea, and only some 350-500 could be rescued. During the next several days hundreds of corpses washed up on nearby shores, and were buried in mass graves. Having sunk in shallow water, the wreck of the capsized *Cap Arcona* remained partially above water as a grim reminder of the catastrophe.

A German reference work, *Verheimlichte Dokumente*, sums up:

A particularly barbaric Allied war crime was the bombing on May 3, 1945, by British Royal Air Force planes of the passenger ships *Cap Arcona* and *Thielbek* in the Lübeck bay, packed with concentration camp inmates. Among the many 'nameless' victims were many prominent political figures, a fact that is hushed up today because the fact that concentration camp inmates, many of them resistance fighters against Hitler, perished as victims of the terror of the 'liberators' does not conform to the portrayal of the 'reeducators'.

Another reference work, *Der Zweite Weltkrieg* (1985), notes:

A unique tragedy is the end on May 3, 1945, of the 'Hamburg-South' passenger steamship *Cap Arcona* and the steamship *Thielbek*, both carrying concentration camp prisoners on board who believed that they were saved, but who were now bombed in the Neustadt Bay by Allied air planes. On the *Cap Arcona* alone, more than 5,000 perished — ship personnel, concentration camp inmates, and SS guards.

The deaths on May 3, 1945, of some 7,000 concentration camp prisoners — victims of a criminal British attack — remains a little-known chapter of World War II history. This is all the more remarkable when one compares the scale of the disaster with other, much better known maritime catastrophes. For example, the well-known sinking of the great British liner *Titanic* on April 15, 1912, took "only" 1,523 lives.

Actually, among the greatest naval disasters in history are the Baltic Sea sinkings of three other German vessels by Soviet submarines in the first half of 1945: the *Wilhelm Gustloff*, on January 30, 1945, with the loss of at least 5,400 lives, mostly women and children; the *General Steuben* on February 10, 1945, with the loss of 3,500, mostly refugees and wounded soldiers; and, above all, the *Goya* on April 16, 1945, taking the lives of some 7,000 refugees and wounded soldiers.



A few of the many bodies of concentration camp inmates that washed up on shore in the days following the attack on May 3, 1945, by British war planes on the *Cap Arcona* and the *Thielbek*.

Sources: Fritz Brustat-Naval, *Unternehmen Rettung* (Herford: Koheler, 1970), pp. 197-201; C. Zentner & F. Bedürftig, eds., *The Encyclopedia of the Third Reich* (New York: Da Capo, 1997), pp. 126, 644-645, 952; W. Schütz, Hrsg., *Lexikon: Deutsche Geschichte im 20. Jahrhundert* (Rosenheim: DVG, 1990), pp. 66, 455; Dr. Bernhard Steidle, Hrsg., *Verheimlichte Dokumente*, Band 2 (Munich: 1995), pp. 212, 230; "Britische RAF mordete Tausende KZ-Häftlinge," *National-Zeitung* (Munich), May 19, 2000, p. 11; Kay Dohnke, "5 Minuten, 50 Meter, 50 Jahre: Gedenken an die Cap Arcona, nach einem halben Jahrhundert," *taz: die tageszeitung* (Hamburg Ausgabe), May 3, 1995, also on line at <http://www.theo-physik.uni-kiel.de/~starrost/akens/texte/diverses/arcona.html>; "The Cap Arcona, the Thielbek and the Athen," on line at <http://www.rrz.uni-hamburg.de/rz3a035/arcona.html>; Konni-lyn G. Feig, *Hitler's Death Camps* (New York: 1981), p. 214; Martin Gilbert, *The Holocaust* (New York: 1986), p. 806; M. Weber, "Bergen-Belsen: The Suppressed Story," May-June 1995 *Journal of Historical Review*, pp. 23-30; M. Weber, "History's Little-Known Naval Disasters," March-April 1998 *Journal*, p. 22.

For further reading, these books are available: Rudi Goguel, *Cap Arcona* (Frankfurt/Main: Röderberg, 1972); Günter Schwarberg, *Angriffsziel Cap Arcona* (Hamburg: Stern-Buch, 1983/ Göttingen: Steidi, 1998), with portions on line at <http://www.reger-online.de/buchcd/w7506002.htm>; Wilhelm Lange, *Cap Arcona: Dokumentation* (Eutin: Struve, 1988).

"By writing you learn how to write."

— Latin proverb

"May your life be filled with lawyers."

— Mexican curse

What Happened to the Jews Who Were Deported to Auschwitz but Were Not Registered There?

JÜRGEN GRAF

1. Introduction

According to the standard or official version of 20th century history, millions of European Jews were murdered in gas chambers at Auschwitz and other German wartime camps during the Second World War. This mass killing was supposedly carried out as part of a systematic policy by Third Reich Germany to exterminate Europe's Jews.

In support of this view, orthodox "Holocaust" historians cite nothing beyond "eyewitness" testimonies — testimonies that contradict each other in every possible way, and are full of technical, natural-scientific, and logical impossibilities.¹

Factual or documentary proof for a German policy to exterminate Europe's Jews, or for the existence of homicidal gas chambers, simply does not exist. On the contrary, the huge amount of wartime German documents not only provides no proof for



Jürgen Graf addresses the 13th IHR Conference, May 28, 2000.

Jürgen Graf, born in 1951, is a Swiss educator who makes his home near Basel. A researcher with an impressive command of languages, he is also the author of several books. His "Holocaust on the Test Stand" book has appeared in German, French, Spanish, Dutch, Bulgarian, Italian, Russian and Arabic editions. In March 1993, following publication of the 112-page German edition, *Der Holocaust auf dem Prüfstand*, he was summarily dismissed from his post as a secondary school teacher of Latin and French. (See "Swiss Teacher Suspended for Holocaust Book," Sept.-Oct. 1993 *Journal*, pp. 36-37.) In December 1994 the French-language edition, *L'Holocauste au scanner*, was banned in France by order of the country's Interior Ministry. Some 200,000 copies of an expanded edition of this work have been published and distributed in Russia under the title "The Myth of the Holocaust." (See "A Major Revisionist Breakthrough in Russia," July-August 1997 *Journal*, pp. 36-37.)

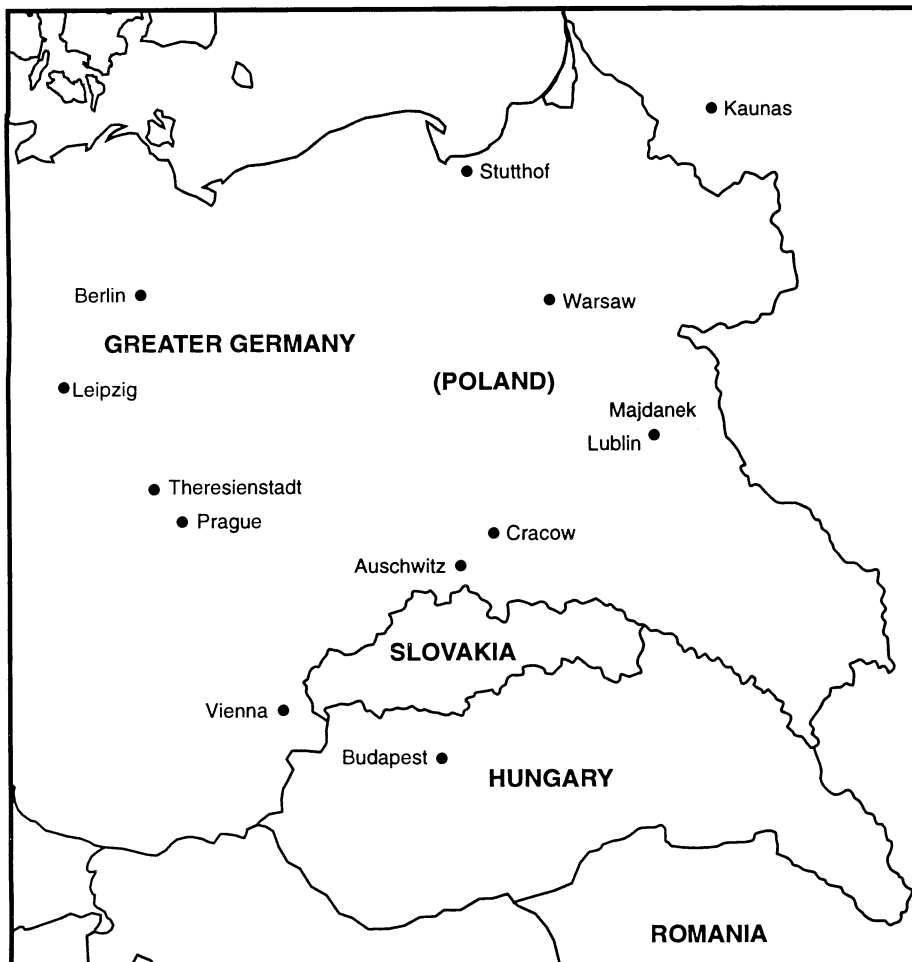
Graf's address to the Twelfth IHR Conference (1994), "The Social and Political Impact of the Holocaust Campaign in Today's Europe," was published in the Nov.-Dec. 1995 *Journal*.

In July 1998 he was sentenced to 15 months imprisonment, and to pay a large fine, because of his writings. (See "Swiss Court Punishes Two Revisionists," in the July-August 1998 *Journal*, pp. 2-13, esp. pp. 9-10.)

This essay, translated by Russ Granata and Jürgen Graf, is adapted from his address at the 13th IHR Conference (May 2000).

the existence of an extermination policy, they point to the contrary. To cite just one example: German wartime documents in the archives of the Auschwitz State Museum in Poland show that 15,706 wartime camp prisoners, nearly all of them Jewish, received medical care at the hospital of the Auschwitz III (Monowitz) camp between July 1942 and June 1944. Of these prisoners, 766 died in the hospital, while the rest of them were released.² This fact simply doesn't square with an extermination policy.

The on-site forensic examinations carried out by revisionists show that the "eyewitness" accounts of mass murder, as well as the alleged disposition of the corpses, are impossible. These technical-scientific investigations also establish that the alleged "gas chamber" rooms or spaces were not constructed for homicidal purposes and, for structural-technical reasons, could not have been utilized as killing chambers. Moreover, the capacities of the crematories — insofar as they existed at a given camp — were woefully inadequate to cremate the vast number of corpses of the alleged victims.³



Those who defend the “Holocaust” story of Jewish extermination and mass killings in gas chambers have no coherent response to the results of revisionist research. In particular, they have no response to the forensic findings of the revisionist experts. Alone among the “exterminationists,” French researcher Jean-Claude Pressac has attempted to prove systematically that mass killings in gas chambers, as well as the cremation of the alleged number of bodies, was technically possible.⁴ His arguments have been refuted in great detail by Robert Faurisson and Carlo Mattogno.⁵ Anyone may compare for himself the arguments and evidence presented by each side on this issue. Such a comparison speaks for itself.

In discussions with opponents and skeptics, revisionists are invariably confronted with the question: “If they weren’t killed, what happened to the missing Jews?” This question deserves serious consideration. We revisionists should not be content merely to refute the official “Holocaust” story; we should also attempt to explain, as clearly as possible, what actually did occur. Naturally, this involves the question of the whereabouts of the missing Jews.

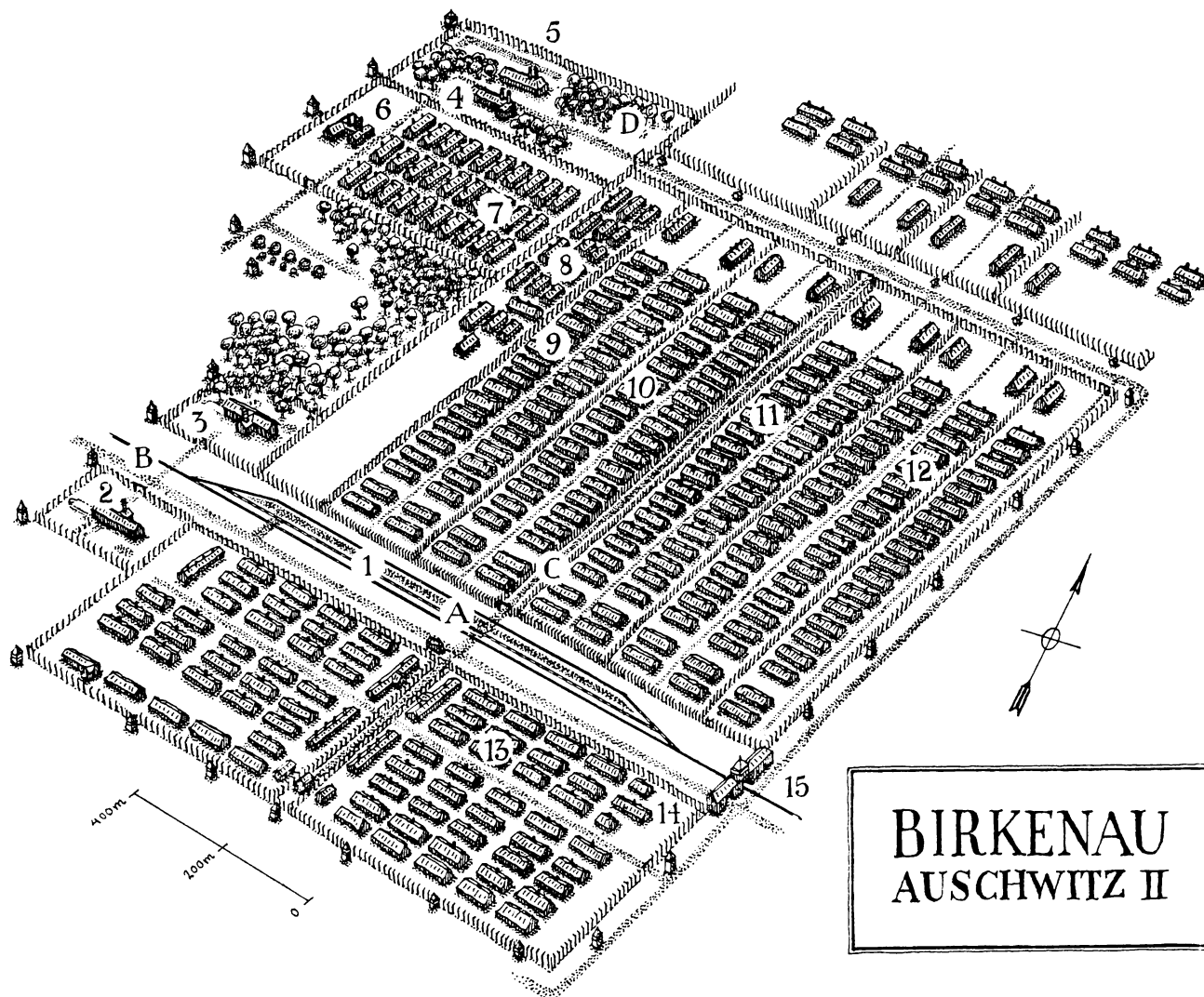
In this paper, I deal with the question of the fate of Jews who were deported to Auschwitz, but were not registered there. At the outset I want to say that no one is able to provide a complete answer to this question. If we possessed documents that clarified this issue, this paper would be unnecessary. As it happens, documents on this aspect of camp history are very spotty and incomplete. For the time being we are therefore obliged to deal, for the most part, with hypotheses, and to point to tasks that revisionists will likely confront in the future.

The first, or “destructive” phase of revisionist work — the refutation of the official “Holocaust” story — is largely behind us. It is now time to concentrate on the second, and more difficult, “constructive” phase, which is to provide a more complete picture of the actual fate of Europe’s Jews during the Second World War. Although authors such as Arthur Butz, Walter Sanning, Steffen

Werner, Enrique Aynat and Jean-Marie Boisdefeu have already carried out some pioneering work, this second phase of revisionist research is still in its beginning.

2. An ‘Official’ Account of the Numbers of Jews Deported to Auschwitz

Shortly after the Red Army’s takeover of the Auschwitz camp in January 1945, the Soviets told the world that four million persons had died there.⁶ Although this absurd figure was widely cited in the West, and was officially defended in Poland until 1990, few Western historians accepted it. Then, in 1993, the head of the historical research division of Poland’s Auschwitz State Museum, Franciszek Piper, presented new estimates of the numbers of Auschwitz victims, figures that represented a sharp reduction in the “official” figures.⁷ Piper’s 1993 publication on the numbers of Auschwitz victims is the most carefully researched study on this issue presented so far by an “orthodox” historian. In contrast to historians such as Raul Hilberg, who don’t deem it necessary to provide evidence or sources for their numbers,⁸ Piper explained in some detail how he arrived at his figures.



Features of Birkenau camp (Auschwitz II):

1. Rail siding and "selection" ramp 2. Crematory facility (*Krema*) II 3. Crematory facility (*Krema*) III 4. Crematory facility (*Krema*) IV 5. Crematory facility (*Krema*) V 6. "Disinfection and Disinfestation Facility," also known as the "Central Sauna" 7. "Canada" section, where inmates' belongings were sorted and stored. 8. Hospital or sick bay section 9. "Gypsy Camp" section 10. "Men's Camp" section 11. "Hungarian Camp" section 12. "Family camp" section 13. "Women's Camp" section 15. Entry gate for rail transport

Piper wrote that altogether 1.3 million prisoners were brought to Auschwitz, of whom only 400,000 were registered. Among those deported to the camp were 1,095,000 Jews, of whom 205,000 were registered and 890,000 were unregistered. According to Piper, of 400,000 registered Jewish and non-Jewish inmates, 200,000 survived interment in the camp — that is, half of them. Similarly, he estimated, about half of the registered Jewish prisoners — that is, about 100,000 — survived Auschwitz internment. Because nearly all the unregistered Jews are supposed to have been killed in gas chambers, Piper concludes that "at least 1,100,000 persons were

killed or died in the camp."⁹

Holocaust researcher Jean-Claude Pressac has provided estimates of Auschwitz victims that are significantly lower than those of Piper. In the 1994 German-language edition of his second book Pressac estimates the total number of Auschwitz camp victims as between 631,000 and 711,000.¹⁰ Interestingly, though, he was not permitted to cite these figures in an important semi-official anthology, *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp*, a collection of two-dozen essays by Pressac and various "orthodox" Holocaust historians.¹¹ Considering these circumstances, one can conclude that Piper's estimates

reflect the current "official" historiography.

Piper's estimates of the numbers of *registered* inmates at Auschwitz (both Jewish and non-Jewish) are well-grounded. With regard to the number of the deceased among these inmates, however, revisionist researchers Carlo Mattogno and Franco Deana arrive at a lower figure. In 1994 they estimated the total number of *registered* prisoners — both Jews and non-Jews — who died at Auschwitz at 160,000 to 170,000.¹² (Mattogno, the leading revisionist specialist on Auschwitz, is currently working on a detailed study on the mortality rate at the camp in which he slightly reduces his 1994 figures.)¹³

With regard to the number of victims among the *registered* prisoners at Auschwitz, the leading "exterminationist" expert (Piper) and the most knowledgeable revisionist specialist (Mattogno) thus arrive at figures that, while they differ by 30,000 to 40,000, essentially agree on the order of magnitude. However, the situation is radically different regarding *non-registered* prisoners. Piper contends that in addition to 890,000 un-registered Jews at Auschwitz, there were also approximately 15,000 un-registered non-Jews at the camp.

For most of the European countries of origin, the contemporary wartime German documents show rather clearly just how many Jews were deported to Auschwitz. We know, for example, that more than 75,000 Jews were deported from France, of whom 69,000 were sent to Auschwitz.¹⁴ Similarly reliable documentation shows just how many Jews were deported to Auschwitz from most of the European states of origin. For these countries, Piper's figures can hardly be contested. Not so clear, however, are his estimates of the number of deportees from the two countries from where, by far, the largest number of Jews arrived — namely Hungary and Poland.

Telegrams sent to Berlin in 1944 by Germany's special ambassador in Budapest, Edmund Veesenmayer,¹⁵ put the number of deported Hungarian Jews at 437,000. In his classic revisionist work *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, Arthur Butz contends that at least some of the Veesenmayer dispatches are forgeries, and that the actual number of Jewish deportees from Hungary is much lower — only a fraction of what has been claimed.¹⁶ I will go into this matter in more detail, but at this point I shall simply state that the Butz thesis, which I had endorsed in my book *Der Holocaust Schwindel*,¹⁷ is probably not valid. I now accept the number of 437,000 deported Hungarian Jews as a working hypothesis.



Jean-Claude Pressac

Piper estimates the number of Polish Jews deported to Auschwitz at 300,000, a figure that is certainly too high. In support of this, he refers to the *Kalendarium*, an important, semi-official Polish work about Auschwitz compiled by Danuta Czech.¹⁸ Piper puts the number of deportees from Poland at 225,000, and adds to this some 55,000 to 65,000 Jews deported from Lodz to Auschwitz who were overlooked by Czech. Piper therefore concludes that a total of 280,000 to 290,000 Polish Jews were deported to Auschwitz, a figure that he rounds off to 300,000. But in reality the *Kalendarium* figure of 225,000 must be reduced by at least some 43,000 because approximately

30,000 Jews arrived at Auschwitz from Polish labor camps, and are thus counted twice. Another 13,000 Polish Jews who were allegedly deported to Auschwitz in sealed cars and led to the gas chambers without selection only exist in the tales of "eyewitnesses"; they are, so to speak, "non-existing persons," as George Orwell would put it. And finally, the number of Jews brought from Lodz to Auschwitz was not more than approximately 20,000.¹⁹ For these reasons, the figure of 300,000 Polish Jews (allegedly) transported to Auschwitz is greatly inflated, and must be reduced by around 100,000.

To summarize: According to Franciszek Piper, 1.1 million Jews were deported to Auschwitz — of whom 300,000 were Polish Jews. From this latter figure we subtract 100,000, while at the same time accepting his figures for all other countries, including Hungary (at least provisionally), and arrive, therefore, at about a million Jews deported to that largest of the German concentration camps. Of these, 200,000 were registered. According to Piper, half of them survived the camp, while Mattogno and Deana arrive at a higher percentage of survivors. Therefore, there remain some 800,000 Jews who arrived at Auschwitz but were not registered there (at least according to the camp records). According to official historiography, virtually all of these unregistered Jews were gassed in Auschwitz. According to the 1944 Veesenmayer telegrams from Budapest to Berlin, more than half of this 800,000, namely 410,000, arrived at Auschwitz from Hungary, of whom only 28,000 were registered in the camp.

I shall return to the question of the Hungarian Jews in the final part of this paper, but for now I turn to the fate of the non-registered Jews from other countries.

3. The Non-registered Jewish Prisoners from Countries Other than Hungary

It is well known that many wartime German documents speak of the "evacuation" (*Evakuierung*) or "expulsion" (*Abschiebung*) of the Jews. A good example is the August 21, 1942, memorandum by Martin Luther, a high-ranking official (*Unterstaatssekretär*) in the German Foreign Office (and who represented it at the January 1942 Wannsee Conference). Referring to a decision by Hitler two years earlier to remove the Jews from Europe, Luther wrote:²⁰

The principle of the German Jewish Policy after the [National Socialist] assumption of power was to promote Jewish emigration by all means ... The present war gives Germany the opportunity and also the duty to solve the Jewish question in Europe ... The evacuation [*Evakuierung*] of the Jews from Germany began on the basis of the above-mentioned Führer directive [*Führerweisung*]. It was logical to include immediately the Jewish citizens of the countries that had also adopted anti-Jewish measures ... The number of Jews deported [*abgeschoben*] in this way to the East did not suffice to cover the labor needs there.

Historians who contend that "evacuation" and "relocation" are sinister camouflage terms for "extermination," will have some difficulty explaining the remark in Luther's memo that "the number of Jews deported in this way to the East did not suffice to cover the labor needs there."

Even more problematic for Holocaust historians, perhaps, is the deportation of a considerable number of Jews from western European countries to the occupied Soviet territories (notably to the Baltic lands and Belarus). Deportations of German and Czech Jews to Riga (Latvia) and Minsk (Belarus) have been dealt with in detail by Raul Hilberg, who also emphasizes in his three-volume study the economic importance of Jewish prisoners working in those territories. He writes, for example, of "a widespread demand for Jewish workers," and that in Riga German and Latvian Jews worked for the SS, the army, the navy, the air force, the railroad, and in commercial enterprises.²¹

Jews were being deported from Germany to Riga in December 1941. In that same month, according to orthodox historiography, the first so-called "extermination camp" was opened at Chelmno, and in March of 1942, a second "extermination camp" supposedly began operation at Belzec. Given that a camp does not appear overnight, the decision to build Chelmno and Belzec must have been made quite some time earlier. In Hilberg's view, every-

thing points to a decision having been made by Hitler before the end of the Summer of 1941 to annihilate the Jews, that is, at least two months before the deportation of German Jews to Riga and Minsk.²² If so, why then were Jews who were supposedly destined for extermination deported from Germany to far-off Riga and Minsk rather than to the much closer "extermination camps" of Chelmno and Belzec? The argument that they were temporarily spared because they were needed as workers in the occupied Soviet territories simply does not hold up. As Hilberg reports, many of these German Jewish deportees were "cripples, war invalids, and people over 70 years of age"²³ who were utterly unsuited for employment. Such people would "logically" have been sent straight to the "extermination camps" (if such existed).

In October 1942 Switzerland's main Jewish community weekly, the *Israelitisches Wochenblatt für die Schweiz*, reported:²⁴

For some time there has been the tendency to dissolve the ghettos in Poland. That was the case with Lublin, and now Warsaw is to follow. It is not known to what extent this plan has already been carried out. The previous inhabitants of the ghettos are going off farther to the East into the occupied Russian territory. They were partially replaced by Jews from Germany ... An eyewitness, who until recently was in Riga and was able to escape, reports that there are still 32,000 Jews in the Riga ghetto. Since the occupation, thousands of Jews died. The Jews must assemble in the morning for compulsory labor outside the city ... Recently, in Riga, it has been noticed that transports of Jews from Belgium and other western European countries, which, however immediately go on further to unknown destinations.

The official "Holocaust" literature is silent about the transport of Polish Jews to the occupied Soviet territories. The Polish Jews evacuated from the ghettos are supposed to have been gassed in "extermination camps." Nor is there any mention in the official literature of the deportation of Belgian Jews to Riga. According to the *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust*, for example, "by far the greater part of the [Jewish] deportees [from Belgium] perished in Auschwitz; some small groups were also sent to Buchenwald, Ravensbrück and Bergen-Belsen."²⁵ As we have seen, the *Israelitisches Wochenblatt* also mentions in October 1942 transports of Jews from other western European countries to Riga, from where they go to unknown destinations. According to the official historiography, however, there were six extermination camps in October 1942. If so, why would the deported Jews have been transported far

to the east of the six “death centers” to the occupied Soviet territories? Defenders of the orthodox “Holocaust” story, who hold that the Belgian Jews would never have been allowed to reach the occupied Eastern territories, are simply unable to answer such elementary questions.

It is quite obvious that for many Jews from Belgium and other western European countries, Auschwitz served merely as a transit camp. The article from the Swiss Jewish weekly cited above is no isolated case. Two revisionist authors, the Spaniard Enrique Aynat and the Frenchman Jean-Marie Boisdieu,²⁶ have found additional examples. Here are some of them:

- A Slovak Jew, Gisi Fleischman, reported in March of 1943 that in the region of Lublin (Poland), he encountered other Slovak Jews, as well as Belgian Jews.²⁷

- In 1942 Jews from Belgium, Netherlands and France arrived by train in Lvov (Lviv), Ukraine, according to testimony of the eyewitness I. Hertz provided in 1946 by the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee of the USSR.²⁸

- The French Communist underground newspaper *Notre Voix* reported in its April 1944 issue:²⁹

News that will please all the Jews of France was broadcast by Radio Moscow. Who among us has not had a brother, a sister, a spouse or a parent among those deported from Paris? And who will not rejoice when he hears that 8,000 Paris Jews have been rescued by the glorious Red Army! One of them reported on Radio Moscow how he was saved from death together with 8,000 other Paris Jews. They all found themselves in Ukraine at the time of the latest Soviet offensive, and the SS bandits wanted to shoot them before they left the country.

One might object, of course, that such reports are not German wartime documents, and consequently are not conclusive. All the same, they give additional support to the thesis that Auschwitz also functioned as a transit camp. Why should an underground Communist newspaper in France have published in April of 1944 a false news report about Jews being rescued by the Red Army in Ukraine? And why should the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee of the Soviet Union have spread false information



Newly arrived Hungarian Jews at Auschwitz-Birkenau, almost certainly in late May or early June 1944. Here the able-bodied Jews have been separated into two columns by sex, with women and children on the left, and men and boys on the right. Several SS men are visible. In the foreground are a few unemployable Jewish women and children. Birkenau's main rail entry gate can be seen in the background, to the left. This photo, taken by a German photographer from the roof of a rail car, is from *The Auschwitz Album* (1981).

about deportations of French and Belgian Jews to Ukraine? There is no valid reason to believe such reports are false.

In addition, some surviving German wartime documents also refer to the deportation of western European Jews to the occupied Soviet territories. On August 28, 1942, an SS conference on “the Jewish question” was held in Berlin, at which specific problems arising from the deportations were discussed. The official record of the conference included the following on deportations of stateless Jews from France:³⁰

During the course of the discussion, SS Lt. Colonel [*Obersturmbannführer*] Eichmann made known that the current evacuation problem (deportation of the stateless Jews) should be concluded by the end of this calendar year. The end of June 1943 is anticipated as a deadline for the deportation of the remaining foreign Jews ... Eichmann requested the immediate purchase of the barracks that had been ordered by the Commander of the Security Police in the Hague [Netherlands]. That camp is to be built in Russia. The transport of the barracks can be arranged so that three to

five barracks can be taken along with each transport train.

The implication of this document is clear: Only a portion of the Jews who had been deported from France to Auschwitz remained in the camp. The remainder were transported further east, namely to the occupied Eastern territories ("Russia"), where a camp was to be built for them. The barracks for this camp were to be transported by train.

In his *Mémorial de la Déportation des Juifs de France*, Serge Klarsfeld mentions a May 1944 transport of 878 French Jews to Tallinn (Reval), Estonia, as well as to Kaunas, Lithuania. Among the deported, there were also children between 12 and 15, of whom most were definitely too young to work. So why were they sent to the Baltic lands?

This is not the only documentary evidence to show that Jews who were unable to work were not killed in Auschwitz, but instead were taken further to the East. A July 1942 SS memo on Jewish deportations reports:³¹

On July 20, 1942, SS Lt. Colonel Eichmann and SS First Lieutenant [*Obersturmführer*] Nowak of the Reich Security Main Office [RSHA] IV B4 [Jewish affairs section] telephoned. With SS Lt. Colonel Eichmann, the question of the relocation of children was discussed. He decided that as soon as transport into the [Polish] *Generalgouvernement* is once again possible, transports of children would roll. SS First Lieutenant Nowak assured that by late August or early September approximately six transports would be possible into the *Generalgouvernement*. They would contain all types of Jews (including those unable to work and the elderly).

This memorandum refers to the transport of Jewish children as well as unemployable and elderly Jews into the *Generalgouvernement*. Auschwitz was not in the *Generalgouvernement*, but rather in a portion of south-western Poland that had been annexed to Germany in 1939. Unemployable and elderly Jews were not gassed in Auschwitz, but rather were sent further eastward, undoubtedly to be billeted there in a ghetto. The objection that they were perhaps murdered in an eastern extermination camp would be preposterous because there is no reason to divert such people from the "gas chambers" of Auschwitz in order to murder them in the "gas chambers" of Treblinka.

In 1945, I am convinced, the victorious Allies undertook measures to cull out German documents that were clearly at odds with Allied extermination claims, which is why documents such as those cited here are available only in sparse numbers. In all

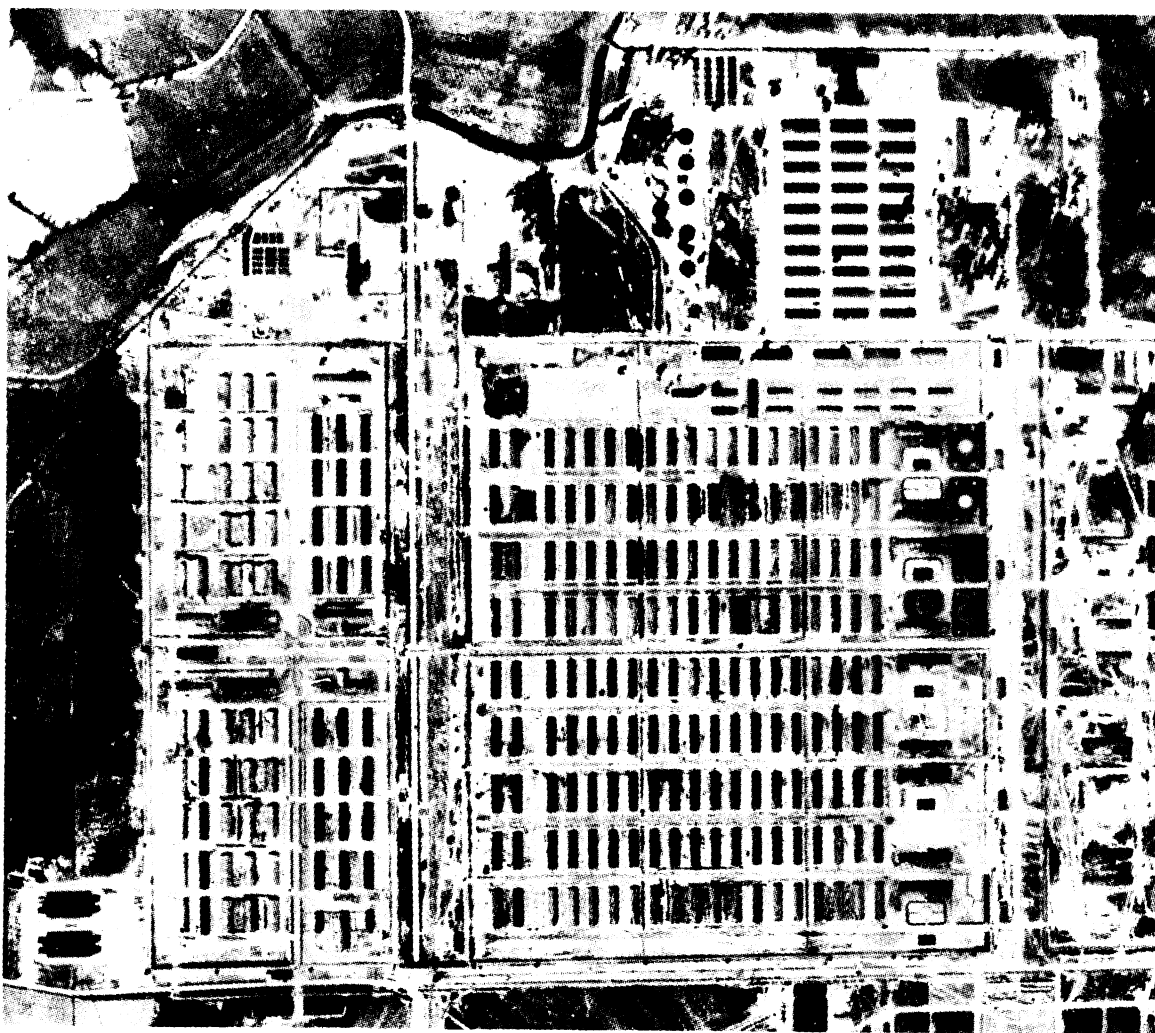
probability, this is the reason why almost no documents are available concerning the alleged extermination camps of Treblinka, Sobibor and Belzec. Almost certainly these three "Operation Reinhard" camps in the German-occupied *Generalgouvernement* territory were transit camps through which Jewish deportees — especially Polish Jews, but also a certain number of western European Jews — went on into the occupied Eastern territories.

According to official "Holocaust" historiography, Treblinka, Sobibor and Belzec functioned purely as extermination centers, in which all arriving Jews were immediately put to death (except for a handful of "working Jews" [*Arbeitsjuden*] who were temporarily spared). But there is no doubt that Treblinka, for example, functioned as a transit camp. This is corroborated by various eyewitness reports. For example, a Polish Jew named Samuel Zylbersztain reported some time after the end of the war that in 1943 he, together with some 500 other Jews, was transferred from Treblinka to Majdanek (Lublin).³² But why were these 500 Jews deported to Majdanek? Certainly not to be gassed there. After all, he also survived this second "extermination camp." Indeed, he later survived eight additional (regular) concentration camps. He is yet another living witness that the Germans did not exterminate the Jews.

In an interesting book published in Germany in 1990, *Die zweite babylonische Gefangenschaft* ("The Second Babylonian Captivity"), Steffen Werner provides evidence for German wartime deportations of Jews from various countries to Belarus (Belorussia).³³

Finally, I want to raise the question of the fate of the Jews who were deported to the occupied Soviet territories. Undoubtedly the mortality was very high due to the general wartime deprivations, especially given that many of the deportees were old and physically unable to work. It seems possible to me that many of the surviving Polish Jews opted to stay in the Soviet Union at the end of the war because Poland had been devastated during the war and because anti-Semitic feelings were rampant there. On the other hand, I think it unlikely that many surviving Jews from western European countries would have voluntarily remained in the Soviet Union.

Werner and Boisdefeu speculate that those western European Jews deported to the occupied Soviet territories who survived the war were probably rounded up by the Soviets and deported to Siberian camps. At that time Stalin and the Soviet regime already supported the myth of the annihilation of the Jews in gas chambers, and a massive return of Jews to western Europe from the USSR would have discredited that story. However, this is only specula-



The Birkenau camp, from an enlarged portion of an Allied aerial reconnaissance photograph taken on May 31, 1944. On this day, according to the official *Kalendarium* (or *Auschwitz Chronicle*), thousands of newly arriving Hungarian Jews were killed here in gas chambers, supposedly located in crematory buildings (*Kremas*) II and III, visible at the upper left. However, as Jürgen Graf and others have pointed out, no trace of such mass killings can be found in this or any of the other aerial reconnaissance photos, fortuitously taken during what was supposedly the high point of alleged mass killings in the camp.

tion, and Werner and Boisdefeu are unable to prove this thesis. Such unanswered questions can presumably be clarified only through documents held in archives in Russia and in other countries of the former Soviet Union. There are reasons to hope that a future nationalist government in Russia will one day make such documents public. I do not need to spell out the obvious dramatic and politically important consequences of such a step.

4. The Non-Registered Hungarian Jews

It is generally accepted that Hungarian Jewry suffered from three big deportation waves in 1944.

- Between May 15 and July 9, mass deportations from the provinces were carried out. As already mentioned, Germany's special ambassador in

Budapest, Edmund Veesenmayer, reported in telegrams to Berlin that altogether 437,000 Jews were deported to the Reich. This was about half of Hungary's Jewish population at the time. (In 1944 the Hungarian state was geographically far larger than it is today, because in 1939 and 1940 it had annexed portions of Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Romania, which it lost again in 1945.) Conscious of the worsening military situation, and responding to protests from Allied and neutral governments, the Hungarian head of state, Miklos Horthy, ordered the deportations stopped on July 9, 1944. As a result, the Jews in the capital of Budapest, who were next slated for deportation, were spared.

- In the second half of June, 20,000 Hungarian Jews were deported to the Strasshof camp, near

Vienna. Most of them survived the war.³⁴

- After the downfall of the Horthy government in October 1944, and the assumption of power by Ferenc Szalasi and his “fascist” Arrow Cross movement, thousands of Budapest Jews were force-marched to the border of the Reich to construct ramparts against Soviet tanks. A considerable number of them must have perished, but because these deaths are not so directly related to “the Holocaust,” I shall not deal further with that here. I will confine myself to dealing with the first and most massive deportation wave.

According to the original version of the “Holocaust” story, all of the Hungarian Jews deported between May and July 1944 were sent to Auschwitz and gassed upon arrival, except some 28,000 Jews who were registered there. In a scholarly article published in 1983, French-Jewish historian Georges Wellers calculated that 409,640 Hungarian Jews were killed at Auschwitz-Birkenau.³⁵ In fact, Wellers’ figure was a deliberate deception. Already in 1964, Polish historian Danuta Czech revealed, in the first edition of her Auschwitz *Kalendarium*, the existence of the so-called transit camp (*Durchgangslager*) in Auschwitz-Birkenau.³⁶ Under the date of July 14, 1944, she wrote:

The unregistered Jews (the so-called ‘transit Jews’) neither received camp numbers, nor were they tattooed with numbers. They were temporarily billeted in the camp BIIC, the evacuated gypsy camp BIIE or a camp called ‘Mexico’ by the prisoners. This latter one was the unfinished third sector of the camp that on the plans was designated as BIII (*Bauabschnitt III*). This is where the women were billeted.

Under the date of August 22, 1944, Danuta Czech’s *Kalendarium* reports that on that day there were 30,000 unregistered Hungarian Jews in the Birkenau “transit camp.”³⁷ All this is irrefutable evidence that many Birkenau Jews were neither registered nor gassed, but instead were simply transferred elsewhere.

As to the number of victims among the Hungarian Jews deported to Auschwitz, the “orthodox” historians provide contradictory figures:

- According to the *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust*, “most of the Hungarian Jews were gassed in Birkenau shortly after their arrival.” Prudently, however, no figure of these “gassed” Jews is given.³⁸

- In his three-volume study, Raul Hilberg similarly contends that “the great majority” of the deportees from Hungary were “gassed” upon arrival at Auschwitz.³⁹ Further on in this same work, however, he contradicts himself, putting the total losses of Hungarian Jewry at “over 180,000,”⁴⁰ which implies that a clear majority of the deportees must

have survived. But where and how? Hilberg mentions “several thousands” who were transferred elsewhere,⁴¹ but provides no information about the fate of the other Hungarian Jews who survived.

- Jean-Claude Pressac fixes (arbitrarily, it seems) the number of Hungarian Jews who died in Auschwitz at 292,000.⁴²

All these figures are fundamentally impossible because cremating such masses of corpses in the purported eight-week time period was technically not feasible. Not even in the Third Reich were the laws of nature suspended. During the period of the deportation of Hungarian Jews to Birkenau, May-July 1944, four crematory facilities with a total of 46 muffle were in operation there. As Carlo Mattogno has established, the theoretical maximum capacity of the Birkenau crematories was 1,248 corpses per day.⁴³ For the entire 55-day period when Hungarian Jews were arriving at the camp (May 15 through July 9, 1944), the maximum theoretical cremation capacity would therefore have been about 68,640 bodies. In reality, even this figure is excessive. Thanks to the many wartime German documents on crematories and cremation that survived the war, we know that the crematory ovens often broke down and had to be repaired. Finally one must take into account that in addition to the hypothetical number of murdered Hungarian Jews, the corpses of other (non-Hungarian) prisoners who died during this same period had to be cremated as well. Even if we accept Hilberg’s relatively low figure of 180,000 Hungarian Jews who died in Auschwitz-Birkenau, this is still about 111,000 higher than the number of corpses that could have been cremated during this period.

Some “Holocaust” writers, apparently struck by such technical considerations, have greatly exaggerated Birkenau’s crematory capacities. Citing eyewitness testimonies, such as those of Filip Müller,⁴⁴ they claim that the corpses of many of the alleged gassing victims were incinerated in open-air cremation pits (in the courtyard of crematory [*Krema*] V, and near crematories II and III, and “Bunker 2”). Thanks to a fortunate coincidence, Birkenau was twice photographed from the air by Allied reconnaissance aircraft on May 31, 1944,⁴⁵ a day when 15,000 Hungarian Jews arrived at the camp. Moreover, we are authoritatively told, some 184,000 Jews had arrived there from Hungary during the previous 14 days — an average daily total of some 13,000. The aerial reconnaissance photographs show not the slightest trace of the alleged extermination action: No trace of pits, no lines of people in front of the crematories, no evidence of open-air burning in the areas mentioned by witnesses.

The German documents of this period clearly reveal the reasons for the mass deportation of Hun-

garian Jews to the Reich: Germany urgently needed labor for armaments and other war-related enterprises. On May 9, 1944, Heinrich Himmler reported in a letter to the chief of the SS *Hauptamt* as well as the head of the SS central economic administration office (WVHA) that 10,000 soldiers were to be assigned to guard the workers engaged in the *Jäger* (pursuit plane) construction program, because otherwise “the placing, the guarding and the efficient employment of approximately 200,000 Jews” was impossible.⁴⁶ A report two days later further explained:⁴⁷

The Führer has ordered that for the guarding of the 200,000 Jews, the *Reichsführer* SS [Himmler] will dispatch 10,000 Waffen SS soldiers, with their officers and petty officers, who shall be detailed to the concentration camps of the Reich in order to employ them in the large constructions of the Organization Todt and other militarily important duties.

With regard to these 200,000 Jews, Himmler must have thinking of the Hungarian deportation action, which was about to begin, because at that time no other large-scale deportations of Jews was either underway or imminent.

On August 15, 1944, the Concentration Camp department of the SS central WVHA office reported that there were 524,286 inmates, and that an additional 612,000 prisoners were in the process of being added to the camp system. Of this latter group, 90,000 were Jews who were being brought in as part of the “Hungarian program (Jewish action).”⁴⁸

In my opinion, these documents not only discredit the familiar claims of mass extermination in Birkenau — which was technically impossible anyhow — they also refute the thesis proposed by Arthur Butz in *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* that the 1944 Veesenmayer telegrams are, at least for the most part, forgeries.⁴⁹ In support of his thesis, he presents several points, perhaps the most important of which is the *Report of the International Committee of the Red Cross on its Activities During the Second World War*.⁵⁰ This detailed 1948 document makes no mention at all of mass deportations of Jews from Hungary in the spring and summer of 1944, and, rather to the contrary, reports that it was only in October 1944 that “the full tide of the great tribulations of the Hungarian Jews” began. Given that the ICRC delegates in Budapest were at that time housed in the same building as the Hungarian Jewish Council, it is unthinkable that the International Red Cross representatives could have failed to know of any large-scale measures being taken against Hungary’s Jews.

I readily admit that I am at a loss to explain this mysterious ICRC report. But even among the Red



Jürgen Graf studies a text during a break at the 13th IHR Conference.

Cross delegates there must have been incompetent persons, and it is to such a person that this report’s defects should most probably be attributed.

The German wartime documents clearly suggest that hundreds of thousands of Hungarian Jews were deported, and that, therefore, the Veesenmayer telegram figure is not an exaggeration. Let’s recall the figures: In May 1944, Himmler, referring to Hitler, spoke of 200,000 Jews who were to be employed in war-related work. On August 15, the ongoing integration of 90,000 Hungarian Jews into the camp system was reported, and a week later, 30,000 Jews from Hungary are reported to still be in the Birkenau “transit camp.”

Given that a high percentage of the deported Hungarian Jews were either unemployable or only marginally employable, these figures suggest that altogether several hundred thousand Hungarian Jews were deported. As already mentioned, the Veesenmayer telegrams put the figure at 437,000. A forgery meant to discredit the Germans and/or Hungarians would have made sense only if the actual number had been much lower. If, for example, 350,000 Hungarian Jews had been deported, the difference would not have been important enough to justify such a sophisticated and elaborate forgery.

Another strong argument for the validity of the Veesenmayer telegram figure is that it is almost exactly corroborated by the wartime transportation lists provided by Laszlo Ferenczy, the chief of the Hungarian police. Ferenczy put the total number of Hungarian Jewish deportees at 435,000. These Ferenczy documents were submitted as evidence in the Eichmann trial in 1961 in Jerusalem.⁵¹ When Carlo Mattogno and I visited the Hungarian National Archives in March 1999, we were told that the

transportation lists had disappeared from the cellar of some unidentified ministry. In a private conversation, one of Hungary's leading "Holocaust" experts confirmed this information, and confided to us that the "disappearance" of these documents was due to "political intrigue."

While one might suspect that these documents were hidden or destroyed because they show figures of deportees that are much lower than those that have been generally accepted. Although this possibility cannot be entirely excluded, it seems to me much more likely that the Ferenczy lists are embarrassing for the official historiography because they indicate the destination of the deportees. If the "missing" Ferenczy transport lists show that even a substantial minority of the deportees was not destined for Auschwitz, this would imply, of course, that the large-scale 1944 deportation of Hungarian Jews was not organized as part of any extermination program. (According to the official "Holocaust" story, Auschwitz was the only operational extermination camp between May and July 1944.)⁵²

Important in this regard are the 1944 transport lists stored in the archive of the former Stutthof concentration camp. These records show that between June 29 and October 28, 1944, a total of 48,619 predominantly female Jewish prisoners arrived at the Stutthof camp (located east of Danzig/ Gdansk in present-day northern Poland). About half of these deportees — 25,043 — had arrived from two Baltic camps: Kaunas (Lithuania) and Riga (Latvia). These prisoners had been evacuated in the face the advancing Red Army. Almost as many — 23,566 — had arrived from Auschwitz.⁵³ For three of the large transports from Auschwitz (August 14, 16 and 28, 1944) we have more or less complete lists of the deportees, with names and nationalities. Over 99 percent of the deportees in the first two of these three transports were Jewish females from Hungary. How many of them had been registered in Auschwitz, and how many had been held in the Birkenau "transit camp" without being registered, remain unknown.

Remarkably, some of the Jewish women transferred to Stutthof from Kaunas and Riga were of Hungarian nationality. For example, more than 90 percent of the 793 Jewish women who made up the August 4 transport from Kaunas were originally from Hungary. A certain number of the 9,537 who arrived at Stutthof in the transports from Riga of August 9 and October 1 were likewise Hungarian Jewish women. It is quite possible that these Jewish females had first been sent to the Baltic region by way of Auschwitz, but it's equally possible that they were sent to Lithuania and Latvia directly from Hungary. In the Baltic lands they were doubtless employed in work that was important for the war

economy, possibly for the Todt Organization, until the advance of the Red Army forced the Germans to evacuate them to Stutthof. There such Jewish females were employed in the numerous sub-camps, predominantly in industrial work, but some also in agriculture.⁵⁴

Piece by piece, such document fragments provide an overall view of the important May-July 1944 period. Although many gaps still remain, a coherent and logical picture is emerging. Approximately 437,000 Jews were deported from Hungary. The was done, first of all, because at that time Germany desperately needed labor. (Virtually every able-bodied German man had been called to military service.) Furthermore, security considerations almost certainly played a role. At that time, an invasion of Hungary by the Red Army had become a real possibility, and Hungary's large Jewish population naturally (and understandably) would have sided with the Soviets. Auschwitz was the first destination for most, and perhaps nearly all, of the Jews deported from Hungary. Some 28,000 of these Jewish deportees were registered in Auschwitz, but the rest either remained in the Birkenau "transit camp" for some time or were soon distributed to various labor camps or labor units. In March 1999 in Budapest, Carlo Mattogno and I met in person with one of these wartime deportees. He told us that he had spent only a few days in Auschwitz before being sent to the Silesian labor camp of Gross-Rosen.

In the 1994 German edition of his second book, Jean-Claude Pressac writes:⁵⁵ "By the end of the war, according to the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Hungarian Jewish males and females were found in 386 concentration and labor camps, as well as in labor units, where they had survived a real martyrdom. They were seen everywhere, from a few hundred in the labor units to tens of thousands in the 'big' camps."

We see no reason to doubt the veracity of this statement. One of the most crucial unsolved problems is the question of where the unemployable Hungarian Jews were billeted. Birkenau simply could not accommodate all of them. We are not aware of documents about a camp situated outside Auschwitz where these people were housed. If such documents existed, they were most likely destroyed or hidden by the victors, as they were radically incompatible with the legend of the end of Hungarian Jews in Birkenau's gas chambers.

The fact that among the deported Hungarian Jews there was a certain number of children is due, most probably, to the German policy of not separating families. (Of course, it would have been better for these children if they had not been deported at all, but that's another matter.) The Jewish children were by no means murdered as "useless eaters," as

the official "Holocaust" history contends. Proof of this are the documents Mattogno and I found during our third research visit to Russian archives. I am referring in particular to a 217-page report written in early 1945, shortly after the Soviet liberation of Auschwitz. It was written, in German, under the auspices of the Soviets by four former camp inmates, the Jewish physicians Lebovits, Weil, Reich and Bloch. It contains more than a thousand names of Auschwitz prisoners, nearly all of them Jews, with information about each one's age and date of imprisonment. These prisoners had been in the Auschwitz hospital on January 27, 1945, when the Red Army took control of the camp. Among those patients are 97 boys and 83 girls in ages ranging from a few months to 15 years.⁵⁶ One was a three-year-old Hungarian Jewish boy, J. J. Malek, and another was an eleven-year-old Hungarian Jewish girl, R. M. Salomon.⁵⁷ The former had arrived at Auschwitz in May 1944, the latter in July of the same year. According to the official "Holocaust" story, these two Jewish children would never have lived to see the year 1945; they would have been gassed immediately upon arrival.

Under the present circumstances, it is of course not possible to determine the number of victims among the deported Hungarian Jews, but it was probably on the order of several tens of thousands. It is a well-known fact that countless prisoners succumbed to diseases in the chaotic final months of the war. At any rate, Jews were not exactly an endangered species in postwar Hungary. They almost completely dominated the Communist Party and the dreaded secret police during the first years of the brutal Soviet-imposed regime headed by the Jew Matyas Rakosi.⁵⁸ For a time in the early 1950s, there was only one non-Jew in the Central Committee of the ruling Hungarian Communist Party. (According to a popular joke of the time, he had been given this position to ensure that someone in the Central Committee would be able to sign death sentences on the Sabbath.)

5. Conclusion

With their historical and technical arguments, the revisionists have demolished the "Holocaust" extermination and gas chamber legends. But their task is far from complete. Thus far, they have only partly succeeded in demonstrating what really did happen to Europe's Jews during the Second World War.

Many revisionists regard Walter Sanning's 1993 book, *The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry*,⁵⁹ as the definitive answer to this question. And while Sanning has indeed produced an admirable work that no serious researcher can afford to ignore, what I said about Butz's *The Hoax of the Twentieth Cen-*

tury may equally apply to Sanning's demographic study: Even an outstanding work can contain errors. Sanning's book suffers from two flaws: The author does not take into account the "Korherr Report,"⁶⁰ the most important German wartime document about Europe's Jewish population, and he puts too much faith in Soviet sources. For example, he relies heavily on David Bergelson, head of the wartime Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee, who said that more than 80 percent of the Soviet Jews were evacuated prior to the arrival of the advancing German forces, and therefore never came under German control. Sanning does not consider the possibility that Bergelson exaggerated the number of evacuated Soviet Jews to enhance the image of the Soviet regime as the "Savior of the Jews from Fascism." The declarations of a Soviet propagandist should be regarded with skepticism.

Decisive progress in the investigation of the fate of Europe's Jews during the Second World War, including reliable estimates of Jewish wartime losses, can be expected only after historians gain access to previously unknown documents from archives in eastern Europe and the former USSR. When I say "historians" I naturally mean the revisionists, because our opponents will not tackle this task.

Notes

1. See: Manfred Köhler, "Der Wert von Aussagen und Geständnissen zum Holocaust" in Ernst Gauss (Germar Rudolf), ed., *Grundlagen zur Zeitgeschichte* (Tübingen: Grabert, 1994); Jürgen Graf, *Auschwitz: Tätergeständnisse und Augenzeugen des Holocaust* (Würenlos/Switzerland: Neue Visionen, 1994).
2. Panstwowe Muzeum w Oswiecimiu (Auschwitz State Museum archives), Syg. DAuI-III-5/1, 5/2, 5/3, 5/4.
3. Fred A. Leuchter, Jr., [*The Leuchter Report*] *An Engineering Report on the Alleged Execution Gas Chambers at Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek* (Toronto: Samisdat, 1988); Germar Rudolf, Germar (R. Kammerer + Armin Solms, eds.) *Das Rudolf Gutachten: Gutachten über die Bildung und Nachweisbarkeit von Cyanidverbindungen in den "Gaskammern" von Auschwitz* (London: Cromwell Press, 1993); Walter Lüftl, "The Lüftl Report," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1992-93, pp. 391-420.
See also: Wolfgang Schuster, "Technische Unmöglichkeiten bei Pressac," *Deutschland in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Tübingen), June 1991, pp. 9-13; M. Weber, "Fred Leuchter: Courageous Defender of Historical Truth," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1992-93, pp. 421-428; Note also the testimony of Austrian engineer Wolfgang Fröhlich in the trial in Switzerland of Jürgen Graf and Gerhard Förster, in "Swiss Court Punishes Two Revisionists," *The Journal of Historical Review*, July-August 1998, pp. 2-4.
4. Jean-Claude Pressac, *Auschwitz: Technique and*

Operation of the Gas Chambers (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1989); Jean-Claude Pressac, *Les crématoires d'Auschwitz: La machinerie du meurtre de masse* (Paris: CNRS, 1993).

5. Robert Faurisson, "Antwort an Jean-Claude Pressac," and, Carlo Mattogno, "Auschwitz: Das Ende einer Legende," both in *Auschwitz: Nackte Fakten: Eine Erwiderung an Jean-Claude Pressac* (Berchem, Belgium: VHO, 1996). Mattogno's study has been published in English: *Auschwitz: The End of a Legend* (IHR, 1994).

Faurisson's detailed critique of Pressac is also published in French in *Revue d'Histoire Revisionniste*, No. 3, Nov.-Dec. 1990-Jan. 1991, pp. 65-154, and in English in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1991, pp. 25-66 (Part I), and Summer 1991, pp. 133-175 (Part II).

Other reviews and analyses of Pressac's 1989 book that have appeared in *The Journal of Historical Review* include: M. Weber, Summer 1990, pp. 231-237; C. Mattogno, Winter 1990-91, pp. 461-485; Arthur Butz, "Some Thoughts on Pressac's Opus," May-June 1993, pp. 23-37; Serge Thion, "A French Scholar Responds to a Widely-Acclaimed Anti-Revisionist Work," July-August 1994, pp. 28 ff.

See also: R. Faurisson, "An Orthodox Historian Finally Acknowledges: There Is No Evidence for Nazi Gas Chambers," July-August 1998 *Journal*, pp. 24-28; M. Weber, "Tell-Tale Documents and Photos from Auschwitz," Spring 1991 *Journal*, pp. 65-154; "The Jewish World' Against Pressac," Jan.-Feb. 1996 *Journal*, p. 41.

6. Nuremberg document USSR-008. International Military Tribunal (IMT), Nuremberg "blue series," Vol. 39, pp. 241, 261; IMT, vol. 7, p. 589.
7. Franciszek Piper, *Die Zahl der Opfer von Auschwitz* (Verlag Staatliches Museum in Oswiecim, 1993). See also F. Piper, "The Number of Victims," in Y. Gutman and M. Berenbaum, eds., *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press [with the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC], 1994), pp. 61-76.
8. Hilberg claims that some 1.25 million people (one million Jews and 250,000 non-Jews) died in Auschwitz, but he gives no sources for his estimates. R. Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (New York: Holmes & Meier ["Revised and definitive edition," 3 vols.], 1985), pp. 894, 1219. (German edition: R. Hilberg, *Die Vernichtung der europäischen Juden* [Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1997], pp. 955, 956.)
9. F. Piper, *Die Zahl der Opfer von Auschwitz* (cited above), pp. 200-202; F. Piper, "The Number of Victims," in Y. Gutman and M. Berenbaum, eds., *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp* (cited above), p. 71.
10. J.-C. Pressac, *Die Krematorien von Auschwitz* (Munich/Zurich: Piper, 1994), p. 202. In the original French version, *Les crematoires d'Auschwitz* (CNRS, Paris 1993, p. 148), Pressac had mentioned a higher

figure (775,000 to 800,000). See the remark by R. Faurisson in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Jan.-Feb. 1995, p. 24.

11. Y. Gutman and M. Berenbaum, eds., *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp* (cited above), pp. 183-245; R. Faurisson, "Zur englischen Ausgabe von Pressacs neuestem Buch," in *Auschwitz: Nackte Fakten* (cited above), p. 163.
12. Carlo Mattogno and Franco Deana, "Die Krematoriumsöfen von Auschwitz und Birkenau," in E. Gauss (G. Rudolf), ed., *Grundlagen zur Zeitgeschichte* (cited above), p. 307.
13. This study is scheduled to appear in the summer of 2000.
14. Serge Klarsfeld, *Le Mémorial de la Déportation des Juifs de France* (Paris: 1978), without page numbering.
15. Nuremberg documents NG-5573, NG-5615, NG-5616. Cited in Arthur Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (IHR, 1997), pp. 155-156, and in, R. Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (cited above), p. 849.
16. A. Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (cited above), pp. 152-158, 169 and 234, esp. pp. 158-160.
17. Basel: Gideon Burg Verlag, 1993.
18. F. Piper in *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp* (cited above), pp. 68, 74 (n. 47).
Two editions of the *Kalendarium*: Danuta Czech, comp., *Auschwitz Chronicle: 1939-1945* (London/New York: I.B. Tauris, 1990); D. Czech, comp., *Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Konzentrationslager Auschwitz-Birkenau 1939-1945* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt [2nd ed.], 1989).
19. Detailed information on this will be provided by Carlo Mattogno in his forthcoming work about mortality in Auschwitz.
20. Nuremberg document NG-2586-J. Published, in German and English, in John Mendelsohn, ed., *The Holocaust: Selected Documents in Eighteen Volumes* (New York: Garland, 1982), vol. 11, pp. 148-186. English translation also published in Nuremberg Military Tribunals (NMT) "green series," Vol. 13, pp. 243-249, and in A. Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (cited above), pp. 205-210.
21. Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (cited above, 1985 ed.), pp. 359-360. (German edition: R. Hilberg, *Die Vernichtung der europäischen Juden* [cited above], p. 377.)
22. R. Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (cited above, 1985 ed.), pp. 402, 406. (German edition: R. Hilberg, *Die Vernichtung der europäischen Juden* [cited above], pp. 420-421.)
23. R. Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (cited above, 1985 ed.), p. 359. (German edition : R. Hilberg, *Die Vernichtung der europäischen Juden* [cited above], p. 377.)
24. *Israelitisches Wochenblatt der Schweiz*, Oct. 16, 1942, No. 42, pp. 10-11. (Cited in M. Weber, "Belgium and its Jews During the War," *The Journal of Historical*

Review, March-April 1999, pp. 2 and 5, n. 11.)

25. Israel Gutman, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust* (New York: Macmillan, 1990), vol. 1, pp. 162-163. (German edition: E. Jäckel, P. Longerich, J. Schoeps, *Enzyklopädie des Holocaust* [Berlin: Argon, 1993], p. 170.)
26. Enrique Aynat, *Estudios sobre el "Holocausto": La deportación de judíos de Francia y Bélgica en 1942* (Valencia: Gráficas Hurtado, 1994); Jean-Marie Boisdefeu, *La Controverse sur l'Extermination des Juifs par les Allemands*, Tome 2: Réalités de la "Solution finale," (Berchem, Belgium: Vrij Historisch Onderzoek, 1996).
27. Enrique Aynat, *Estudios sobre el "Holocausto"* (cited above), p. 58. Source cited: Michael Dov Weissmandel, *Min Hametzar*. (On this, see also: Lucy S. Dawidowicz, *A Holocaust Reader* [New York: Behrman, 1976], pp. 318, 391.)
28. The Jewish Black Book Comm., *The Black Book: The Nazi Crime Against the Jewish People* (New York: 1946), pp. 198, 531 (n. 228). Cited in: E. Aynat, *Estudios sobre el "Holocausto"* (cited above), p. 58.
29. Facsimile reproduction in: J.-M. Boisdefeu, *La Controverse sur l'extermination des juifs par les Allemands* (cited above), Tome II, p. 86.
30. Facsimile in: J.-M. Boisdefeu, *La Controverse sur l'extermination des juifs par les Allemands* (cited above), Tome II, pp. 78-80.
This report is Nuremberg document NG-1965 (RF-1228), and document XXVI-59 of the Centre de Documentation juive contemporaine (Paris). It is also published in: Peter Longerich, ed., *Die Ermordung der europäischen Juden: Eine umfassende Dokumentation des Holocaust, 1941-1945* (Munich and Zurich: Piper, 1990), pp. 241-243.
31. Vermerk. Paris, 21.7.1942. Betr.: Judenabschub. Facsimile in E. Aynat, *Estudios sobre el "Holocausto"* (cited above), p. 86. This memo is document DLXVI-7 or XXVI-46 of the Centre de Documentation juive contemporaine (Paris). It is apparently also Nuremberg document RF-1233. It is published in: P. Longerich, ed., *Die Ermordung der europäischen Juden* (cited above), p. 246.
32. Samuel Zylbersztain, "Pamiętnik Wieków dziesięciu obozów," in: *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego* (Warsaw), No. 68, 1968. On Treblinka's role as a transit camp, see also: M. Weber and A. Allen, "Treblinka," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1992, pp. 139-140.
33. Steffen Werner, *Die zweite babylonische Gefangenschaft: Das Schicksal der Juden im europäischen Osten* (Pfullingen: Selbstverlag, 1990). For example, Werner cites (on page 89) the following, from a book based on memoirs of Soviet partisans and German "anti-fascists" that was published in Communist East Berlin in 1976: "In the fraternal family of the Belorussian [Belarus] partisans, Czechs and Slovaks, French and Yugoslavs, Greeks and Dutch, Spaniards and Austrians, Germans and members of other

nations fought courageously against fascism." (Source cited: *In den Wäldern Belorusslands* (Berlin [East]: 1976), p. 9.) How could anti-fascists from all these countries have come to Belarus if they were not deported there?

Werner contends that millions of Jews were deported to Belarus (White Russia) during the war years, a view that I regard as impossible. In spite of some obvious defects, Werner's book is a good starting point for further research.

34. *Enzyklopädie des Holocaust* (cited above), p. 1467.
35. G. Wellers, "Essai de détermination du nombre des juifs morts au camp d'Auschwitz," in *Le Monde Juif*, Oct.-Dec. 1983, p. 153.
For a critical look at Wellers' essay, see F. Piper, "The Number of Victims," in *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp* (cited above), pp. 67 ff.
36. D. Czech, "Kalendarium...", *Hefte von Auschwitz* (Wydawnictwo Panstwowego Muzeum w Oswiecimiu), No.8, 1964.

The 1990 English-language edition of the *Kalendarium* reports:

"In mid-May 1944, when the mass transports of Hungarian Jews start arriving in Auschwitz, the young, healthy, and strong Jews of both genders are dispersed for a time as so-called depot prisoners to various barracks at Birkenau, but are not recorded in the camp registers. They are accommodated in Camp B-IIIc [sic], where young, able-bodied female Jews are kept; in the recently vacated Gypsy Family Camp B-IIe, where young, able-bodied male and female Jewish prisoners are accommodated who eventually are taken to the other camps; in Camp B-IIb, which is empty since the liquidation of the Theresienstadt Family Camp; and finally, in Section B-III, still under construction, known as 'Mexico' to the prisoners and also intended for female Jews. The Jews temporarily located in Birkenau receive no I.D. numbers and are not tattooed. Selections are conducted at specific intervals: When the camp administration has a need for laborers, it sends some prisoners from these camps to specific auxiliary camps or to the labor squads. Then they are registered and given numbers. Under the direction of the WVHA, others are transferred to armaments plants in the interior of the Reich."

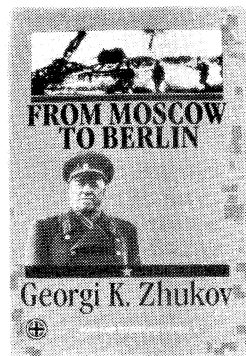
There is also this note for a July 1944 entry: "The male and female Hungarian Jews who were not registered but were kept as so-called depot prisoners or transit Jews in Camps B-IIc, B-IIe, and Section B-III — called "Mexico" — are not included in the occupancy level of Auschwitz II."

(D. Czech, comp., *Auschwitz Chronicle: 1939-1945* [London/New York: I.B. Tauris, 1990], pp. 563-564, 664.)

37. D. Czech, comp., *Auschwitz Chronicle* (cited above), p. 695.
38. "Hungary," *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust*, p. 702. (German edition: *Enzyklopädie des Holocaust*, p. 1467.)
39. R. Hilberg, *Die Vernichtung der europäischen Juden* (cited above), p. 1000.
40. R. Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews*

- (cited above, 1985 ed.), pp. 1220. (German edition: R. Hilberg, *Die Vernichtung der europäischen Juden* [cited above], p. 1300.)
41. R. Hilberg, *Die Vernichtung der europäischen Juden* (cited above), p. 999.
 42. J.-C. Pressac, *Les crématoires d'Auschwitz* (cited above, 1993), pp. 147, 148. In the 1994 German edition of this work (*Die Krematorien von Auschwitz* [cited above], p. 201), Pressac contends that 160,000 to 240,000 Hungarian Jews died in Auschwitz.
 43. C. Mattogno, *Auschwitz: The End of a Legend* (IHR, 1994), pp. 23-26; C. Mattogno, "Auschwitz: Das Ende einer Legende," in *Auschwitz: Nackte Fakten* (cited above), p. 115.
 44. Filip Müller, *Eyewitness Auschwitz: Three Years in the Gas Chambers* (New York: Stein & Day, 1984), pp. 133-141 (German edition: Filip Müller, *Sonderbehandlung* [Frankfurt am Main: Steinhausen, 1979], p. 207 ff.)
 45. Records of the Defense Intelligence Agency (RG 373), mission 60/RPS/462 60 SQ, Can 1508. Exposure 3055, 3056. Published in John Ball, *Air photo Evidence* (Delta, B.C., Canada: Ball Resource, 1992), and in, John Ball, *The Ball Report* (Toronto: Samisdat, 1993), pp. 5, 16. Note also: Martin Gilbert, *Auschwitz and the Allies* (1981), p. 216. Rail transports of Hungarian Jews arrived at Birkenau on May 31, 1944, according to the official *Kalendarium*. See: D. Czech, comp., *Auschwitz Chronicle* (cited above), p. 637.
 46. Nuremberg document NO-5689. Note also: R. Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (cited above, 1985 ed.), pp. 934-935.
 47. Nuremberg document NO-5689.
 48. Nuremberg document PS-1166, published in IMT "blue series," vol. 27, pp. 46-49. This is also Nuremberg document NO-1990, published in the NMT "green series," vol. 5, pp. 388-89.
 49. A. Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (cited above), pp. 152-158, 169 and 234, esp. pp. 158-160.
 50. *Report of the International Committee of the Red Cross on its Activities During the Second World War* (Geneva: ICRC, 1948; 3 vols.), vol. 1, pp. 641-657, esp. pp. 647-651. This portion is also published in A. Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (1997), pp. 133-142, esp. pp. 138-139.
 51. State of Israel Ministry of Justice, *The Trial of Adolf Eichmann*, Volume VI (Jerusalem: 1994), Acts 1159, 1160, 1161 & 1163-1167.
 52. According to standard "Holocaust" literature, Chelmno was reactivated in June and July 1944 for a period of 21 days, but nobody claims that Hungarian Jews were gassed there. The alleged gassings at Majdanek are said to have been stopped in November 1943.
 53. Stutthof Archiwum Muzeum, I-IIB-8; Danuta Drywa, Ruch transportow miedzy KL Stutthof a innymi obozami, in: *Zeszyty Sztutowo*, No. 9, 1990; J. Graf and C. Mattogno, *Das Konzentrationslager Stutthof* (Hastings, England: Castle Hill, 1999), pp. 28-29.
 - On Stutthof in general, see also: Mark Weber, "Stutthof," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Sept.-Oct. 1997 (Vol. 16, No. 5), pp. 2-6.
 54. J. Graf and C. Mattogno, *Das Konzentrationslager Stutthof* (cited above), pp. 107-110.
 55. J.-C. Pressac, *Die Krematorien von Auschwitz* (cited above), pp. 199-200.
 56. Gossudarstvenny Archiv Rossiskoi Federatsii (Moscow), document 7021-108-23.
 57. Gossudarstvenny Archiv Rossiskoi Federatsii (Moscow), document 7021-108-23, pages 181 and 183.
 58. Istvan Deak, a Professor of History at Columbia University, and a specialist of Hungarian history, has written of the postwar period there: "...Most of the police interrogators, nearly all of the Hungarian Stalinist leaders, and most of the Communist victims were Jews... Most of the Hungarian Communists were Jews." Source: I. Deak, "Hungary: The New Twist," *The New York Review of Books*, August 18, 1988, p. 48.
 59. Published in 1983 in English by the Institute for Historical Review, and in German by Grabert Verlag (Tübingen).
 60. Nuremberg documents NO-5193 through NO-5198. Complete texts in German and English in: Serge Klarsfeld, ed., *The Holocaust and the Neo-Nazi Mythomania* (New York: 1978), pp. 165-211 (appendices). Also published in: John Mendelsohn, ed., *The Holocaust: Selected Documents in Eighteen Volumes* (New York: Garland, 1982), vol. 12, pp. 210 ff.

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On the 1944 Deportations of Hungarian Jews

ARTHUR R. BUTZ

I sometimes hear revisionists point out that there exists no record of a Hitler order to exterminate the Jews. The point must be made, but its significance is too easily misunderstood.

If such an order, written and of incontestable authenticity, were found then I would not renounce my thesis that the Jews were not exterminated. I would only renounce my claim that there was no plan or official program to exterminate the Jews. I would say yes, there was such a plan, but it was not carried through. The reasons have been given by revisionists over the years.

Such a Hitler order would, however, raise new problems for historians. Was Hitler serious? If so, did he change his mind? Or was he defied?

In the context of debates in which it is insufficiently recognized, in my opinion, that evidence must be commensurate with the allegation, it would be easy to ridicule such a position, but I would consider it a solid one. I am confident that we will never be in that position, but perhaps I am in a similar position on the major problem having to do with the Hungarian Jews. I quickly review the salient points of the received legend:

1. Hungary came under German control on March 19, 1944, at which time the Germans intended to recruit employable Jews for labor outside Hungary and deport the remainder, thus approximating what had already been done with German and Austrian Jews.
2. From May 15 until July 9, 1944, virtually the entire intended program was carried out, except for the Jews of the Budapest area. The deportations started with Ruthenia (Carpatho-Ukraine, annexed from Slovakia) and northern Transylvania (annexed from Romania). The total number deported, mainly to Auschwitz, was about 438,000, and the greater number of these was killed on arrival at Auschwitz. During

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Arthur Butz autographs a copy of his book at the 13th IHR Conference, May 2000.

this period the daily average of Jews deported was therefore about 7,500. There were also the deportations of much lesser extent to Strasshof.

3. On July 7 the Regent of Hungary, Admiral Miklos Horthy, under international pressure, defied the Germans and ordered an end to the deportations.
4. Due to military reversals, a crisis erupted in Hungary in October 1944. Horthy was deposed by the Germans and replaced by a government headed by the Hungarian Nazi Ferenc Szalasi. About 30,000 Jews, mainly from the Budapest area, were conscripted for labor and deported toward Germany via Austria, by forced march.¹

As I understand it, Jürgen Graf and I accept points 1, 3, and 4 of the legend. We do not accept point 2, but we differ on the extent or sense of our dissent on this crucial point. Graf accepts the 438,000 figure, but denies the killing. I also deny the killing of those who were deported, but I also deny the 438,000 figure or, more precisely, the idea that the May-July deportations virtually emptied Hungary of Jews, except for the Budapest area. I accept however that many Jews were deported in May-July 1944, mainly for labor. I cannot give a figure, but I believe it would have been only a fraction of 438,000. Graf cannot tell us what happened to most of the 438,000 Jews. Indeed the question that is the title of his paper remains begged.



Some Hungarian Jews who have just arrived in Birkenau, apparently in late May or early June 1944. In the background is crematory building (*Krema*) II, where hundreds of thousands of unemployable Jews such as those shown here were supposedly killed by poison gas between the spring of 1943 and late 1944. This photo is from *The Auschwitz Album* (1981).

My main reasons for holding as I do were given many years ago in Chapter 5 of *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, and the reader should review those arguments there. I can briefly summarize the principal ones:

1. Such clearing out of the Hungarian Jews was wildly impractical, given the transport shortages at that militarily critical phase. This consideration continues to be a principal basis for my disputing the clearing out of the Hungarian Jews. As of April 19, 1944, the German authorities in Hungary were "encountering greatest difficulties" procuring rail transport for 10,000 employable Jews on their hands, and on April 27 they reported that, while transport had finally been arranged for 4,000 of them, rail shortages were still delaying the deportations for labor, which at that point contemplated 50,000 employable Jews.²
2. The 1948 report of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) cannot be reconciled with the legend as it relates to the point in contention.³ It is unambiguous and emphatic in saying that the major events for the Hungarian Jews were in October, and the ICRC was very close to the Jews and therefore well informed.

Though the report notes that there were deportations before July 9, it implies that the Jews had not been emptied out of the provinces outside Budapest, because it states that with the onset of the October crisis, the Jews "lost many killed, especially in the provinces," and that "In November, one hundred thousand Jews poured into Budapest from the provinces," points not mentioned by Graf.

3. The documentary evidence is suspect. It consists mainly of texts of telegrams, allegedly as received at the German Foreign Ministry, from the German plenipotentiary in Hungary, Edmund Veessenmayer, reporting the progress of the deportations in detail. I shall refer to them as the "Veessenmayer telegrams." The documents were put in evidence in the Nuremberg trials. However essentially the only authentications of these telegrams are signatures and initials of Horst Wagner

and Eberhard von Thadden, the Jewish specialists at the German Foreign Ministry, who then acquired a strange immunity from prosecution. The man in charge, who held the power of life and death over Wagner and von Thadden, was Robert M.W. Kempner, a German Jew and naturalized US citizen. Kempner had been an anti-Nazi prosecutor in Prussia before Hitler came to power. In *Hoax*, I related a perjury trial in the US, almost simultaneous with the Nuremberg trials, in which the defense successfully attacked the testimony of a prosecution witness, Baron Herbert von Stempel, as coerced while he was incarcerated in Germany and under Kempner's power.⁴ In the Nuremberg trials themselves, it was shown that Kempner had threatened to turn potential witnesses over to the Soviets if they did not cooperate.⁵

The number of Jews the legend asserts were deported in eight weeks is about two-thirds of the sum deported from Germany, Austria and Western Europe in the three year period of late 1941 to late 1944. I should have stressed more strongly that I have no record of protests, by German officials charged with conventional military logistic duties, against the dedication of massive rail transport, in

the context of the military crisis (around the time of D-Day), to a militarily irrelevant (at best) operation of moving non-employable Jews. I did refer to the case of Albert Speer, deeply involved in deportations of employable Hungarian Jews, who claimed he knew nothing of exterminations at the time.⁶ In any case he made no protest over such a diversion of transport means.

Consider the practical implications of deporting all Hungarian Jews in such a short time interval. In Hungary the Jewish situation was similar to what it had been in Germany and Austria before Hitler: the Jews were a strongly entwined group, especially in the economy. The Nazis had about ten years to effect the emigration and/or expulsion of the 600,000 Jews of Germany and Austria, and even there the expulsion was not complete. The expulsion of all Hungarian Jews, or even of only those in the provinces outside Budapest, in an interval of two months, would have been like a virtual atom bomb dropped on the Hungarian economy.

As for the Red Cross report, it is unacceptable to simply dismiss the author as "incompetent." The ICRC delegate in Budapest from October 1943 was Jean de Bavier. However the President of the ICRC, Max Huber, was unsatisfied with de Bavier, who did not speak German. Thus de Bavier was replaced by Friedrich Born, who took over in an acting capacity in mid-May 1944. Both de Bavier and Born had conferred with the Jewish leader Saly Mayer in Geneva before going to Budapest.⁷

Friedrich Born died in 1963, and in 1987 he was designated "Righteous" by the Yad Vashem in Jerusalem.⁸ Since the 1948 ICRC report on Hungary describes his work as "courageously undertaken," he may not have been its actual author, but we should assume that it was Born who provided the information for the report, and that he most probably reviewed it prior to publication.

I digress with one point for the benefit of those reading this who believe the extermination legend. Deportation of hundreds of thousands of Jews from Hungary, to make the difficult journey across the mountains of Slovakia to Auschwitz, only to be killed there, makes no sense on practical grounds. If such were the objective, why not improvise means to kill them in Hungary, and perhaps even blame it on the Hungarians? Whoever might object by saying that Auschwitz had specially designed means for extermination has not been studying the subject matter. The legend claims that the means of exter-



Friedrich Born

mination at Auschwitz were improvised anyway! The gas was the pesticide Zyklon, the gas chambers were rooms that had been built as morgues in the crematory buildings (Kremas), and the crematories turned out to be inadequate in capacity to dispose of the bodies, so the corpses were burned outdoors in huge pyres. All of that could have been done in Hungary! Whoever might object by contending that Auschwitz was in an isolated region, where large-scale things could be done in secrecy, knows nothing of the circumstances under which the site for the industrial activities around Auschwitz was chosen. It was near the major city of Cracow, and was served by major rail lines. Civilian

workers in the Auschwitz industries communicated more or less freely with outsiders.⁹ The camp was visited in September 1944 by ICRC delegates, who were able to interview British POWs there.¹⁰ This industry was strategically important and received the scrutiny of the Allies, who made many aerial photos of the camp and bombed it. The Hungarian Jews whose bodies allegedly were burned in huge pyres at Auschwitz are not to be found in the aerial photos the Allies took of the camp during this very same period, and which were only made public in 1979.¹¹

To return to my argument, I should cite additional data from the Vatican that became available to me in 1980. It relates mainly to Romania but bears on Hungary as well. Northern Transylvania is a province that has been sometimes in Hungary, sometimes in Romania, and must not be confused with Transnistria, further east in an area of Ukraine, beyond the Dniester River, to which many Romanian Jews were deported in 1941. When by late 1943 Russian advances made it impractical to try to keep them there, they started returning, but their movements were suspended when the Russians overran Transnistria in the spring. Our concern is with Hungary and northern Transylvania, which was transferred from Romania to Hungary in 1940. However Jewish leaders in Romania remained in touch with events effecting Jews not only in northern Transylvania, but also in Hungary generally.¹²

On June 30, 1944, Alexander Safran, Grand Rabbi of Romania (later Grand Rabbi of Geneva), wrote to Andrea Cassulo, the Papal Nuncio in Bucharest, to acknowledge his "noble action" in favor of Romanian Jews, particularly those evacuated from Transnistria. He added that such support

encourages him to ask for papal support for Jews in Hungary "exposed to great deprivations and suffering." The only reference to deportations is of the Jews of Transnistria.¹³ There is no reference in Safran's letter to exterminations of Hungarian Jews, or to their mass deportation.

Two more documents were obtained from the Vatican in 1980. On July 11 Cassulo had sent the Safran letter of June 30 to the Vatican, and on July 28 he transmitted another letter to the Vatican that, he said, "confirms the sad fact" of Safran's letter. The new communication was an undated letter to Cassulo signed by six "Jewish personalities." It said¹⁴

... the Hungarian government has ordered the deportation of the Jews. Impacted by this order were mainly the Jews living in northern Transylvania, who were compelled without exception to leave their homes. For a long time we have known nothing of our relatives, since all our attempts to learn their fate have been fruitless.

I assume this letter was written some time in July, and it implicitly denies that the Jews had been cleared out, since "mainly" the Jews of northern Transylvania were effected, and the authors were not even sure what the situation was with them. Cassulo interpreted the letter as a plea for the Catholic Church "to alleviate in some manner the lot of so many unfortunates forced to leave their homes and live in concentration camps," and authoritative enough to be forwarded to the Vatican.

I note in passing a remark about northern Transylvania in the 1948 ICRC report, in the section on Romania. In its December 1944 report to Geneva the ICRC delegation in Bucharest said that

... thanks to consignments from the Joint Committee of New York and to collections made on the spot, it had been able to come to the help of (6,000 Hungarian Jews) who had succeeded in escaping deportation and were found in Northern Transylvania.

This says that there were deportations from northern Transylvania and that 6,000 Jews of northern Transylvania later came into contact with the delegation in Bucharest (about 200 miles from the major north Transylvanian city of Cluj). It does not say that only 6,000 Jews were left in northern Transylvania after the deportations.

The third document obtained from the Vatican is a letter to Cassulo, dated December 11, 1944, from the General Jewish Curatorship of Northern Transylvania (then resident in Bucharest). It says that in May and June 150,000 Jews, of all ages and conditions, were deported from northern Transylvania

to Auschwitz. Direct information on their fate is not available, but escapees say some have been exterminated. The letter asks that the Vatican intervene with the German government to arrange distribution of parcels to them.¹⁵ The late date and the reference to "escapees" as a source of information suggests lesser probative value for this document, because the reference is probably to what I called the "War Refugee Board Report" (WRB Report, also called the "Auschwitz Protocols"), published in Washington on November 25, 1944, which I have discussed at length.¹⁶ The structure of the mass extermination claim had been largely settled on by then, so that reports can be suspected of being based on what was by then widely said to have happened, rather than actual observations and experiences of the reporters.

The document which later became the WRB Report was in limited circulation in Europe in June and was reported in the *New York Times* in July.¹⁷ Its receipt was probably the reason the ICRC felt obliged to make the September visit to Auschwitz.

One should also carefully consider the document of August 15, 1944, quoted by Graf, which speaks of 612,000 prisoners in the process of being added to the camps. Of this number 90,000 were Hungarian Jews from the "Jewish Action" there, and 400,000 were Poles from Warsaw. Graf does not make clear that these people were not yet physically in the camps, because he does not take into account the final sentence of the relevant section of the document: "A large number of the prisoners is already on its way and will arrive during the next days for delivery to the concentration camps." One infers that most were being held elsewhere on that date. For the Hungarian Jews, the only place they could have been at the time, if they were not in the German camps outside Hungary, would have been in some sort of detention in Hungary. The document is at best irrelevant to Graf's thesis; all it implies is that in mid-August there were at least 90,000 Jews in Hungary that were viewed as well enough organized for quick transport. They could have been either Budapest Jews or Jews in the provinces. These 90,000 new Hungarian Jewish camp inmates did not in fact materialize in the sense of the document (as even Graf implies in his paper), probably because of transport shortages that finally had to be overcome in the fall by making Jewish labor conscripts walk.

In 1984 Mark Weber called to my attention a document that had been cited during the proceedings of the Nuremberg trial of 1945-1946, but which I had missed when writing my book. An excerpt, which was a British prosecution exhibit, was also published in the official Nuremberg Tribunal record.¹⁸ I wrote Graf about this document on

November 5, 1993.

The document is the August 23, 1944, edition of *Die Lage* ("The Situation"), an information bulletin published by the Goebbels ministry of propaganda. Theoretically it was intended for a restricted readership, as it is specified "Strictly Confidential!" (*Streng vertraulich!*), but that has to be taken with a grain of salt considering, for example, that the first section of this issue reports that the Allied landings in France had been successful because of the Allies' complete control of sea and air — hardly a secret.

The second section is about the Hungarian Jews, and is very consistent with the legend. It says that the German authorities

commenced with the cleaning up of the northeastern area — north Transylvania and the Carpathian province — where the Jewish element was the strongest numerically. Then the Jews were collected in the remaining Hungarian provinces and transported to Germany or German controlled territories. A hundred thousand Jews remained in the hands of the Hungarians to be employed in labor battalions ... By July 9 approximately 430,000 Jews from the Hungarian provinces had been handed over to the German authorities. The handing over takes place on the Hungarian national frontier ... As a final stage of the Jewish measures the Jews from Budapest were to be deported. It is a question of approximately 260,000. But in the meantime pressure from enemy and neutral countries ... had become so strong that those circles in Hungary that are friendly to the Jews attempted to influence the Hungarian Government to prevent any further measures against the Jews ...

This may seem to settle it in favor of Graf's thesis but please bear with me. The many objections, especially those regarding the basic physical plausibility, and even possibility, of the alleged events still stand. I shall return to this Goebbels ministry matter.

We should consider writings by historians who accept the essentials of the received legend. Randolph L. Braham has written more on this subject



Jewish deportees who have just arrived at Auschwitz-Birkenau from Hungary, late May or early June 1944. Here unemployable Jews, including elderly people and children, are apparently being sorted out by SS men. Several veteran camp inmates, wearing striped uniforms, can be seen in the foreground to the left. In the background are rail cars in which deportees arrive at the camp. Birkenau's main rail entry gate can be seen in the background, to the left. This photo is from *The Auschwitz Album* (1981), one of some 185 published in this book.

than anyone else, and his *magnum opus* is his two-volume work *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*.¹⁹ As for the mass deportations, Braham's principal evidence is

1. The Veesenmayer telegrams.
2. Reports attributed to László Ferenczy, effectively the Hungarian police chief, in the form of transcripts on Police of Israel stationery, said to be transcribed from confirmed photocopies. In 1993 Graf sent me a copy of the one that he specifically cites. Braham presents a table comparing the Veesenmayer and Ferenczy figures.²⁰
3. A summary of transports that allegedly passed through Kassa (the present Kosice in Slovakia) on the way to Auschwitz (Braham's Appendix 6). The typical train carried, according to this document, 2,000 to 3,000 people, sometimes more or less, a typical day saw 2 to 5 transports pass through, and there were literally daily transports May 16 through June 6. The first two transports are specified as passing through Kassa on May 14. These figures are said to have been collected by the Railway Command of Kassa and first published in 1984 in a Jewish magazine in Toronto by a lawyer who had been

a resident of Kassa. Thus the document does not appear in the original edition of Braham's work, published in 1981.

Braham also reproduces a June 30 letter from the Hungarian government to Angelo Rotta, the Papal Nuncio in Budapest, no doubt written to counter the by then widely publicized stories that a general deportation of Hungarian Jews was in progress.²¹

We take this opportunity to mention that Hungarian Jews are not slated for deportation. A large number of Jewish manual laborers is being placed at the disposal of the German government, and the fact that their families were sent together with them to Germany is the result of the decision to keep families undivided, since greater performance can be expected from Jews when they are relaxed by the presence of their families. In this connection, we saw to it that in the retention within the country of the manpower absolutely needed to maintain industrial and economic life, priority be given to the converted Jews and to their families.

This June 30 Hungarian government letter seems to me a fair representation of the situation at that time, both in Hungary for Jews in general, and among Catholic representatives, who were particularly concerned with the lot of Jewish converts to Catholicism.

Prominent among the projects contemplated for the Hungarian Jews conscripted for labor was fighter aircraft production, and armaments minister Albert Speer and colleagues were eager in this period to get the promised Jews from Hungary. Thus they complained at a May 26 meeting that²²

Till now two transports have arrived at the SS camp Auschwitz. For fighter construction we were offered only children, women, and old men with whom very little can be done... Unless the next transports bring men of an age fit for work the whole action will not have much success.

This implies non-employables were not killed on arrival at Auschwitz. It also suggests another less noble motivation for deporting "families": fulfillment of quotas in the context of rivalry among nominal allies. Such a situation arose in 1943 when Oswald Pohl, the head of the concentration camp system, complained "that the prisons transferring (prisoners to the camps) have literally released inmates who are in the worst possible physical condition."²³ The first thought of a warden, if given the choice, is to get rid of the useless ones and retain the useful.

Returning to the May 26, 1944, document, we note that it was a transcript of the stenographic minutes of a regular meeting of the "Jägerstab," the group formed of representatives of the air force and Speer's ministry to oversee the production of fighter planes. Therefore the statement, that up to that date only two transports of Jews from Hungary had arrived at Auschwitz, cannot be taken as authoritative in itself. However I believe that the remark has independent confirmation. The first transport would have been the group of 4,000 Jews, said above to be ready for transport on April 27, that arrived in two transports on or about May 1, but were referred to in this conference as one transport. The second transport would have been a group that arrived later in May, and from which 4,000 Jews were registered, 2,000 on each of the two days of May 22 and 24. A transport that apparently arrived during the night of May 25 would have been too recent to be taken account of at the May 26 meeting.²⁴ Apart from whether or not the remark was strictly correct, I do not believe it would have been made in that form if Jews had for about a week been pouring into Auschwitz, at a rate of some 7,500 per day, in two to five transports per day, for whatever purpose. There would have been complaints that, with so many people pouring in, more useful labor ought to be offered. On the contrary the "next transport" was only speculated for some unknown future date, and the transports they were talking about fairly represented the "whole action." The May 26 conference remark disagrees not merely in detail or degree, but in kind, from what would have been said if the massive regular transports claimed had been real.

To return to Braham, I must admit I have not read all of his massive work of 1,500 pages, partly because it is mainly about well known things I do not contest, and partly because it is clear that treatments of the problems that I would consider serious tests are either not there or support my original theory when they are there. Let me explain.

Historical events can only occur in association with other events. Every such event is accompanied by ancillary, correlative and consequent events. If a stone is thrown in the water, then the event must create ripples on the surface. If there is a forest fire, then there must be smoke. In a competent criminal investigation it is necessary to test such events. There is the classic question "Did the dog bark?" It is easy to formulate an internally consistent phony confession or perjured testimony which speaks in general terms of a crime, but it is not easy to anticipate the questions that a competent interrogator will ask about the details, related events, and consequent events. Those are the sorts of events lacking when I consider the claim that the Hungarian Jews were cleared out.

Changing Perspectives on History in Germany

A Prestigious Award for Nolte: Portent of Greater Historical Objectivity?

For decades Ernst Nolte has been one of Germany's best known historians, as well as one of the most reviled. His numerous books include "The Germans and Their Past," "The European Civil War," and *Streitpunkte* (or "Points of Contention," reviewed in the Jan.-Feb. 1994 *Journal*). In the United States his best known work is probably his 1963 study, published here under title *The Three Faces of Fascism*, which compares "fascism" in France, Italy and Germany. Widely regarded as a path-breaking study, it remains indispensable for every serious student of the subject. After years on the faculty of the Free University in Berlin, the 77-year-old scholar is now a *Professor Emeritus*.

For at least two decades, his provocative views on 20th-century European history, and especially Third Reich Germany and World War II, have stimulated wide discussion about the past, even among non-historians. In a 1980 lecture entitled "Historical Legend and Revisionism?," for example, he said:

The Third Reich should be removed from the historical isolation in which it remains... 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 ...

Nolte's detractors — especially his Jewish critics — have been particularly distressed by his suggestion that Hitler's wartime treatment of the Jews might legitimately be regarded, at least in part, as a defensive response to the threat of Bolshevik mass murder of Germans. In his 1980 lecture, he said:

... 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 the foundation for the thesis that Hitler would have been justified in treating the German Jews as prisoners of war (or, more precisely, as civilian internees), thus interning them.

During the 1980s Nolte was at the center of Ger-



Ernst Nolte

many's so-called "historians' dispute" (*Historikerstreit*), an intense debate about the Third Reich and World War II, and their "lessons" for the present and the future. It began with a 1986 essay by Nolte in a prestigious daily paper in which he argued that, 40 years after the end of the war, Germans should be allowed to embrace their past without a permanent sense of guilt. The two most prominent protagonists in the ensuing debate were Nolte and the leftist intellectual Jürgen Habermas. (For more on this see the interview with Nolte, and the review of his 1993 book *Streitpunkte*, both in the Jan.-Feb. 1994 *Journal*, pp. 15-22, 37-41, as well as "Auschwitz in History," from a more recent essay by him, in the March-April 1999 *Journal*, p. 36.)

In a 1989 interview with an Italian newspaper, Nolte summed up his view of the phenomenon of "fascism" in Europe and of World War II:

I am convinced that European history cannot be written as the history of individual states and also not as the history of a destructive ide-

JEW 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 Europe in 1939, Jewish leader Chaim Weizmann pledged that "the Jews" would "stand by" Britain in the impending fight against Germany. This historic declaration — reproduced here in facsimile — was published in the London *Times* of September 6, 1939. Weizmann was president of both the "Jewish Agency" (the Zionist "shadow government" in Palestine) and of the World Zionist Organization, and in 1949 became Israel's first president. A number of historians, including Ernst Nolte, have cited this declaration to show that Hitler had understandable grounds for treating Jews as a hostile nationality.

ology which only emerged in Germany. Throughout Europe there existed a fear of Communism, and this was present even in the USA. The history of the first half of the twentieth century must therefore be written as that of a great ideological civil war in which neither of the two contending sides was entirely in the right. It was a matter of a struggle in contrasts, in propaganda, which exaggerated claims until the defeat of one party, National Socialism.

Expressions of hostility toward Nolte have not been merely rhetorical. In 1994 a gang of 30 leftists physically assaulted him, inflicting injuries so severe that he had to be taken to a hospital. On another occasion terrorists set fire to his car.

Adenauer Prize

Nolte's place in German society, where the past is always present, is thus a measure of the general social-political outlook. That's why people took notice when he was recently honored with the "Konrad Adenauer Prize" for literature, one of Germany's most prestigious literary awards. It was given at a ceremony on June 4, 2000, along with 10,000 marks (\$4,800), by the Munich-based Germany Foundation (*Deutschlandstiftung*).

In his acceptance speech, Nolte showed that he has not retreated from his earlier controversial remarks. "We should leave behind the view that the opposite of National Socialist goals is always good and right," he said. According to news reports, he again raised the question of "whether Hitler's anti-Semitism may not have had a kernel of truth" or a "rational, comprehensible core."

Because, he went on, Third Reich Germany was the "strongest of all counter forces" to Soviet Communism, a movement with wide Jewish support, Hitler may have had "rational" reasons for persecuting Jews. Nolte also denounced the "collective accusation" continuously leveled against Germany since 1945, and spoke out against those who advocate "an unstoppable transition toward a world civilization." A "Jewish paradigm" of history, he said, has become more important in recent decades and now threatens to become a "quasi-religion" in which German National Socialism is regarded as a "new satan."

Möller's Praise for Nolte

As significant as the award itself was the speech in praise of Nolte given on the occasion of the ceremony by another prominent historian, Horst Möller, director of the renowned Institute for Contemporary History (*Institut für Zeitgeschichte*). The taxpayer-funded, quasi-official Institute, established in the aftermath of the Second World War, played an important role for decades in "reeducating Ger-

mans,” that is, promoting the historical perspective of the victorious western Allies. It publishes the influential historical quarterly *Vierteljahreshefte für Zeitgeschichte*.

While explaining that he does not agree with all of Nolte’s views, Möller praised his “life’s work of high rank,” which “has earned national and international attention.” Nolte, said Möller, is “the only philosopher of history among the German historians, and the only historian among the German philosophers of history.” It takes extraordinary courage, Möller went on, “to deviate from the main course of the current intellectual life in Germany, and to honor the historian who has been made an ‘unperson.’” Möller also spoke out against the “hate-filled and defamatory” efforts to quash open debate in Germany on 20th century history.

Möller, director since 1992 of the Munich-based Institute, has overseen an expansion of its output and impact. Also under his leadership, it played an important role in discrediting the highly-publicized “Wehrmacht Exhibition,” a traveling photo exhibit of atrocities allegedly committed by regular German armed forces during the war years. (See “Fraud Exposed in Defamatory German Exhibition,” Sept.-Dec. 1999 *Journal*, pp. 6-11.)

Möller’s speech, along with the award for Nolte, prompted some protests. A professor of history at Berlin’s Humboldt University, Heinrich Winkler, complained in a letter published in the influential leftist weekly *Die Zeit* that “Mr. Möller allowed himself to become a party to an intellectual political offensive aimed at integrating rightist and revisionist positions into the conservative mainstream.”

Jewish groups were predictably enraged by the award for Nolte. The American Jewish Congress, for example, dismissed the historian’s views as “intellectual garbage” and “old and shabby lies.” A statement by AJ Congress president Jack Rosen, issued in the aftermath of the Germany Foundation award, declared that “conservative, nationalist forces in Germany, like their counterparts in Austria, still refuse to accept the implications of the Nazi era for themselves and for their country.” As the world knows, these “implications” include uncomplaining German (and Austrian) acceptance of seemingly endless humiliations, self-abasing contrition, and reparations payments to Israel and world Jewry. (See “Germany Has Paid Out More Than \$61.8 Billion in Third Reich Reparations,” Nov.-Dec. 1998 *Journal*, p. 19.)



Martin Walser

The AJ Congress also condemned the “remnants of the Hitlerian impulse still present in Germany,” a reference to the sparks of resistance to the international campaign against the German nation and heritage.

Typical of the American media’s warped coverage of such matters was a tendentious *New York Times* report (June 21) that appeared under a headline that absurdly referred to Ernst Nolte as a “Hitler Apologist.” Similarly, a *New York Times* editorial (June 25) told readers that Nolte is “a well-known historian who argues for breaking taboos that have constrained Germany’s debate about the Nazi era. But some of his ideas are repugnant, and he deserves no

awards.”

In reality, Nolte’s effort to dispassionately explain or understand Hitler and German National Socialism is no more an “apology” than comparable efforts by other historians to explain Napoleon, Stalin or Franklin Roosevelt, and such historical phenomena as the French Revolution, the American Civil War, or Soviet Communism.

Martin Walser’s Speech

The Nolte award ceremony is not the only sign of a greater German openness about the past. Another was an important and much-discussed speech in October 1998 by Martin Walser, one of Germany’s most prominent writers. He gave it at the Frankfurt Book Fair, the world’s largest trade exposition of book publishers, during a ceremony honoring him with the annual Peace Prize of the German Association of Publishers and Booksellers.

“Auschwitz,” said Walser, “is not suited to becoming a routine threat, a tool of intimidation that can be used any time, a moral cudgel [*Moralkeule*] or merely a compulsory exercise.” He lamented the “exploitation [*instrumentalisierung*] of our disgrace for present purposes,” an apparent reference to the seemingly endless campaign by Jewish groups for reparations.

Walser also criticized the “monumentalization of the shame,” and said that Auschwitz is exploited as a “ceaseless presentation of our shame.” The audience, which included some of the country’s most prominent cultural and political figures, rose to standing applause at the speech’s conclusion.

Even though Walser expressed himself cautiously and with considerable restraint, Jewish leaders reacted with rage bordering on hysteria. Ignatz Bubis, the influential chief of the Central



A smiling President Harry Truman welcomes Zionist leader Chaim Weizmann during a White House visit, May 25, 1948. Weizmann, who “declared war” against Germany on behalf of “the Jews” in 1939, served as Israel’s first president.

Council of the Jews in Germany, called the address “intellectual arson” and complained: “I was listening to this speech and I was more and more astonished. I thought I was taking part in a neo-Nazi rally.” American newspaper comments echoed Bubis’ outrage.

At least as important as the speech itself was the heated, weeks-long discussion it prompted in newspapers, magazines and television. “The trend in Walser’s speech is something that is more and more widespread of late,” Bubis said. “Intellectual nationalism is spreading, and it is not free of an understated anti-Semitism.”

A Changing Historical Perspective?

Since 1945 it has been difficult for historians, especially in Germany, to deal objectively with the Third Reich. As a writer for the *London Times* (June 22) recently wrote: “How far can German historians discuss Hitler in a normal way — advancing positive as well as negative elements — without seeming to be Nazi sympathizers?”

What’s behind this abnormal situation? It endures in part because, as the old saying goes, history is written by the winners. In the aftermath of World War II, the victorious Allied powers understandably sought to demonize the defeated Nazi regime. But this is only part of the answer.

Now, more than half a century after the end of the conflict, the continuing distortion of World War II history is due — as Ernst Nolte has cautiously suggested — above all, to the powerful Jewish-Zionist role in society and cultural life. Jews under-

standably regard Germany’s anti-Jewish Führer as one of the great villains of their collective history, along with the Egyptian Pharaoh who opposed Moses, Amalek of Torah legend, and the ancient Persian prime minister Haman. Reflecting their tremendous influence in the world today, especially in the United States, Jews have been amazingly successful in foisting a Judeocentric view of history on non-Jewish society. Thus, Hitler is portrayed as a peculiarly, even uniquely evil figure — far more so than, for example, Soviet dictator Stalin or Chinese Communist leader Mao Zedong — each of whose victims vastly outnumber Hitler’s.

A Jewish view of 20th-century history — which includes what even some Jewish intellectuals call the “Holocaust cult” or “Holocaust industry” — is obviously incompatible with a treatment that is objective and truthful.

As a result of this aberrant view of the past, Germany remains — even after half a century — a nation permanently “on parole.” Because it has already been collectively tried and convicted, so to speak, any “relapse” brings swift condemnation and threat of renewed punishment.

But as Jewish leader Bubis complained, and as the recent award to Ernst Nolte suggests, there are signs that the intellectual climate is changing. Not just in Germany, but across Europe, there is growing acknowledgement that the historical view imposed by the victorious Allies in 1945, as well as the Judeocentric view that now prevails, is a crass and even dangerous distortion. Contributing to this “historicization” has been the end of the Soviet empire, with its outpouring of new revelations about the grim legacy of Soviet Communism, and the collapse of a major pillar of the “anti-fascist” view of 20th-century history. Although powerful interests may succeed for a time in stemming the tide, in the long run a more “revisionist” treatment of history, even Third Reich history, is inevitable.

— M. W.

Thanks

We’ve stirred up things a lot since the first issue of the *Journal of Historical Review* came out in the spring of 1980 — 20 years ago. Without the staunch support of you, our subscribers, it couldn’t have survived. So please keep sending those clippings, the helpful and critical comments on our work, the informative articles, and the extra boost over and above the subscription price. It’s our life blood. To everyone who has helped keep the *Journal* alive, our sincerest thanks.

Children told to attack Germans

By Paul Peachey

TO THE German school party stoned and accused of Nazism during a visit to Britain, the promise of a "warm and friendly" Cornish welcome rang a little hollow.

Their trip to one of the county's best known landmarks, St Michael's Mount, ended in confrontation as English youngsters were encouraged to attack the group by their parents, according to teachers.

Tourism officials apologised to the party from Berlin yesterday in an attempt to limit the damage to the tourist trade.

The group of 44 said that they were confronted by the youngsters chanting abuse during a visit to Marazion at the weekend. Gabbi Muller, a teacher, said the youngsters were encouraged by parents to throw stones and waterbombs at the German teenagers.

It had been yet another epi-

sode of racism they were forced to endure during their week-long stay in the South West. "It's in the nightclubs and pubs and in the street — we are German bitches and Nazis," the teacher told BBC Radio Cornwall.

Henrika Heyers, one of the German students, said: "They were just giving in to hate. There were little children as young as six or seven shouting 'fight, fight'. I just could not believe it; I was deeply, deeply shocked."

The Cornwall Tourist Board was left deeply embarrassed. Deborah Smith apologised to the group. "It's appalling and very, very distressing. The children appear to have been encouraged by their parents," she said. "All our research shows Cornwall is well known for giving a warm and friendly welcome and the German market is one of our strongest overseas markets."

Hatred against Germans erupted recently in Britain when a group of children, encouraged by their parents, attacked visiting German students with stones and waterbombs. The incident in eastern Cornwall was reported in this item, reproduced here in facsimile, from *The Times* (London), June 7, 2000. Such mindless bigotry is, of course, an entirely predictable consequence of the seemingly endless worldwide campaign that Jewish historian Alfred Lilienthal aptly calls "Holocaustomania." The reaction, or lack of one, to this incident is instructive. Apparently none of the perpetrators was punished, or even arrested, for his or her criminal behavior. That's understandable because in this case the victims were, after all, merely Germans. A comparable incident in Britain or Germany with Jews or Africans as the victims would have merited instant worldwide publicity. Public figures and major newspapers would have responded with expressions of indignation and grave concern over another ominous outbreak of hate. The silence and inaction in this recent incident is entirely typical of the double standard that prevails these days throughout the "Western" world.

"People are more ready to believe a lie that has been repeated a thousand times than a truth heard for the very first time."

A Deceitful Swipe at the IHR

In an advertisement that appeared in *The New York Times*, April 18, 2000, the American Jewish Committee took (another) swipe at the Institute for Historical Review. Along with the Anti-Defamation League and the American Jewish Congress, the AJ Committee is generally regarded as one of the three most influential Jewish-Zionist organizations in the United States.

The *Times* ad, headlined "Hate for Sale," sharply criticized two major on-line booksellers, Amazon.com and Barnes & Noble, for selling the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* — a purported Jewish plan to control the world that most specialists regard as a fraud. The AJ Committee ad went on declare: "The main US publishers of the *Protocols* editions offered by these booksellers are Noontide Press — once linked to the racist and anti-Semitic Liberty Lobby and now the printing arm of the so-called Institute for Historical Review, the leading organ of Holocaust denial worldwide — and Book Tree Press, supplier of an array of extremist materials."

There are several falsehoods here. First, Noontide Press does not publish the *Protocols*. Like Amazon.com and Barnes & Noble, Noontide markets copies supplied by an outside printer/distributor. Secondly, Noontide Press has never been the "printing arm" of the IHR. It is simply an affiliated publishing enterprise. The IHR publishes books under its own imprint. Finally, the IHR is not an "organ of Holocaust denial." The term "Holocaust denial" is both stupid and polemical. As anyone who is really familiar with the IHR and its work knows, this characterization is a cheap smear. Unfortunately, the falsehoods in this advertisement are all too typical of the distortions of the AJ Committee and similar Jewish-Zionist groups.

Many people regard the *Protocols* as the authentic blueprint of a diabolical Jewish scheme to control the world. Others dismiss it as a pernicious fraud concocted nearly a century ago by the Tsarist Russian secret police. The AJ Committee luridly calls it "the most bloodstained volume in modern history." The Committee's call for banning this work echoes the arguments of censors throughout the ages, who contend that others, will be seduced or misled by an "offensive" work. If the *Protocols* deserve to be banned, why not other "offensive" works? Why not the *Communist Manifesto*, the Jewish Talmud, or even the Bible? We believe that all such works, including the *Protocols*, should be available for public scrutiny and study. All the same, the Noontide Press catalog description specifically warns the prospective buyer that the *Protocols* is "offered caveat lector."

— M. W.

Peenemünde and Los Alamos: Two Studies

DONALD E. TARTER

Abstract

The Second World War produced two great and memorable scientific and technological teams: the German Peenemünde rocket team under the direction of Dr. Wernher von Braun, and the American Los Alamos atomic bomb team under the direction of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer. Taken together, the contributions of these teams created the post-war capability for intercontinental nuclear warfare. These teams, working in different countries under radically different political systems, encountered severe political difficulties during and after the war. Each, in its own way, has had to live with its deeds, endure public suspicions, and bear the judgment of history. This article, based on 13 hours of interviews recently completed with members of the von Braun Peenemünde team, together with an analysis of several hours of video interviews of members of the Oppenheimer Los Alamos team, seeks to present a meaningful contrast and description of the environments and the pressures under which each worked.

Introduction

Late in 1982, the United States Justice Department's Office of Special Investigations (OSI) began a series of interrogations of a former von Braun rocket team member, Arthur Rudolph. Rudolph had been one of the central figures in the American Apollo Lunar Program, having been the Saturn 5 project manager. He had left his previous home in



Arthur Rudolph

Huntsville, Alabama, site of the George C. Marshall Space Flight Center, and was then residing in San Jose, California.

Throughout 1983, OSI continued its investigations, and late that year informed Dr. Rudolph that it believed there was sufficient evidence to link him to war crimes activity at the World War II German rocket facility, Mittelwerk, a forced-labor installation in the Harz Mountains. OSI threatened prosecution and indictment unless Dr. Rudolph signed an agreement to leave the country and renounce his citizenship. After agonizing over the prospects of a long and expensive trial or doing as the OSI requested, Dr. Rudolph decided in November 1983 to leave the United States. On March 27, 1984, he and his wife boarded a

plane in San Francisco en route to Germany.

The disposition of the Rudolph case bitterly incensed many of Rudolph's original German colleagues and many of his associates in the American space program. In early 1989, an effort was launched by several of his friends and colleagues in Huntsville to have the government allow his return to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the lunar landing in July. That effort failed.

A 1989 editorial in the *Huntsville Times*¹ noted that Rudolph chose to leave the USA because there was a possibility of prosecution, and a chance that if successfully prosecuted he would be deported and lose his government benefits. The editorial added:

The right and justice of the matter have never been established. The aging retiree chose to acquiesce rather than fight. The West German government has said it did not find evidence to prosecute him.

... [This] leaves unanswered the question of the basic justice of the Rudolph case. The OSI's decision is, of course, subject to review. Rudolph has recourse through the federal courts, but to date, he has not taken it. And his dilemma is what it always was: a court order dissolving his voluntary surrender of citizenship would also set aside the OSI's side of the

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agreement. By starting the case over, Rudolph would be exposed to prosecution with the prospect of deportation and the loss of retirement benefits.

It is a dilemma best left to history.

In late 1983 and early 1984 Mr. Konrad K. Dannenberg and I were beginning a project at the University of Alabama in Huntsville which would add to the recorded recollection of members of Wernher von Braun's Peenemünde rocket team. Dannenberg himself was a former member of that team. He had served as a propulsion engineer on the first successful A-4 (later termed V-2) launch in October 1942. Later, among other duties in the United States, he had served as deputy director of the Saturn Program at George C. Marshall Space Flight Center. Both Dannenberg and I were most interested in seeing that early recollections of German rocketry were preserved. Likewise, we were interested in obtaining comments about the future of space development as anticipated by these pioneers. Hence our project was entitled, "Our Future in Space: Messages from the Beginning."

As a sociologist, I was also interested in obtaining a sense of the human responses to the conditions under which scientific and technical work was conducted in the totalitarian environment of Nazi Germany. Epochal work was being done. It was work that would literally begin the space age. While popular perception dates the beginning of the space age to the famous Soviet Sputnik launch on October 4, 1957, in fact the first human-designed object ever to ascend into the environment of space was launched some 15 years and one day earlier, October 3, 1942. That object was the German A-4 rocket, launched from the Peenemünde test facility, reaching an altitude of over 80 km (50 miles) and a range of 192 km (120 miles).

Thus, at a place now almost forgotten, humanity began its ultimate adventure into the cosmos. As a realist, I know that the drive behind much of human technology has been the military advantage that it might give. As an idealist, I am opposed to the use of science to further human destructiveness. As a behavioral scientist, I wanted to understand how men refined by sophisticated scientific and technological training could be reduced to the service of

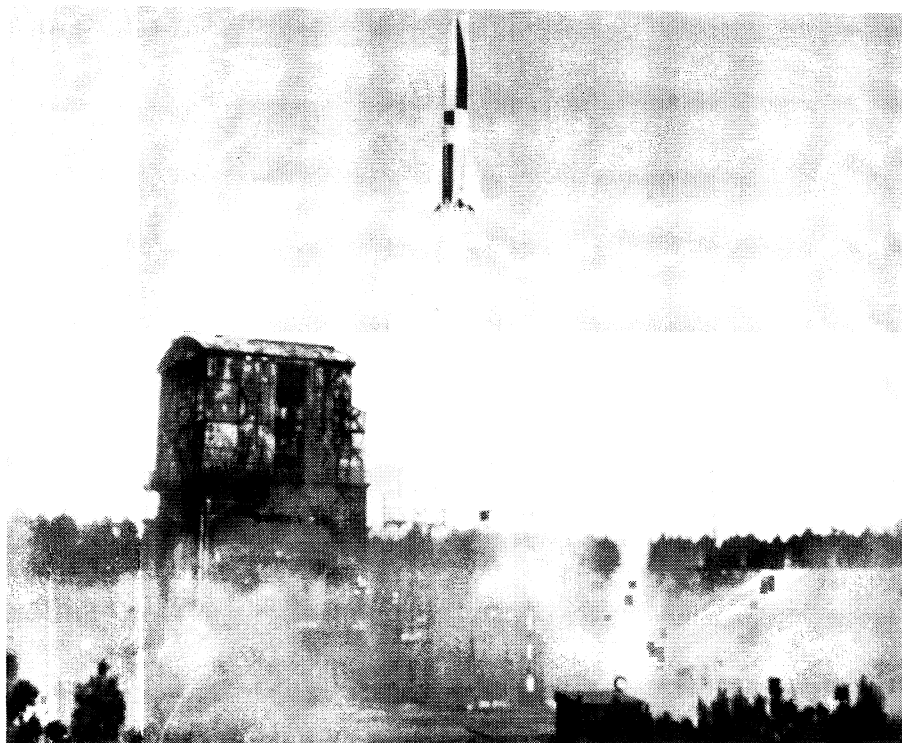


J. Robert Oppenheimer

tyranny and human oppression.

For over two decades I have had the privilege of associating with many of the members of the von Braun team both as a neighbor and as a scholar interested in the social impact of the space age. That association with these gentlemen who stood at the beginning of the space age has, I believe, given me some insight into the questions I have asked. It has always been difficult, at best, to discuss such matters with them. Even in the most relaxed of times, the subject is not an object of easy reflection. I had hoped that our project to videotape the remembrances of key scientific and technical personnel at Peenemünde would be able to probe for answers to difficult and sensitive moral and political questions. The news of the Rudolph case, and the fact that other members of the original rocket team were also under investigation by the Department of Justice, left a heavy pall over any such discussion. Many of the group who had originally agreed to hour-long video sessions decided that they did not wish to grant such an interview under the existing circumstances of rumor and suspicion. Television networks and newspapers were, at the time, contacting me in attempts to obtain materials that would be useful to assist in compiling their own reports on the possible connection of the Peenemünde Team to Nazi atrocities. Some members of the group who decided to go ahead with the interviews stipulated that as a condition for their appearance they would talk about the history and circumstances of technological development, but did not wish to enter into a discussion relating to politically sensitive subjects. Although circumstances made our project most difficult, a grant from the University of Alabama in Huntsville and assistance from the Huntsville affiliate of the Alabama Public Television Network permitted us to obtain 13 hours of videotaped interviews from a dozen members of the original Peenemünde rocket team, but for the reasons stated above I have relied more on information obtained in my 20 years of association with members of the Peenemünde team than on comments made directly in the video interviews.²

During the same period that we were recording the recollections of the Peenemünde pioneers, I, along with several of my students, was engaged in an in-depth analysis of the experience of the Los



An A-4 missile — renowned as the V-2 weapon — is launched from a test stand in Peenemünde, 1942 or 1943.

Alamos atomic bomb team, directed by the late Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer. Through an extensive search of the literature and analysis of several hours of videotaped interviews with key members of that team, we compiled what we thought were some interesting points of comparison between the experiences of the members of the Los Alamos project and those working at Peenemünde. We felt that such a comparison could, perhaps, put the whole question of the moral and political posture of those at Peenemünde into somewhat sharper focus. In addition, I had at least two reasons to seek such a comparison. Firstly, taken together, the contributions of these two great technical teams made the age of intercontinental nuclear warfare possible. Secondly, these were ends not consistent with the motives that drove them in their youth.

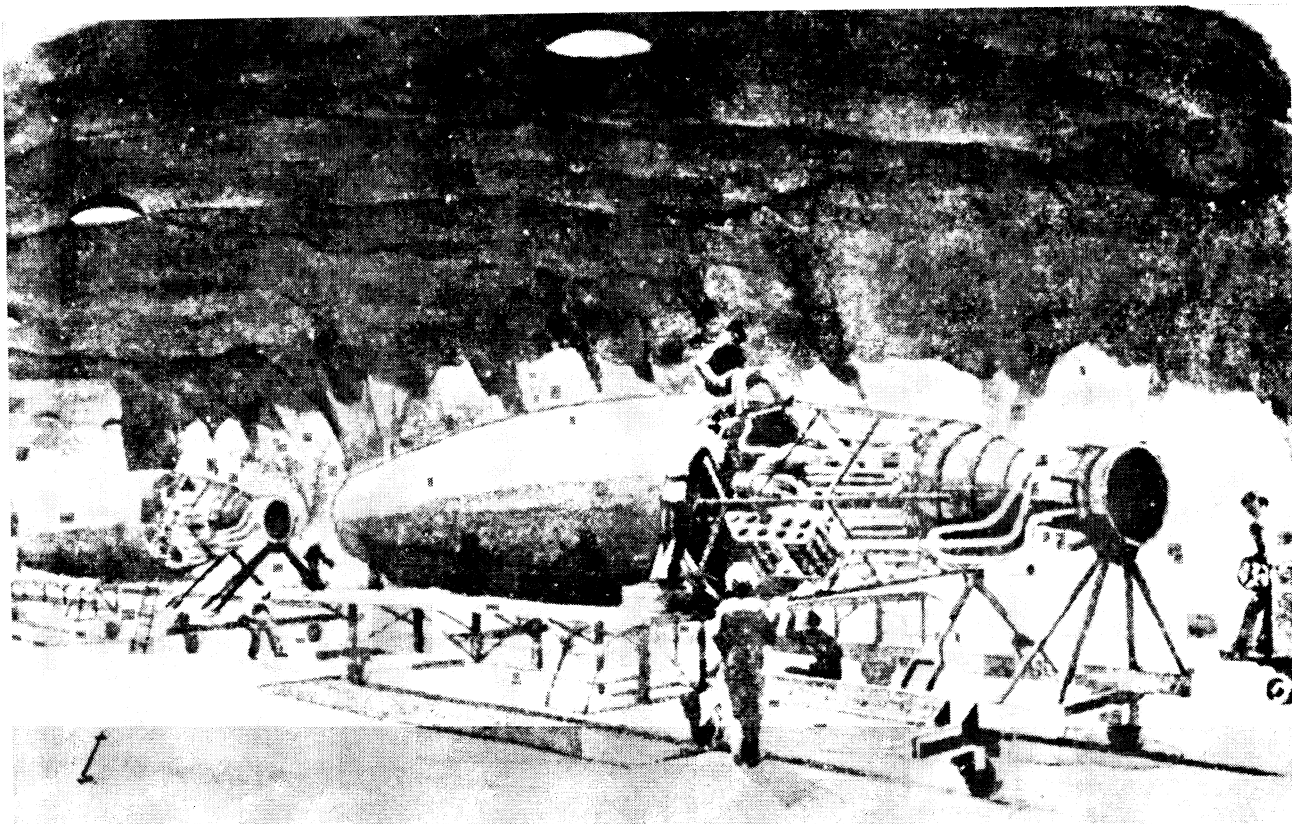
The young men who were later to go Peenemünde and begin the space age dreamed of interplanetary space flight. Almost all of them with whom I have talked have specifically mentioned their thrill and excitement about the early German science fiction movie, *Frau im Mond* ("Girl on the Moon"). This Fritz Lang movie, filmed in consultation with the early Romanian space pioneer Hermann Oberth, stimulated an entire generation of young idealists into seeking careers in space technology. Likewise, as youths, the men who were to go to Los Alamos to begin the atomic age had their own

captivating visions that stirred within them. The young Oppenheimer was intrigued by a box of minerals given to him as a gift and was soon exploring the rock formations of Central Park in New York City. At the age of 11 he was accepted into the New York Mineralogical Club. The young Edward Teller was seized by the excitement of science through the works of Jules Verne. The young Leo Szilard showed an almost prescient childhood fascination with the classic Hungarian poem of pessimism, *The Tragedy of Man*, which, perhaps, accounts in part for his lifelong mission to forestall nuclear tragedy.

The youthful dreams and aspirations of these men did not involve the development of weapons of destruction. Rather, they hoped as adults to understand the laws of nature and to travel into interplanetary space.

The world as it was, however, demanded that their noble aspirations be put to the service of much less noble ends. Though they were to move to the very edge of human understanding, they could not escape the political, economic, and social forces of their time. Their dreams were laid aside while their professional talents were channelled into designing means of death and destruction. What types of readjustment are required for such an awesome redirection of one's own purpose for existence? This question led me to investigate the experiences of these two groups for answers.

Their members shared an early experience that an increasing number of scientists and technologists in our current world now face. Out of the processes set in motion at Peenemünde and Los Alamos, the world has now evolved a global militarized culture. A very substantial portion of scientists and technologists trained for participation in our modern world economy find themselves in a situation where their prime opportunity for employment and career development lies in the service of the international arms industry. As nations drain their resources in search of military superiority, many of the more productive and hopeful goals of humankind are cancelled or delayed. The experience of those at Peenemünde and Los Alamos may give us a fuller understanding of the forces that have increasingly put science and scientists in pursuit of destructive goals.



After a devastating Allied air raid on the Peenemünde center, production of V-1 and V-2 weapons was moved underground to the secret Dora “Mittelbau” or “Mittelwerk” facility. Some 30,000 persons, most of them foreign forced laborers, worked under appalling conditions in the noisy, crowded tunnels. In this drawing by a former forced laborer, a propulsion unit is mounted in an A-4 (V-2) missile.

Los Alamos and Peenemünde: A Sense of Perspective

In seeking to gain perspective through comparison of Los Alamos and Peenemünde, it is informative to consider the forces that led each group to come together as a team. Few of their members anticipated careers associated with the military establishments of their respective countries. Yet all of them found that the military was their prime avenue of career development.

In the case of the Peenemünde group, many of its members had been affiliated with small German rocket societies such as the Society for Space Travel (*Verein für Raumschiffahrt*, or VfR) that had been forming since the late 1920s.³ While such organizations were not taken seriously in their early days, publicity that played upon the intriguing possibilities of interplanetary space flight made them an object of public curiosity.

Many accounts of German military developments prior to the Second World War suggest that the concept of the high-angle rocket appealed to German officialdom because it might offer a legal way around the restrictions placed on the development of artillery weapons in the Treaty of Ver-

sailles.⁴ While a case be made for this, it should be remembered that development of potentially illegal artillery had been underway for some while. In the words of Dr. Georg von Tiesenhausen,⁵

When I was drafted in 1936, I found the 8.8 cm anti-aircraft cannon already developed, including its advanced semi-automatic range finders, and velocity and direction indicators. This was a superior masterpiece of engineering development that must have started many years earlier.

Indeed, Dr. Gerhard Reisig points out that⁶

The development of the ‘88’ (as it was commonly called) had begun as early as 1929, in the Weimar Republic. Its use as a replacement for aging weapons was allowed under the treaty. However, the same weapon had great potential for anti-aircraft purposes, making it of questionable legality.

Given the general drift away from the strictest adherence to the standards of the Treaty of Versailles, even in the Weimar Republic, it is unlikely that legal questions overshadowed more practical

considerations of feasibility and economics in the earliest days of rocketry.

Early military development of German rocketry fell under the aegis of Walter Dornberger, an artillery captain who, in 1930, had graduated from the Technische Hochschule, Berlin. In the fall of 1932, Dornberger recruited Wernher von Braun as his chief technical assistant, thus making von Braun the ranking civilian in the rocket program. Subsequently von Braun obtained his doctorate in physics in 1934 at army expense. In the meantime, on 30 January 1933, Adolf Hitler had been officially appointed Chancellor and the Nazi Party of Germany quickly consolidated its power. Thus, as the Weimar Republic crumbled, the young von Braun was completing his formal education under circumstances that were to obligate him to serve the German army.

It should also be remembered that the Great Depression hit Germany with a vengeance. The severe economic climate motivated individuals to take employment anywhere it could be found, and, with the early rocketeers, it could be found only in the army. Neither German universities nor private industry showed the slightest interest in rocketry. At the best of times, private funding for studying rocket propulsion would have been most difficult to obtain, but, with the depression threatening the very survival of German industry, such a venture into basic research was out of the question. Arthur Rudolph, like so many of his counterparts, found himself without work and without money. Captain Dornberger moved through this cadre of unemployed engineers looking for ideas that might serve the army's interest in rocketry. From his recruitment efforts and from the lack of any available economic alternative, several young rocketeers were brought on to the government military payrolls. For reasons completely beyond their control, and toward ends that were divergent from their dreams, an increasing number of young German space visionaries found themselves in the service of a military establishment that was later to serve Nazi Germany.

As the activities of the early rocket pioneers grew, it became obvious that they would need a larger and more elaborate facility to test their new generation of vehicles. The first test facilities at Kummersdorf, some 25 kilometers south of Berlin, were rapidly becoming inadequate. The vicinity of the small fishing village of Peenemünde on the Bal-



Leo Szilard

tic Coast seemed to provide the perfect place. First suggested to von Braun by his mother, the site offered isolation and a place to fire the still highly experimental vehicles. As political tensions heightened in Europe, the advanced guard of the Peenemünde team was almost totally preoccupied with the elaborate preparations involved in the opening of the world's first large-scale rocket test facility. The Army Research Center at Peenemünde became fully staffed in August 1939. On September 1, 1939, Hitler ordered his troops to invade Poland, thus formally beginning the Second World War. By 1942, the facility at Peenemünde employed 1,960 scientists and technicians and some 3,852

other workers. Work on rocket development was then proceeding at maximum intensity.

The nearly complete mobilization of German society in the course of the Second World War saw many individuals with scientific and technical skills pressed into the military service. Among the interview group was Dr./Lance Corporal Ernst Stuhlinger, who was serving on the Russian front as an infantryman when he received orders to report to Peenemünde. This was a place and a project of which he had never heard. Likewise, Konrad K. Dannenberg, an infantry lieutenant in France, was called away from the battlefield to join the rocket development center. For individuals such as these, the motivation was clear: build rockets or dodge bullets.

In contrast, the factors that led to the assembly of the Los Alamos atomic bomb team were remarkably different. The scientists who were to comprise the core group at Los Alamos came from the well-established scientific field of physics. Physics, as a discipline, had become increasingly important since the turn of the century, and had acquired respect in major universities. In Germany, however, with the rise of the Nazi Party, the physics community had suffered a terrible blow. Fully 25 per cent of academic physicists in Germany, almost all Jewish, found themselves forced from their positions shortly after Hitler came to power. By 1934, one of every five institute directorships in Germany was vacant.⁷ The number of physicists who left Germany was large, but the quality was truly astounding. Fascism flushed away the cream of European physics: Albert Einstein, Hans Bethe, Edward Teller, Leo Szilard, Eugene Wigner, John von Neumann, Michael Polanyi, Theodor von Karman, George de Hevesy, Felix Bloch, James Franck,

Lothar Nordheim, Enrico Fermi, Niels Bohr and Eugene Rabinowitch. Along with some sympathetic non-Jewish scientists such as Erwin Schrodinger and Martin Stobb, these men were to become the driving force behind atomic research in Britain and the USA.

Hence, there was a stark contrast between the unemployed and unknown engineers and technicians who were seeking affiliation with the German army, and the relatively affluent and widely known physicists who were leaving Germany in droves. Of the Peenemünde team, only a few members could be considered to have outstanding credentials in science. Among them were von Braun, with a Ph.D. in physics; Ernst Stuhlinger, also with a Ph.D. in physics; and Carl Wagner, a Ph.D. physical chemist. Engineers did not yet enjoy the status of scientists. As Ernst Stuhlinger stated:⁸

According to my own observations, during the late twenties and the thirties, the general public held natural scientists in higher regard than philosophers. Engineers were considered with less awe than scientists, but their high value to society was well recognized—more than that of philosophers. *Engineer* covers a very broad field; engineers were never treated all alike. After all, engineers built the fabulous new airplanes and ocean liners, the worldwide telephone networks, and the television systems that began to appear during the mid 1930s, but engineers were also those simple-minded people who were at fault when the electric light did not work; when the car had a defect; when a train was late; or when the elevator got stuck between floors. The *scientist*, in the conception of the public, presented a far more homogeneous image than the *engineer*. There is no doubt that scientists found a far greater degree of respect than engineers in social circles during the 1920s and 1930s.

Even in the USA, in the 1950s and 1960s, it was



General Fellgiebel (left), head of German Army signals, congratulates Peenemünde-East Commander Colonel Leo Zanssen (center) after the first successful A-4 launch on October 3, 1942. Third from left, in Walter Dornberger, followed by Wernher von Braun. Second from right is Dr. Rudolf Hermann, head of Peenemünde wind tunnels, who was interviewed by Donald Tarter in writing the accompanying essay.

not unusual to find lingering traces of status comparisons among certain scientists who sometimes referred to the transplanted Peenemünde Team as “von Braun’s plumbers.”

Stuhlinger continues:

During the war, many things were different. From the standpoint of those who felt responsible for the conduct of the war, those scientists and engineers who contributed directly or indirectly to the war effort were, of course, of utmost importance. For Hitler and his immediate entourage, things were again different. Hitler did not like scientists (because they failed to rally around his flag), and he let them feel it. During the first years of the war, he denounced them, or at least neglected them, saying that he did not need them. He wanted production experts who could deliver large quantities of ammunition and

other war *matériel*. He needed and wanted engineers who could help with that production. Only toward the end of the war, when things went badly for Germany, Hitler complained bitterly that his scientists had not provided him with the wonder weapons he would have needed to win the war.

This complaint, Stuhlinger insists was directed primarily at the scientific community, not the engineering and technical community. Hitler felt that his initial mistrust of scientists had been verified. These fuzzy minded dreamers had failed to deliver on their promises, not only in terms of rocket technology, but in terms of a host of land, air and sea weapons.

According to Stuhlinger, considerations of relative status were not a factor within Peenemünde itself. Scientists, engineers and technicians worked together without reference to privilege or prestige. Whatever the general public or the Führer thought of their relative merits, for practical purposes such



Hiroshima in the wake of the atomic bombing of August 6, 1945. Located directly below the epicenter of the blast are the ruins of Sei hospital. The blast from the single bomb dropped on the metropolis completely destroyed more than four square miles of the city center, immediately killing about 90,000 people. Another 40,000 were injured, of whom many died later of radiation sickness.

considerations were unimportant.⁹

Neither the community of Jewish physicists nor the community of non-Jewish scientists and engineers was particularly active politically. The prevailing attitude of both was, insofar as possible, to ignore the political world and get on with their chosen professions. There were exceptions, most notably among the academic physicists such as Szilard, Bohr and Schrodinger, but the activist attitude was not the norm. Alan D. Beyerchen, in his study of the political posture of the physics community in the Third Reich, refers to this attitude as a form of "inner migration."¹⁰ Edward Teller expressed much the same early rejection of political involvement by noting that the continuing European political difficulties forced him to be "enveloped in the feeling that only science is lasting."¹¹

In Germany, this apolitical posture was even more pronounced for the Peenemünde group. At least three reasons can be identified that may account for this. First, their educational backgrounds had certainly not prepared or predisposed them to ask political questions or seek out political activities. Second, as they gravitated toward the closed and restricted environments of Kummersdorf and later Peenemünde, they became progressively more isolated from the intellectual currents at play in the cities and in the universities. Third, and perhaps most important, their lot was improving under the rule of the Third Reich. For the most part, the men of Peenemünde were plain, practical men, mostly members of the *volkisch* ideal, the German

or Nordic middle class. Their training was in practical, not theoretical matters. They were, in the eyes of the Aryan thinkers, the finest example of native German utilitarianism.

Hitler's Aryan ideology even found its way into physics, in a movement led by two Nobel laureates, Philipp Lenard and Johannes Stark.¹² Perhaps the most prominent statement of the philosophy of Aryan physics can be found in Lenard's *Deutsche Physik*, published in four volumes during 1936 and 1937.¹³ Aryan physics proclaimed the applied and experimental over the theoretical. Applied physics was German; theoretical physics was Jewish. Technology was preferred over theory. Non-Jewish German theoretical physicists such as Heisenberg were chastised for bringing a Jewish spirit to German physics, yet statements from the Peenemünde group tend to confirm the failure of Aryan physics to become an influential part of German physics, even in the darkest days of the push toward ideological conformity. Physicist Ernst Stuhlinger observes,

When Lenard's book, *Deutsche Physik*, was published, it met with head shaking and amazement among colleagues. We young physicists read a few pages out of curiosity, and then put it aside. I remember that Hans Geiger once said to a group of students, "This is all very strange. One cannot do away with the facts of physics just like that. I'm so surprised that Lenard should have digressed so far; he used to be a very fine experimenter." Under the circum-

stances, it was very courageous for Geiger to say that much. We students got the message. I remember that I was very glad to have this assurance and confirmation of my own thoughts.

Stuhlinger goes on to confirm Alan Beyerchen's observations that Aryan physics was very ill-defined, and fraught with internal contradictions.¹⁴

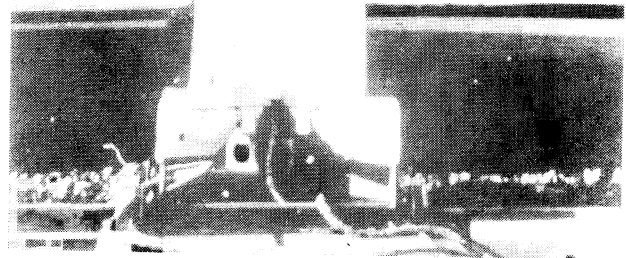
The names connected with Aryan physics were Lenard, Stark, Tomaschek and a few hot-headed students, but that was an extremely small minority among the hundreds of physicists who were active at universities at the time. Lenard, Stark and Tomaschek were really ostracized. Physics was taught as *usual*, with Einstein's relativity, Bohr's atom model, Heisenberg's and Schrodinger's quantum mechanics, Pauli's principle, etc.

Gerhard Reisig, who was in the field of engineering physics, dismissed Lenard and Stark as being thought of as eccentric old men, opportunists seeking to resurrect their declining careers.¹⁵ Georg von Tisenhausen thinks they had virtually no influence in the practical or intellectual activities of engineers. In his words, "Aryan Physics? I never heard of it."¹⁶

Hence, as the 1930s drew to a close, we see an interesting phenomenon among the community of German scientists and technologists. Large numbers of an old intellectual elite had been dethroned, while a new and emergent elite of physicists and engineers was assuming command. Pressures for ideological conformity were apparent, even to the most politically detached, but an ideological physics was destined to be stillborn.

The historical trap was set. The engineers and technicians bound for Peenemünde were absorbed by new and seemingly unlimited opportunities. The rush of excitement and the promise to be able to pursue the long-held dream of opening the door to the cosmos dimmed their already feeble propensity to question political policy. The Peenemünde team was lured into a political and moral lethargy that would later be enforced by the powers of a police state.

The Jewish physicists who were destined to become a major component of the yet-to-be Los Alamos team were busily directing their efforts toward the rescue of their families and colleagues. What little time was left was spent urging the British and American governments to prepare to develop the ultimate weapon against Fascism: the atomic bomb. Those who were to be at the core of the Los Alamos team were made callous by the human outrages occurring around them. In the process, their con-



A "Wasserfall" ("Waterfall") test rocket on the launch pad in 1944. This anti-aircraft guided missile was the second major project at Peenemünde during the last two years of the war.

cerns for survival surpassed the moral questions raised by a weapon of mass destruction.

Social scientists have long held that moral questions can only be understood within the context of their times. Perhaps that is why so many members of these two technical teams answer the probes of modern moral investigators with the response, "You just don't understand."

The War Years

The Peenemünde research facility became fully operational in August 1939. It was not until April 1943 that the Los Alamos atomic development facility was opened. Some comparisons of these two major research and development facilities are useful in understanding the behavior of those who worked at each. Both facilities were secret and isolated. Peenemünde had nearly 6,000 operational

personnel at its height, the Los Alamos facility had a total workforce of nearly 5,000. Both facilities were heavily dependent upon support facilities in other parts of their respective countries. In Germany, these support facilities were increasingly disabled by Allied attacks as the war progressed. In the United States, the support facilities were secure and increasingly grew more productive. Peenemünde itself came under direct bombing attack in August 1943. Los Alamos never had such concerns. The mission at Peenemünde was open-ended and growing. It was assigned to develop, produce and supply an increasing variety of rocket-propelled vehicles for military use. The mission at Los Alamos was singular and finite: produce an atomic weapon. Both Peenemünde and Los Alamos operated under a military commander: General Walter Dornberger in Germany and General Leslie R. Groves in the United States. Both project directors were civilian scientists — Dr. Wernher von Braun and Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer — and both were natives of their respective countries. Peenemünde operated in the totalitarian environment of war-ravaged Germany, whereas Los Alamos operated in the more open and democratic environment of a secure United States. Because collaborative scientific and technological enterprises require a great deal of free discussion and exchange of ideas, both facilities seemed to maintain a good deal of internal freedom with regards to discussion of the best strategies to achieve their stated mission. Open discussion of other applications of technologies, most specifically space travel, were forbidden at Peenemünde, and political discussions were most certainly forbidden, while at Los Alamos the political ramifications of the work were an open but infrequently discussed topic.

From the date the Peenemünde facility became fully operational to the date of the first successful A-4 test, October 3, 1942, there was a lapse of three years and two months. From the date that Los Alamos opened to the first successful test of the atomic bomb at the Trinity Site, July 1945, there was a lapse of two years and three months. The time from the first successful A-4 test launch in October 1942 to its first successful military use in September 1944 was one year and eleven months. The less complex V-1 weapon was ready some two and a half months earlier and was first used on the battlefield on June 13, 1944. The time from the test of the atomic weapon at the Trinity site in New Mexico on July 16, 1945, to its first use in warfare at Hiroshima on August 6, 1945, was a mere three weeks. Credible analysts estimate that the German V-weapon effort cost approximately three billion war-time US dollars. The Manhattan atomic bomb project cost approximately two billion dollars.¹⁷

While it is impossible to judge with quantitative certainty, the general conditions under which the two research and development facilities existed, and the missions they were assigned to accomplish, suggest that the task faced by the Peenemünde group was more difficult than that faced at Los Alamos. The industrial, university, and governmental support facilities that were necessary for the completion of the Manhattan Project were enormous, and they were located in a country that was not under direct attack. The administrative and production challenges faced by Peenemünde, being open-ended and constantly subject to disruptions through enemy attack, were far greater than those of Los Alamos.

The Peenemünde facility first came under direct attack with the Allied aerial bombardment of August 17, 1943. Although the Royal Air Force specifically intended its mission to kill as many of the expert technical and administrative personnel as possible, in fact only two key figures were killed, Walter Thiel and Erich Walther. Seven hundred and thirty-three other individuals died in the raids, and major damage was done to personnel housing and development works. Following the Peenemünde bombing, systematic raids were launched against supporting assembly plants and hydrogen peroxide production facilities. Peenemünde itself was not bombed again for almost a year, and never with the same intensity. This was because intelligence reports indicated that much of the testing and production had been moved elsewhere.¹⁸ Helmut Zoike, the engineer at the control panel who actually launched the first human object in space, stated in our interviews that “The bombings came too late to hinder the A-4 development, this was already done. The raids were, also, too early to interfere with deployment. It really came at a very opportune time from the German perspective.”¹⁹ Thus, the actual raid on Peenemünde was not as crippling to the program as the continuing raids on support facilities.

It was, nevertheless, in an increasing atmosphere of desperation that the decision was made to move rocket production underground into the infamous Mittelwerk facility. This site was the location of an old gypsum mine in the Harz Mountains in north-west Germany. The conversion from mine to missile-production facility was a harsh and dirty task, performed under intense pressure, and using forced labor from a mixture of criminals, homosexuals, prisoners of war and political prisoners. Von Braun described the conditions of the labor force at Mittelwerk as “horrible;” Albert Speer used the term “barbarous;” and Arthur Rudolph calls the treatment of prisoners “primitive” and “awful.” Prisoners were literally worked to death or exposed to such unsanitary conditions that they died of dis-

ease. Those who resisted faced summary execution. Bodies were disposed of in a local crematory. Only eleven months after General Dornberger had proclaimed the A-4 vehicle to have opened the doorway to the heavens, it was being produced in the dungeons of hell.²⁰

The universal question asked by students of the history of technology and ethics comes here. Did the Peenemünde personnel know the composition of the Mittelwerk task force? Clearly, they did. Were they personally terrified, or did they shrug off the barbarities because it was the job that mattered? It has been their position that it was the former: their welfare and the welfare of their families depended on their compliance with the situation as it was. Given the tyranny and the desperation of the Nazi regime, this seems a distinct possibility. Social science has no power to read the minds and motives of human beings. We can describe events, describe the behavior of individuals in those events, and record their explanations of their behavior. It is up to the student of history to interpret his or her acceptance of those explanations.

Rudolph, and others at Mittelwerk, were frequently reminded that they too could join the forced labor teams if they did not fully cooperate with the SS authorities. Previously, in March 1943, Wernher and Magnus von Braun, Klaus Riedel, Helmut Grottrup and Hannes Lührsen had been arrested by the (Gestapo at Peenemünde and charged with treason for describing the A-4 as a space vehicle rather than a weapon of war. Obviously, this arrest was not over mere semantics, but was designed as a warning to key members of the team that nobody was immune from the force of SS control.

The madness of war became complete. German atrocities at home and in occupied territories mushroomed. This was followed by the growing insensitivity to human suffering on the part of the Allies. In July 1943, the mostly civilian city of Hamburg was fire-bombed, and in one night 45,000 Germans died — most of them old people, women and children.²¹ Other cities such as Cologne and Dresden were to suffer the same fate. Hostility had escalated into mutual barbarity. With these developments, the world's first generation of space vehicles changed their name from A-weapons, which innocuously meant assembly, to V-weapons, in which the V meant, ominously "vengeance" (*Vergeltung*).

By comparison, the scene surrounding the isolated mesa that was home to the Los Alamos laboratory appeared almost serene. Here, desperation was nowhere apparent on the landscape, but, rather, was hidden in the emotions and fears of the men who labored frantically against a possibility that proved eventually to be a phantasm. These scientist worked with a fair certainty that Japan would not

be able to develop the atomic bomb, but there was much less certainty about what the German potential might be. In their minds, the real enemy was Germany. Japan was a force to be dealt with after the demise of Hitler was assured. Emotional responses to the Third Reich were unusually intense because of the personal associations that many at Los Alamos had with the Third Reich. Several, including Oppenheimer, had relatives who were suffering and dying under Nazi persecution. Whether they shared personal experience or not — Jewish, non-Jewish, American-born and foreign-born — all at Los Alamos were melded together into a coordinated and determined force to produce the agent of mass destruction that they knew was possible.

Motivations had been internalized. These men did not work under the threat of midnight arrest. There was no possibility of being assigned to forced-labor parties. They worked voluntarily for a cause they considered essential. This, too, made the task at Los Alamos easier. There were reservations expressed and even some resignations, but the team as a whole had an *esprit de corps* that was remarkable.

Interestingly, from a behavioral science point of view, the positive *esprit de corps* at Los Alamos had its counterpart in a sort of "negative" *esprit de corps* at Peenemünde and Mittelwerk. Dr. Paul Figge, who was a major figure in A-4 production, described it thus:²²

The bombings hardly affected progress on the A-4 program, because our enthusiasm still remained high to accomplish the goal. So actually, the more difficult the conditions became, the more the enthusiasm grew to finish what we had begun. "Enjoy the war — the peace will be terrible" was the motto.

Caught up as they were in the enthusiasm for their task, members of the Los Alamos team, as well as their Peenemünde counterparts, were to come to accept and take pleasure in the pernicious products of their science and technology. No member of the Los Alamos team, during the course of his work, ever had to witness a summary execution. No member ever lost one of his immediate family or a close colleague to enemy bombing. No member of the Los Alamos team ever had to look into the wretchedly pitiful face of a slave laborer dying in the process of being forced to serve a cause he detested. Yet the war culture prevailed. Its all-consuming power instilled into the Los Alamos team a growing callousness that effectively precluded deep moral and ethical reflection on the ultimate consequences of their deeds.

Donald A. Strickland, in his study of the atomic

scientists' political movement of 1945 and 1946, notes that at Los Alamos there was "no political arousal before the end of the war, save for a few private conversations." He calls this an "arresting" fact, considering that the politically active Niels Bohr, Enrico Fermi, Eugene Wigner and Leo Szilard were frequent visitors to this remote site.²³ The drive to achieve the task was too intense for reflection. It was after the grisly weapon was a *fait accompli* that the ponderous questions of morality were asked.

Fermi moved to Los Alamos in September 1944. Although he was technically an enemy alien until his American citizenship was granted in 1945, he was allowed to become a lab director. Bohr, on the other hand, had incurred the severe displeasure of Winston Churchill over his insistence that the Soviets be informed as to the existence of the weapon and invited to collaborate in a scheme of international control. Bohr had further made unauthorized disclosures about the project to Chief Justice Felix Frankfurter. It has been reported that, for this, Churchill was on the edge of ordering Bohr's arrest.²⁴ Roosevelt adopted Churchill's position and became extremely cool toward Bohr. Despite these political difficulties, Bohr was allowed a major consultancy role at Los Alamos. These two cases seem to demonstrate that the practical matter of building the bomb was placed above political questions about those who were building it. It is not likely that the same lenience would have been extended to the key technical personnel on the Peenemünde team.

While most at Los Alamos simply lost themselves in the task at hand, there were more glaring examples of growing insensitivity to humanitarian considerations. From the time Edward Teller arrived, he set his sights not on the mission at hand, but the even greater destructive potential of the hydrogen bomb, or the "super," as he almost affectionately called it. Teller eventually refused to work under Hans Bethe on further calculations concerning mere fission weapons, and was given his own small group at the laboratory for investigation of the development of a thermonuclear weapon.²⁵

In addition to this minority thrust toward overkill, there was a disquieting theoretical possibility that the ignition of the fission weapon might just produce enough heat to cause a reaction between deuterium and nitrogen, and thereby set fire to the world's atmosphere. On hearing this, Oppenheimer immediately set Hans Bethe to work checking Teller's initial calculations. Was this, the ultimate catastrophe, really possible? For the first but not the last time in history, human beings had to make a decision as to whether a task at hand was worth the risk — albeit infinitesimal — of ending our collective existence. The logic we used then may give us a

hint of the logic we shall have to use again.

According to Teller, the matter was firmly laid to rest in 1942, when some of his initial calculations were found to be in error. As Peter Goodchild notes in his classic study of Oppenheimer, several scientists were, over the next three years, to make the same calculations as Teller; and because Teller's initial calculations had been kept secret, they too came to Oppenheimer with great alarm.²⁶ Calculations were checked and rechecked right up to 1945, shortly before the first test detonation at the Trinity site. Rumors of the potential total human catastrophe had become so widespread among all levels of personnel at Los Alamos that the authorities drew up contingency plans for psychiatrists at the Oak Ridge facility to be flown to Los Alamos should panic ensue. Arthur H. Compton has said that his group calculated a three-in-a-million chance of destroying the world, and that was an acceptable risk. Edward Teller, on the other hand, insists that they were able to dismiss the possibility entirely. At that time such statements of high confidence seemed most reassuring.²⁷ Looking back from the perspective of a generation that has heard similar confident risk assessments before events such as Three Mile Island, Chernobyl and the space shuttle *Challenger*, those expressions of high confidence sound more hollow.

A final observation on the darker face of Los Alamos is now in order. The prevailing pathos of the general culture had affected all who labored there, but perhaps the extent to which it had changed basic human values is best illustrated by J. Robert Oppenheimer himself. Based on information recently obtained under the Freedom of Information Act, Joseph Rotblat, a physicist who assisted in bomb design, and one of the few who left prior to project completion, relates the following story. In a letter dated May 25, 1943, from Oppenheimer to Enrico Fermi, the issue of using radioactive materials to poison German food supplies was raised. Oppenheimer was asking Fermi whether he could produce enough strontium without letting too many in on the secret. Oppenheimer continued, "I think we should not attempt a plan unless we can poison food sufficient to kill a half a million men." Rotblat offers the following observation, "I am sure that in peacetime these same scientists would have viewed such a plan as barbaric; they would not have contemplated it even for a moment. Yet, during the war, it was considered quite seriously, and I presume, abandoned only because it was technically unfeasible."²⁸

Richard Rhodes comments on the same incident as follows, "There is no better evidence anywhere in the record of the increasing bloody-mindedness of the Second World War than that Robert Oppenheimer, a man who professed at various times in his

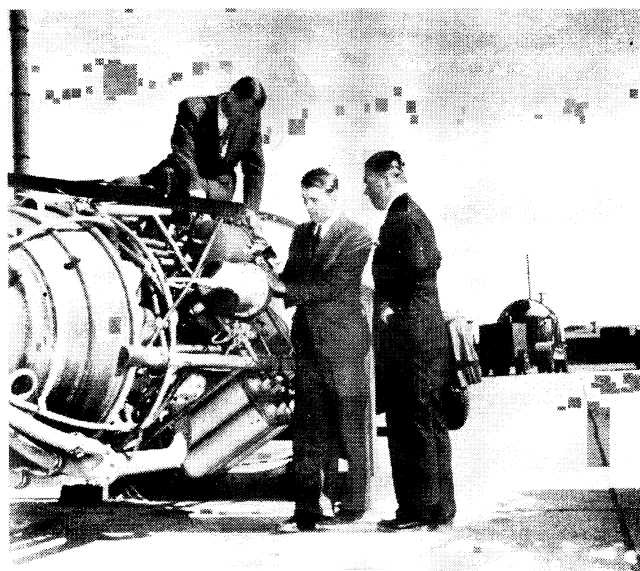
life to be dedicated to *Ahisma* (the Sanskrit word that means doing no harm or hurt ...) could write with enthusiasm of preparations for the mass poisoning of as many as five hundred thousand human beings."²⁹

After The War

Their accomplishment in the Second World War made the members of the Los Alamos and Peenemünde teams into legends. Their actions and statements after the war shaped and moulded the public perceptions of these legends, yet the environments that the two groups faced after the war were radically different. It is those differences that have done much to shape our postwar evaluations of them. Members of the teams at Peenemünde and Mittelwerk fled their posts as the Allied forces closed their grip around Germany in early 1945. They arranged a rendezvous at a small Austrian village named Reutte. There they surrendered to the American forces, and their journey to the United States began. The code name Project Paperclip was given to this movement. Some 118 individuals comprised the first group of Peenemünde personnel coming to the USA. Later, several hundred additional individuals, including family and colleagues, joined them. One member of the core group, Helmut Grottrup, decided to remain in what was to become East Germany and work with the Soviet missile program. A small cadre of other German rocket personnel joined him and were later transferred to the Soviet Union.

From the time von Braun and his group surrendered until some years after their arrival at Fort Bliss, Texas, they remained, as Ordway and Sharpe put it, "prisoners of peace."³⁰ They were allowed substantial freedom of movement and association, but they were subject to governmental restrictions and objects of continued surveillance by the FBI and other government agencies. Although acceptance by the American public was generally polite, some degree of suspicion and hostility was occasionally apparent. In contrast, the key figures at Los Alamos, their mission completed for the most part, sought to leave weapons work and return to academic environments. They did so with an enhanced prestige that made them instant scientific celebrities wherever they went. They existed in an atmosphere of honor and respect, and they were encouraged to express their views freely on what they had done and what it might mean for our future.

There was pressure on the atomic scientists to help us think about the new issues we faced in the nuclear age. Their academic settings made this possible. Their organization into politically active groups and their launch of the influential *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* were reflections of this type of



Martin Schilling, Wernher von Braun and Ernst Steinhoff (left to right) inspect a V-2 (A-4) rocket motor at the White Sands Proving Ground, New Mexico, in 1946.

environment. But for those who had come from Peenemünde, conditions were very different. Between 1945 and 1950, there was little public discussion of their role or their activities. They worked for the US army on the remote missile test ranges of Texas and New Mexico and their actions were shrouded in secrecy. Occasional announcements of V-2 launching were made, but very little was said about the German team that assisted. The United States government was still too uncertain about the possible public reaction to play up the presence of these men from Peenemünde.

It was not until the early 1950s that the public began to learn of the activities of these men. Shifting as they did from the sparsely populated regions of Texas and New Mexico to the more populated regions surrounding Huntsville, Alabama, they came increasingly to public attention. The focus of publicity was on Dr. Wernher von Braun. His charismatic manner and his ability to capture public attention were immediately apparent. He began to publish books such as *Across the Space Frontier*, *Man on the Moon*, and *Mars Project* in the early 1950s. As these works came to public attention, the Cold War intensified. With the advent of the Soviet launch of Sputnik, in October 1957, attention focused on the Germans at Huntsville. The USA increasingly began to look to them to save its international prestige by answering the Soviet challenge with its own successful orbital vehicle. After dismal failures by the Navy in its Vanguard program, von Braun's team at Huntsville was given the task and, on January 31, 1958, the Redstone rocket lifted the



Ernst Stuhlinger, Hermann Oberth and Wernher von Braun (standing, left to right), with their wives, Irmgard Stuhlinger, Tilly Oberth, and Maria von Braun, 1957.

USA's first satellite, Explorer I, into orbit. The space age for the United States had now really begun, and Dr. Wernher von Braun was its leader.

The passions of the late 1950s and 1960s were assertive and not reflective. This was mirrored in von Braun's writings, which became commonplace in the scientific and popular press. These dealt almost entirely with the prospects of new hardware in space and new missions for space vehicles. The more sensitive subject of science and its relation to political and foreign policy issues was almost never discussed. By contrast, the atomic scientists made such issues their central focus.

Suspensions concerning the historical role of the Peenemünde team were occasionally expressed in public dialogue in the late 1960s and 1970s, but they were seldom answered by the team itself. Their continued affiliation with the Army, and later NASA, dampened any thoughts of embroiling themselves in controversial questions. After the successful Apollo Lunar Program there was a feeling among several of von Braun's close associates that he was a victim of lingering prejudice against Germans by not being considered for the top job at NASA. His resignation from NASA in 1972 was rumored to be a result of such prejudices but, in traditional low-key style, he and his colleagues shied away from discussion of such allegations. When we sought clarification on this point for our project, Stuhlinger, Reisig and von Tiesenhausen all confirmed that they felt prejudice was a factor. But all agreed that it was more than just prejudice. As Stuhlinger pointed out,³¹

At the time when the first American satellite was planned, 1955-57, there were people who

thought that an American satellite should be built by native Americans, not naturalized immigrants — who even had been enemies less than ten years earlier. That attitude was probably the real reason why the Navy-supported Vanguard, and not the Army-supported Explorer, was America's satellite project for the 1957-1958 International Geophysical Year. However, in my talks with large numbers of people who knew von Braun, it is clear that the true reason was neither von Braun's background as a builder of rockets for the German Army, nor a lingering prejudice against Germans in general, but "very simple human jealousy." Von Braun's popularity was extraordinary, not only with the public and the news media, but also, with Congress. For some within the high ranks of NASA, this was just too much to bear.

Reisig noted that "We found out that Americans like success but not too much success."³²

In a strange historical irony, the leaders of these two great scientific and technical teams met their final demise in much the same way. Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer's career with government came to an end with a denial of his security clearance because of past political associations. However, professional jealousy was also a key part of this decision. In the Oppenheimer case, the principal source of opposition has been identified as Edward Teller, who, in the words of Peter Goodchild, saw Oppenheimer as "a man of rival power and opposite persuasion."³³ Likewise, von Braun's fate was sealed by the same combination of past political associations and professional rivalry. Oppenheimer received strong expressions of support from his colleagues and stirred much public debate. With von Braun, there was a minimum of public discussion. Right up until 1984, when the US Department of Justice completed its investigation of Dr. Arthur Rudolph and he chose to leave the country rather than face trial, the Peenemünde team avoided public controversy.

The news of the Rudolph affair shook the German group. Virtually all had now retired and were free to express themselves on events in Germany. Some did, but most felt that their best interest could be served by remaining silent. Indeed, many long decades of silence about the political winds that had constantly buffeted them throughout their careers had crippled their capacity for public expression about these issues. It was as if by spending a lifetime in difficult circumstances where silence was the seeming solution, when public expression was demanded they had no capacity for it. At this point, they as a group, their ranks now thinned by death and debility, stood wounded and demoralized. Their

great goal of leading the moon race, though accomplished, had been followed not by respect but by what they perceived as a sense of public rejection.

Los Alamos and Peenemunde: A Reflection

Now, nearly 50 [sic] years after the last great war, emotions have not yet cooled enough to look dispassionately upon events of that epoch. The exile of Dr. Rudolph and some lingering pressures to investigate other members of the Peenemünde group attest to this fact. It is not the purpose of this article to attempt to assess guilt or innocence of any individual, or to try to place a moral judgment on either team. It is to place them side by side and note the points of similarity and the points of contrast. In so doing, I have sought to show that both were the product of the peculiar and seemingly pathological forces of their time. Nearly 13,000 individuals died as a result of the machines built by the men of Peenemunde. This death toll was dwarfed by the 340,000 individuals who ultimately died as a result of the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. In the context of those times, such numbers became mere abstractions in a cultural ambience that had come to accept the atrocity of mass annihilation. Today, perhaps, we can look at these figures with some sense of perspective.³⁴

We may conclude from this contrasting viewpoint of these two great technological teams that human evaluations are not based on absolute deeds, but upon the relationship of those deeds to a larger cultural and historical context. The Los Alamos team stands as an honored and esteemed group to which individuals still proudly claim affiliation. The Peenemünde team, to this day, prefers a low profile and elicits a curious public response. As the remaining members of both teams now live out their final days, they must examine their own consciences, ponder their own products and judge their own role in history. Their experience has taught those of us who would pass judgment that technology in service to war and its weapons brings, to those who prepare such weapons, honor or disgrace based not upon the lethal impact of their work but upon the moral judgments that are defined by the victors and endured by the vanquished.

Notes and References

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2. The videotaped interviews are available through the library of the University of Alabama in Huntsville or the library of the United States Space and Rocket Center, Huntsville. The author would like to thank the following individuals for their willingness to participate in this project: Konrad K. Dannenberg, Jim Fagan, Rudolph Hermann, Otto Hirschler, Dieter K. Huzel, Fritz K. Müller, Willibald Prasthofer, Eberhard Rees, Wernher K. Rosinski, Gerhard Reisig, Ernst Stuhlinger, Georg von Tiesenhausen and Helmut Zoike. This is a revised and expanded edition of a paper presented at the 38th Annual Congress of the International Astronautical Federation, Brighton, United Kingdom, October 1987.
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6. As stated by Dr. Gerhard Reisig in interview, February 1989.
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15. G. Reisig, source cited above (note 6).
16. G. von Tiesenhausen, source cited above (note 5).
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18. F. Ordway and M. Sharpe, *The Rocket Team*, cited above, pp. 121-124.
19. As stated by Helmut Zoike in the video interviews: "Our Future in Space: Messages from the Beginning" (Library, University of Alabama in Huntsville and the archives of the United States Space and Rocket Center).
20. This refers to General Dornberger's talk on the evening of October 3, 1942, the date of the first successful A-4 launch, in which he stated that "We have invaded space with our rocket for the first time." See F. Ordway and M. Sharpe, *The Rocket Team*, cited above, p. 42.
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33. P. Goodchild, *J. Robert Oppenheimer*, cited above, p. 252, indicates the rivalry between Oppenheimer and Teller.
34. These figures were obtained from F. Ordway and M. Sharpe, *The Rocket Team*, cited above, pp. 734, 740. Various studies produce different numbers, but these seem to be approaching the norm of estimates.

Build Soil

My friends all know I'm interpersonal.
 But long before I'm interpersonal
 Away 'way down inside I'm personal.
 Just so before we're international
 We're national and act as nationals.
 The colors are kept unmixed on the palette,
 Or better on dish plates all around the room,
 So the effect when they are mixed on canvas
 May seem almost exclusively designed.
 Some minds are so confounded intermental
 They remind me of pictures on a palette: "Look
 at what happened. Surely some God pinxit.
 Come look at my significant mud pie."
 It's hard to tell which is the worst abhorrence
 Whether it's persons pied or nations pied.
 Don't let me seem to say the exchange, the
 encounter,
 May not be the important thing at last.
 It may well be. We meet — I don't say when —
 But must bring to the meeting the maturest,
 The longest-saved-up, raciest, localest
 We have strength of reserve in us to bring.

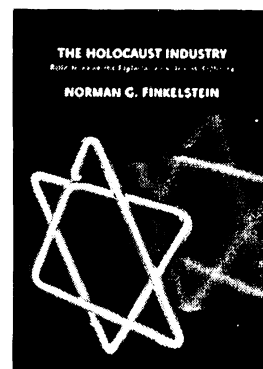
— Robert Frost, from "Build Soil:
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The Great Challenge Facing the West

Today more or less everywhere — in the Far East, India, South America, South Africa — industrial regions are in being, or coming into being, which, owing to their low scales of wages, confront us with a deadly competition. The unassailable privileges of the white nations have been thrown away, squandered, betrayed. The others have caught up with their instructors. Possibly — with the cunning of the colored races and the over-ripe intelligence of their ancient civilizations — they have surpassed them.

Where there is coal, petroleum or water-power, there a new weapon can be forged against the heart of Faustian [Western] civilization. The exploited world is beginning to take its revenge on its masters. The countless hands of the colored races — at least as clever, and far less demanding — will shatter the economic organization of the whites at its foundation. The accustomed luxury of the white worker, in contrast to that of the coolie, will be his doom. The labor of the white is itself becoming superfluous. The huge masses of men centered in the Northern coal areas, the great industrial works, the capital invested in them, whole cities and districts, threaten to succumb to the competition. The center of gravity of production is steadily shifting away from them, especially given that even the colored races' respect for the whites came to an end with the [First] World War. This is the real and final basis of the unemployment that prevails in the white countries. It is no mere crisis, but the beginning of a catastrophe ...

Faced as we are with this destiny, there is only one world-outlook that is worthy of us, that which has already been mentioned as the Choice of Achilles — better a short life, full of deeds and glory, than a long life without content. Already the danger is so great, for every individual, every class, every nation, that to cherish any illusion whatever is deplorable. The march of time cannot be halted; there is no question of prudent retreat or clever renunciation. Only dreamers believe there is a way out. Optimism is *cowardice*.

We are born into this time and must bravely follow the path to the destined end. There is no other way. Our duty is to hold on to the lost position, without hope, without rescue, like that Roman soldier whose bones were found in front of a door in Pompeii, who died at his post during the eruption of Vesuvius because someone forgot to relieve him. That is greatness. That is what it means to be a thoroughbred. The honorable end is the one that can *not* be taken from a man.

— Oswald Spengler, *Der Mensch und die Technik* (Munich: C.H. Beck: 1931), pages 86-89.

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"If the Germans had dropped atomic bombs on cities instead of us, we would have defined the dropping of atomic bombs on cities as a war crime, and we would have sentenced the Germans who were guilty of this crime to death at Nuremberg and hanged them."

— Leo Szilard

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Legal Repression in Germany

Gerhard Rudolf

This youthful scientist and writer — himself a political refugee — reports knowledgeably on Germany's ever more draconian legal measures against dissident "thought criminals." The author of the most advanced forensic analysis of the alleged gas chambers of Auschwitz, renowned as The Rudolf Report, also tells about his recent research and publishing work. Rudolf, now living in forced exile, also takes telling aim at Robert Jan Van Pelt, a key witness in the recent London Irving-Lipstadt trial. Rudolf comments authoritatively on the chemistry of the Auschwitz crematory ruins, as it figured in the Irving trial and in the recent "Mr. Death" movie about Fred Leuchter. 90 min. (#A155) \$9.95

Blacklisting My Book, 'An Eye for An Eye'

John Sack

This prolific author and journalist tells the story of his headline-making book in an address he was prevented from giving at the US Holocaust Memorial Museum. Sack dramatically tells how Polish Jews working in the Communist Office of State Security tortured and murdered innocent German civilians, how he discovered some of these Jews years later, and how a few of them repented of their crimes. Following his lecture, Holocaust true-believer Sack answers tough questions from conference attendees. 90 min. (#A156) \$9.95

Changing Views of Race and Society / Closing Remarks

*Gladye Whitney, Greg Raven
& Mark Weber*

A Florida State University psychology professor, and former president of the Behavioral Genetics Association, Whitney relates how his field, psychology, was hijacked from its rightful place among the natural sciences to serve a specious ideology-driven agenda of egalitarianism. Whitney names names — from Franz Boas to Steven Jay Gould — and calls for a return to the methods and values of Charles Darwin and Francis Galton. Then, in a heartfelt closing, IHR director Mark Weber and corporate chief Greg Raven close the Conference with thanks to speakers, attendees, and all IHR supporters. 90 min. (#A157) \$9.95

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Historical Past vs. Political Present

Arthur R. Butz

In this informative, stimulating lecture, the author of *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* brings the method and outlook of his pathbreaking study to bear on the latest issues in Holocaust revisionism. After discussing the accessibility of Holocaust-era material recently available from the Berlin Document Center, Professor Butz discusses — with illuminating insight and mordant incision — the attempts of such exterminationist pundits as self-advertised skeptic Michael Shermer and faux-architect Robert Jan Van Pelt to belittle his own pioneering work on the few Auschwitz documents then available. Butz finishes with a devastating review of the Benjamin Wilkomirski fraud, stressing how Deborah Lipsadt and other pillars of “Holocaust studies” continued to promote this phony “memoir” well after its exposure as a hoax. 90 min. (#A146) \$9.95

My Political Imprisonment in Germany

Fredrick Toben

The chief of Australia's Adelaide Institute discloses the facts of his 1999 arrest in Mannheim, and discusses his seven-months imprisonment for thought crime there. Dr.

Toben, a philosopher by university training, delivers a moving but clear-eyed account of how his intense thirst for knowledge through free inquiry led him to a German jail, and continues to lead him, undaunted, in the search for truth. 90 min. (#A147) \$9.95

The Fate of Unregistered Auschwitz Inmates

Jürgen Graf

Swiss author and researcher Graf examines long-unavailable Auschwitz camp records, from the Moscow archives and elsewhere, to establish the true fates of thousands of Jews at Auschwitz deemed gassed by exterminationists. Graf cites documents showing treatment and release from the Auschwitz hospital of numerous unregistered Hungarian Jews; the presence in Auschwitz of a sizable number of Jewish children, a good number of whom survived the war; and records of many Hungarian Jews, unregistered at Auschwitz, who were sent on to other German camps. Bristling with facts and insight. 90 min. \$9.95 (#A148)

My Struggle in Canada

Ernst Zündel

The man who commissioned the Leuchter Report and inspired David Irving's conversion to gas-chamber skepticism talks movingly of his marathon struggle for freedom of expression in his adopted homeland. Zündel relates how the ludicrously named Canadian Human Rights Tribunal has been citing Zündel materials on an Internet website, though owned and operated by Ingrid Rimland in California, as the latest pretext for muzzling him. As Ernst makes clear, the machinations of Canada's spy and police agencies, its media, and its Jewish organizational mafia have anything but dampened the spirits of this one-man truth wave. 90 min. \$9.95 (#A149)

A Skeptical Look at 'Schindler's List'

Theodore J. O'Keefe

IHR editor O'Keefe takes a skeptical look at “Schindler's List,” to show that — as Schindler's Jewish “survivors” agree — the list was actually the work of the venal Jewish ghetto policeman and concentration camp capo, Marcel Goldberg. Looking beyond the misnamed list, O'Keefe establishes that Schindler's life-saving exertions are a postwar invention; that his activities as an industrialist and employer of “slave labor” were fully in line with official German policy; and that the survival of “his” Jews, at a branch of the concentration camp Gross-Rosen in Moravia at war's end was far from unique. 90 min. \$9.95 (#A150)

On the Front Lines

Robert Countess, Bradley Smith, & John Bennett

Three revisionist activists in top form! Retired college professor and minister of the Gospel Bob Countess recounts, with gusto, his revisionist adventures as a journalist and prankster in Scandinavia and his promotional and publishing work with such scholars as Germar Rudolf. Bradley Smith tells of his latest successes on US campuses, where his publications have graduated from *being banned* to *being burned*. Longtime Australian activist and civil-liberties attorney John Bennett champions a more diverse, better humored revisionism. 180 min. Two-tape set. (#A151) \$19.90

Machinations of the Anti-Defamation League

Pete McCloskey

The former US Congressman tells how his long career in law, politics, academic life, and the Marine Corps led him to mistrust governmental official history and to esteem the mission of the IHR. McCloskey

gas chambers have a vested interest, to some degree, in defending the honor of Germany.

My politics have always been mostly to the left. I began to change my view of Jews in 1992-93 when I lived in Israel as a Fulbright scholar, and observed routine humiliating mistreatment by Jews of non-Jews. That experience profoundly troubled me, and led me to intensive research of Jews and the "Jewish question."

For the past several years I have been working on an encyclopedic book about the Jews and their role in society. For example, I have dug up tremendous detail about the Jewish role in the sports and pornography businesses. Most of the sources in this massive study are, of course, Jewish.

My book addresses just about every aspect of this vast issue, including Jewish identity, Jewish ethnocentrism, Jewish racism, Jewish history (including the perpetual problems with non-Jews), the "Russian" mafia, Wall Street, Jewish double-standard "ethics," Jewish dominance of African-American organizations, "anti-Semitism," Israel/Zionism, and the Jewish power role in the mass media, modern art, government, and "intellectual" life.

In this book I try to tie it all together, showing why identifying Jews who hold power and wield influence is not irrational or "prejudicial" but, to the contrary, essential. My moral outrage at what I have found has led me to devote huge amounts of time to this project.

R. K.

[by e-mail]

No to 'Exterminationist'

I wish you would stop using the term "exterminationist" to refer to those who uphold or defend the traditional Holocaust extermination story. For the uninitiated the term is confusing. It sounds bizarre, like the name of a professional wrestler, an insecticide brand name or a comic book villain. As an alternative, I suggest "holocausterian."

Beyond that, I appreciate Robert Faurisson's desire to avoid the term "Holocaust," because it appeals to pseudo-religious, irrational and fantasy impulses.

D. D.

Böblingen, Germany

Recalling German Wartime Anti-Gas Bomb Shelters

In the July-August 1999 *Journal*, I read with special interest the article by Samuel Crowell, "Wartime Germany's Anti-Gas Air Raid Shelters." Having grown up in Berlin during the Third Reich, I remember very well the wartime air raid shelter in our apartment complex.

At the beginning of his article, Crowell writes: "... Many people expected gas warfare to be a feature any future conflict ... German civil defense literature of the time reflected this anxiety, describing in detail how bomb shelters were to be made secure from both bombs and poison gas ... German bomb shelters were also designed and built as anti-gas shelters." I find this remark to be very accurate.

Our apartment shelter was originally used only for storage by the people living in the building, but soon it was transformed into an air raid shelter for the six families living in each walk-up.

I was still young — eleven when the war began in 1939 and nearly 17 when it ended — but I clearly remember when the transformation took place. An extra heavy metal door was added to the cellar entrance, and at the entrance to the area in front of that, at the bottom of the flight of stairs, a heavy curtain was added. We were definitely told that this was a protection against possible gas attacks. The curtained-off area in front of the cellar was for the shedding of poisoned clothing, we were told.

The small windows that were part of each individual cellar storage area were indeed closed off with the shutter-type devices described by Crowell. I also remember seeing at least one gas

mask in the cellar area.

I also recall talk of a washing area in case of gas attack injuries. However, I did not actually see it because we children were not allowed to roam about in the shelters during air raids. One of the men always had to be stationed near the entrance, to keep any possibly contaminated person from dashing into our shelter. Before being allowed to enter, the person would first have had to go through the decontamination process.

The matter-of-fact advertisement for "Panzerlit" steel protective doors (reproduced on page 21 of Crowell's article) was typical of wartime "steel saving" closures for protection against air attacks.

As Crowell writes, it is more than reasonable to assume that large German labor or concentration camps would have had comparable shelters with similar anti-gas features to protect those who lived and worked there. At Birkenau, where else would such shelters have been but in the [*Krema morgue*] cellars?

Crowell's well-researched and fact-filled article offers a very plausible explanation for anyone willing to see the truth.

G. E. K.

Grants Pass, Oregon

Era of Consolidation

Just a quick note to say how much I've enjoyed learning so much from you about history, especially the history of the 20th century — which might well be called the era of the consolidation of Jewish power. I greatly appreciate your forceful stand against the historical lie of the Holocaust. I enjoy helping to expand the power of the IHR.

J. R.

Bakersfield, Calif.

We welcome letters from readers. We reserve the right to edit for style and space. Write: Editor, P.O. Box 2739, Newport Beach, CA 92659, USA, or e-mail us at editor@ihr.org

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This study establishes that there never were "six million" Jews under German control at any time. It shows, for example, that the great majority of Jews in the Soviet territories occupied by the Germans, 1941-1944, and who are widely assumed to have perished as "victims of the Holocaust," were actually evacuated or fled — and never came under German rule.

Based on a wide range of sources, including publications of the Institute for Jewish Affairs and such reference works as the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* and the *American Jewish Year Book*, as well as contemporary European periodicals and wartime German documents.

In his foreword, Northwestern University Prof. Arthur R. Butz calls this "the first full

length serious study of World War II-related Jewish population changes ... This book presents the fundamentally correct account of the subject. The perfect antidote to the vulgar idiocies that are today monotonously peddled by the media ..."

The author was born in 1936 into an ethnic German family in a part of eastern Europe that was later incorporated into the Soviet Union. In the mid-1950s he emigrated to the United States, where he met his wife. He graduated with a B.A. (high honors) in international business from a prominent Pacific Northwest university, and did PhD-level graduate work at a major Ivy League university on the East coast.

He taught business, finance and economics at both the undergraduate and graduate levels at a major west coast university. He returned to work in the business world in the early 1970s.

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Foreword by Arthur R. Butz

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The 'Confessions' of Kurt Gerstein

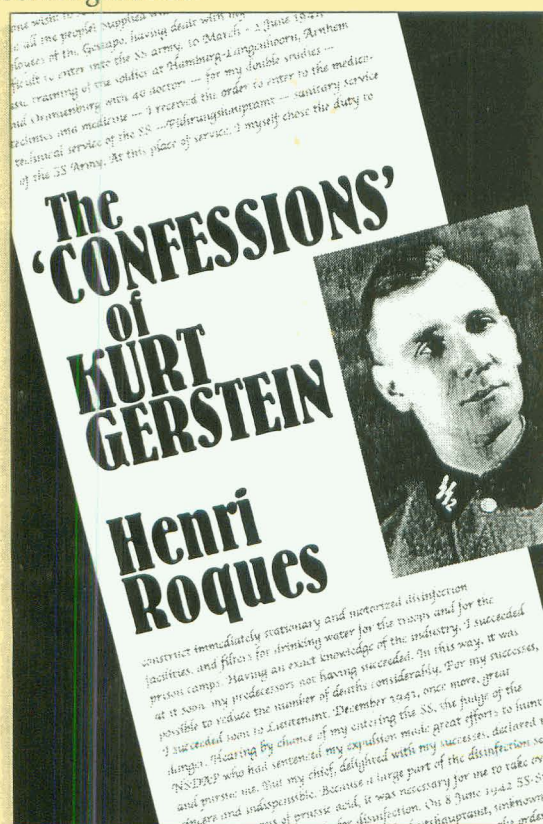
Here is the headline-making university doctoral dissertation that debunks the key "Holocaust" testimony of SS officer Kurt Gerstein — the enigmatic, twisted Third Reich functionary who claimed to have witnessed mass gassings of Jews in 1942. In this closely argued study a French scholar subjects Gerstein's accusations to critical examination, striking at the very roots of the Holocaust extermination story. The stunning conclusion: not only are Gerstein's allegations of mass killings of Jews groundless, but prominent Holocaust historians have deliberately manipulated and falsified key parts of Gerstein's tortured testimony.

This powerful exposé and its author 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.

Gerstein's bogus "confessions" were the basis of the anti-German and anti-Catholic hysteria stirred by Rolf Hochhuth's play "The Deputy." Roques' study thus shatters the myth of Pope Pius XII's complicity in Holocaust genocide.



Henri Roques



British historian Hugh Trevor-Roper (Lord Dacre) praised this study as "an entirely legitimate, scholarly and responsible work of *Quellenkritik* [source critique] on a limited but important subject."

Michel de Bouard of the Institut de France declared: "Had I been a member of the jury, I would probably have given a grade of 'very good' to Mr. Roques' thesis."

Includes transcripts and translations of all six versions of Gerstein's "testimonies," as well as facsimiles of the original texts and other previously unpublished documents and records. Translated from the French by Ronald Percival, who also provides a foreword.

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by Henri Roques

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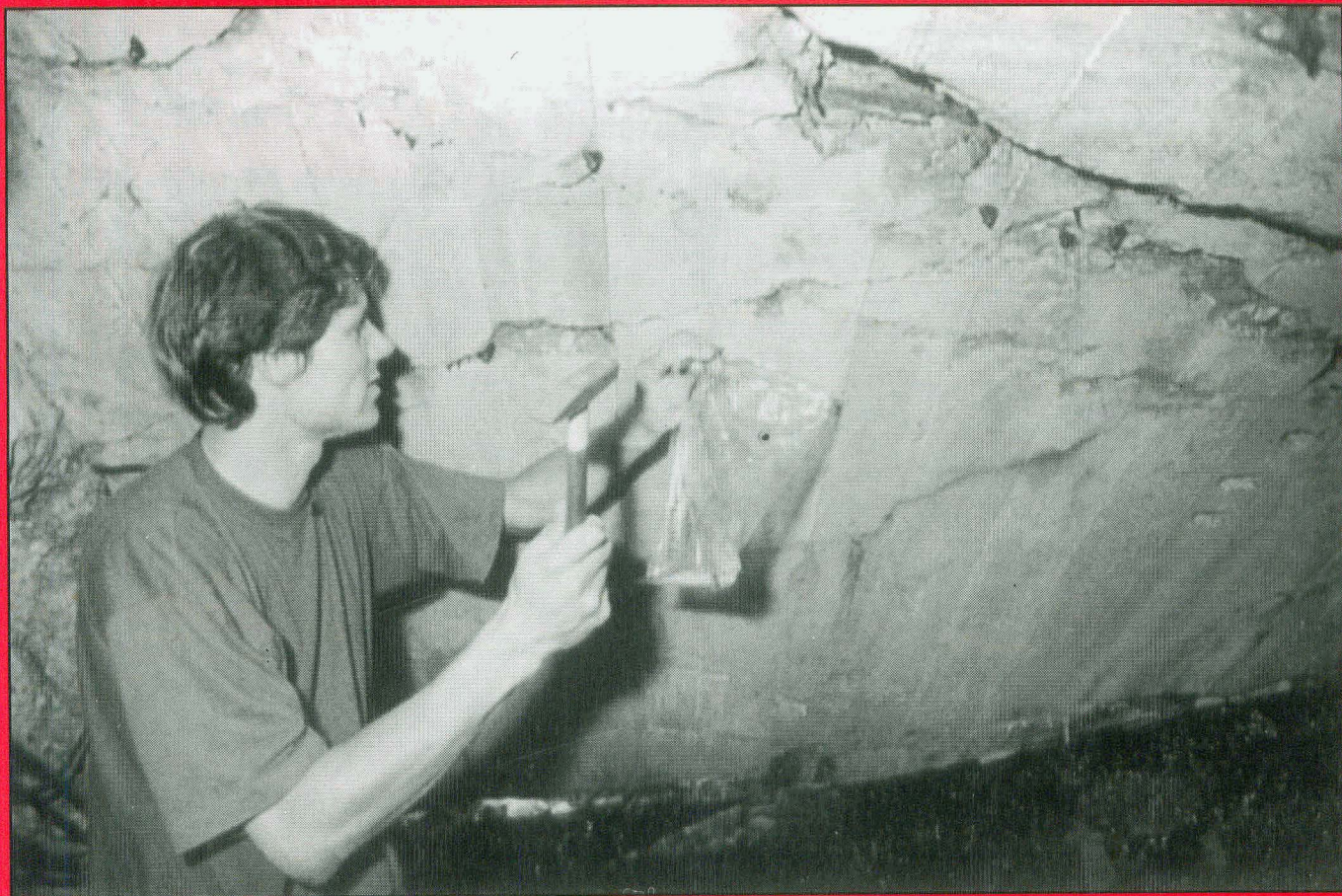
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September/October 2000



The Zündel 'Human Rights' Hearing

Mark Weber

The Greatest Dirty Open Secret

Arthur R. Butz

Beirut Revisionist Conference Set

Jürgen Graf In Exile in Iran

A Dark Secret of World War II

A Black November for Revisionists

Robert Faurisson

**The Rudolf Case, Irving's Libel Suit
and the Future of Revisionism**

Costas Zaverdinos

**Australia Orders Censorship of
Revisionist Web Site**

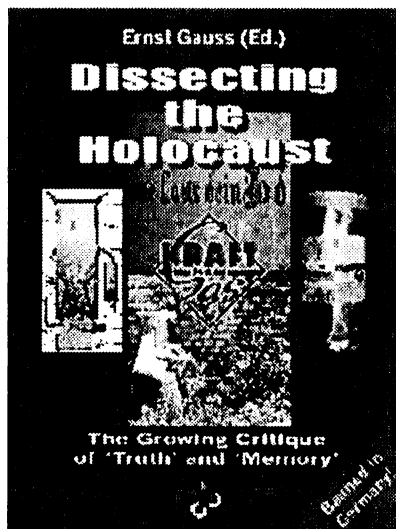
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- Carlo Mattogno, "The Gas Chambers of Majdanek"

- H. Tiedemann, "Babi Yar: Critical Questions and Comments"

- Udo Walendy, "Do Photographs Prove the NS Extermination of the Jews?"

Writes Dr. Arthur R. Butz: "There is at present no other single volume that so provides a serious reader with a broad understanding of the contemporary state of historical issues that influential people would rather not have examined."

Among the 22 essays in this anthology are:

- Germar Rudolf (E. Gauss), "The Controversy about the Extermination of the Jews."
- Robert Faurisson, Preface and "Witnesses to the Gas Chambers of Auschwitz"
- John C. Ball, "Air Photo Evidence"
- Mark Weber, "'Extermination' Camp Propaganda Myths"
- Friedrich P. Berg, "The Diesel Gas Chambers: Myth within a Myth"

It's no wonder that alarmed authorities banned the original German edition, ordering all remaining copies confiscated and burned.

Dissecting the Holocaust is edited by Germar Rudolf ("Ernst Gauss"), a certified chemist, born in 1964, who wrote "The 'Rudolf Report,' a detailed on-site forensic examination of the 'gas chamber' claims of Auschwitz and Birkenau. After a German court sentenced him to 14 months imprisonment, he fled his homeland and has been living ever since in exile as a political refugee. Since 1997, he has been editor of the German-language historical journal *Vierteljahreshefte für freie Geschichtsforschung*.

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On the Cover: Gerhard Rudolf taking a sample from the ruins of morgue (*Leichenkeller*) I of crematory structure (*Krema*) II at Auschwitz-Birkenau, an alleged mass-execution gas chamber.

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 2739, Newport Beach, CA 92659. 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. Donations to the IHR are tax-deductible.

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The Importance of the Zündel Hearing in Toronto

MARK WEBER

Now into its fifth year, a little-known legal dispute in Canada with important international implications for Internet freedom of speech, is quietly being fought out before the Canadian Human Rights Tribunal in downtown Toronto.

Responding to Jewish complaints, the Canadian Human Rights Commission charges that Ernst Zündel, the controversial German-born Holocaust revisionist publisher and civil rights activist, has been promoting "hatred or contempt" against Jews through the American-based and -operated "Zündelsite" Internet web site. Lined up against him before the Tribunal are lawyers representing Canada's major Jewish organizations, including the Simon Wiesenthal Center, the Canadian Jewish Congress, the Canadian Holocaust Remembrance Association, and the League for Human Rights of B'nai B'rith (counterpart of the Anti-Defamation League in the US), along with Sabrina Citron (a Jewish community figure who has pursued Zündel in courts for some 20 years), the Toronto Mayor's Committee on Community and Race Relations, and the Canadian Human Rights Commission.

Zündel is charged with violating Section 13(1) of the Canadian Human Rights Act, which reads:

It is a discriminatory practice for a person or a group of persons acting in concert to communicate telephonically or to cause to be so communicated, repeatedly, in whole or in part by means of the facilities of a telecommunication undertaking within the legislative authority of [Canada's] Parliament, any matter that is likely to expose a person or persons to hatred or contempt by reason of the fact that that person or those persons are identifiable on the basis of a prohibited ground for discrimination [that is, by race, ethnicity, religion, and so forth].

This code section, drafted before the Internet was in wide use, was originally meant to prohibit telephone answering machine "hate messages" that callers might access. Given that all of the allegedly offensive Zündelsite Internet postings are *written* communications, it is a stretch to call them "telephonic." In spite of its name, the web site is run by Ingrid Rimland, not Ernst Zündel. Moreover, it has always been based in the United States, and therefore only very dubiously comes "within the legislative authority of [Canada's] Parliament."



Ernst Zündel addresses the 13th IHR Conference, May 28, 2000.

Probably the slipperiest term in this "Hate Messages" code section is "likely," because determining what is "likely" to expose someone to "hatred or contempt" is unavoidably subjective.

Zündel is probably best known as the defiantly outspoken defendant in two high-profile "Holocaust trials." For having published an edition of an early revisionist booklet, *Did Six Million Really Die?*, he was charged and brought to trial, defending himself tenaciously in two costly and drawn-out Toronto courtroom battles, 1985 and 1988. In August 1992 Canada's Supreme Court overturned his conviction, declaring the archaic "false news" law under which he had been prosecuted to be unconstitutional. This was therefore not only a vindication for Zündel, but a victory for the rights of all Canadians.

Zündel's main attorney in the current "human rights" case has been Doug Christie, who also ably

represented him in the 1985 and 1988 trials. Working closely with Zündel and Christie has been Barbara Kulaszka, an attorney who was part of the defense team in the 1988 trial, and is the editor/compiler of a valuable 562-page documentary work on that case.

Also on the Zündel side in this case is Paul Fromm, director of the Canadian Association for Free Expression (CAFE), which has been involved as an “intervenor” throughout the Tribunal proceedings. He regards this case an important battle for free speech.

Despite its name, the Human Rights Tribunal is not a court. The two persons who preside over the proceedings of this quasi-judicial body, Claude Pensa and Reva Devins, are “Commissioners,” not judges, who are appointed by the same federal Human Rights Commission that brought the charge against Zündel. (One of the original Commissioners resigned months ago, reportedly because the proceedings had dragged on so long.) If they find Zündel guilty, they have authority to issue a “cease and desist” order, which would then be registered and enforceable through a Canadian federal court.

This case has been expensive. In addition to the fees for the attorneys of the various Jewish “intervenor” groups in the case, as of late May 1999 the Canadian Human Rights Commission had spent \$420,561 of Canadian taxpayers money going after Ernst Zündel. For their role services as Commissioners, Pensa and Devins receive more than \$500 per day, plus travel and expenses.

Truth is No Defense

Amazingly, “truth is no defense” in this bizarre proceeding. Neither the truthfulness (factuality) of a “complained of” writing, nor the motive of the writer, may be considered in determining if it is “likely” to expose persons to “hatred or contempt.” As Chairman Pensa bluntly put it:

“It is the finding of this Tribunal that truth is not an issue before us. Parliament has spoken. The use of telephone messages for purposes prohibited by section 13 of the Act cannot be justified by asserting that such messages are truthful. The sole issue is whether such communications are likely to expose a person or persons to hatred or contempt.” Observes CAFE director Fromm: “This mad hatter’s tea party has decided that ‘truth is no defense,’ that truth doesn’t matter. It’s only the feelings of the aggrieved minority that determines whether a statement is



Paul Fromm, Barbara Kulaszka and Doug Christie

‘likely’ to expose them to hatred or contempt’.”

Many of the three dozen “complained of” Zündel-site documents specifically cited by Canadian authorities were not written by Zündel. Several are from the Institute for Historical Review, including Fred Leuchter’s essay, “Inside the Auschwitz Gas Chambers,” based on his address at the 1989 IHR Conference, Theodore O’Keefe’s essay on “The Liberation of the Camps,” and two essays by me, “Jewish Soap,” from the Summer 1991 IHR *Journal*, and one that has been published for years by the IHR as a leaflet entitled “The Holocaust: Let’s Hear Both Sides.”

What Jewish groups were unable to achieve through the regular courts in the 1980s, they are now trying to achieve through this quasi-judicial body. They seek to ban writings posted on the Internet that, when published in Canada in printed form, are perfectly legal. Probably the most striking example of this is the booklet *Did Six Million Really Die?*, which Jewish groups and Canadian authorities were unable to criminalize in their costly and drawn-out 1980s legal battle against Zündel. Now this same booklet is the first of the “complained of” documents in this Human Rights Commission action.

With the passage of time, it is ever more difficult, even absurd, to argue that the “complained of” paragraphs from the vast Zündel-site are somehow socially dangerous. During the past two years, Zündel’s “case” has become stronger, given that several books and numerous articles and reviews have appeared during this period, both in Canada and in periodicals and web sites around the world, that parallel the supposedly hate-promoting Zündel-site



Ingrid Rimland and Ernst Zündel

documents cited by the Human Rights Commission. In that sense, Ernst Zündel's "sin" is that he is a man ahead of his time.

Probably the most important of these recent writings is *The Holocaust Industry*, a fervent and much-discussed new book by Jewish scholar Norman Finkelstein, a professor at Hunter College in New York City and the son of parents who survived wartime internment in the Warsaw ghetto and German concentration camps. *The Holocaust Industry* (available from the IHR for \$23, plus shipping) was accepted as a defense exhibit in the proceedings, and discussed in detail as part of my testimony.

Restrictions on Testimony

As an witness on Zündel's behalf, I experienced first-hand some of the absurdity and hypocrisy of Canada-style "human rights."

I first came before the Tribunal in December 1998, when I was closely questioned to determine if I would be accepted as a witness. After several days of interrogation and argument by the attorneys, Commissioners Pensa and Devins accepted me as an expert witness "in Holocaust revisionism as he [Weber] and others have defined that field," but permitting me to testify "only for the very limited purpose of establishing the context in which the Holocaust revisionist community operates."

I returned to Toronto in early October, nearly two years later, to testify. At the outset of my three days on the stand — October 4-6, 2000 — the two Tribunal Commissioners and the anti-Zündel attorneys made clear that I would be severely, even absurdly, restricted in the scope of my testimony. In his interrogation of me, Doug Christie was obliged to phrase his questions in terms of how a given writing or event was regarded by, or "resonated" within, "the revisionist community." By carefully phrasing

his questions to conform to the Tribunal's cumbersome restrictions, he was able to put "on the record" much of what he had intended.

On the first day of my testimony, Christie asked me about Zündel's place in Holocaust revisionism: "What part, to your knowledge of the revisionist field, has Zündel played in revisionism, specifically Holocaust revisionism?"

"Ernst Zündel," I responded, "is not a Holocaust scholar; he is not a historian. He doesn't claim to be a historian. He calls himself an *impresario*. He is a facilitator..." Before I could finish my answer, John Rosen, attorney for the Simon Wiesenthal Center, excitedly jumped to his feet to loudly protest that my answer was "beyond the bounds" of my expertise, and that I am "not entitled to give this evidence. This is an apology for Ernst Zündel."

Commissioner Pensa, apparently accepting Rosen's absurd objection, said to me: "You are not entitled to go into an apologia of Mr. Zündel." I replied by telling Pensa that what I had said is "not an apologia," and went on to explain:

We [revisionists] regard him [Zündel] as a facilitator, a publicist if you will or, to use his word, an *impresario*. That is not an apology for Ernst Zündel. It is simply a statement of fact of the role that he plays in the [revisionist] community, about which I am quite familiar ... He is not a scholar. He doesn't play the same role in the revisionist community or movement, or whatever you care to call it, that a Robert Faurisson does, or that I do, or that many others do. His motives are different. His goals are different ...

A good part of my testimony was devoted to trying to show that numerous statements in Finkelstein's book, as well as in other widely available periodicals and Internet postings, closely parallel — often in even more strident language — the supposedly "hateful" remarks in the "complained of" Zündelsite documents.

Mark Freiman, attorney for the Human Rights Commission, objected to our efforts to establish this parallel, repeatedly pointing out that the Tribunal had not qualified me as a historian or expert in text and document analysis. (This in spite of the fact that in March 1988 I had testified for five days in Toronto District Court as an expert witness on the "Final Solution" and the Holocaust issue in the second Zündel "Holocaust Trial." [See "My Role in the Zündel Trial," Winter 1989-90 *Journal*.])

For example, when Christie asked me to compare a passage in *The Holocaust Industry*, with a passage in the revisionist booklet *Did Six Million Really Die?* (one of the "complained of" documents), Freiman objected: "This witness cannot opine as to

the similarity between one text and another text... This witness is not qualified to perform a comparative analysis of texts."

On another occasion Christie asked me "Is Finkelstein the only contemporary source which has repeated the Holocaust revisionist themes?," a question that should have been permissible even within the constraints imposed by the Tribunal, Freiman protested: "I object for the same reason as yesterday, that it calls on the expertise of a historian." On other occasions Freiman similarly objected that I am "not an expert in comparative text or historical analysis," and that I am "not competent to analyze texts, to compare them with other texts, or to comment on history."

Finkelstein's 'Holocaust Industry'

In going through *The Holocaust Industry*, Christie and I highlighted Finkelstein's indictment of the way that organized Jewry has fostered a deceitful and self-serving perception of history. As I repeatedly pointed out, Finkelstein's views echo points that revisionist writers and scholars have made many times over the years. He writes, for example, that given the "nonsense churned out daily by the Holocaust industry, the wonder is that there are so few skeptics..." He also writes:

- "The challenge today is to restore the Nazi holocaust as a rational subject of inquiry."

- "Articulating the key Holocaust dogmas, much of the literature on Hitler's Final Solution is worthless as scholarship. Indeed, the field of Holocaust studies is replete with nonsense, if not sheer fraud."

- "Because ['Holocaust'] survivors are now revered as secular saints, one doesn't dare question them. Preposterous statements pass without comment."

- Israel "invents stories about the Holocaust" in order to "receive more money from Germany and other Western establishments."

- "In recent years, the Holocaust industry has become an outright extortion racket." Finkelstein also refers to "this double shakedown of European countries as well as legitimate Jewish claimants," and to "the Holocaust restitution racket ..."

"The Holocaust," he concludes, "may yet turn out to be the 'greatest robbery in the history of mankind'."

Commenting on one of these passages, I stated:

It is a startling thing for revisionists that Finkelstein explicitly says what revisionists have emphasized over the years: that Israel and, by extension, others in the organized Jewish community, invent stories about the Holocaust in order to receive more money from Germany and other western establishments.



Mark Weber, John Bennett and Arthur Butz

This is a point that has been made repeatedly by revisionists over the years. It is startling for revisionists to see a Norman Finkelstein, a professor at Hunter College, affirming that same view as, in fact, he does in this passage.

Another passage from Finkelstein's book that Christie cited was this: "... The Holocaust industry orchestrated a shameless campaign of vilification. With an infinitely compliant and credulous press ready to give banner headlines to any Holocaust-related story, however preposterous, the smear campaign [against Switzerland] proved unstoppable."

Commenting on this, I told the Tribunal:

The revisionist community has emphasized the incredibly shameless nature of this campaign, and how compliant and credulous the media is in giving banner headlines and credence to claims that later turn out to be completely wrong, completely untrue, not only with regard to the Holocaust campaign but, of course, with regard to all sorts of specific stories about the Second World War and Jewish suffering which also turn out to be untrue, however preposterous, as Finkelstein says. There are numerous examples of that, that I and other revisionists have made over the years, some of which I think appear in the complained of documents [cited by the Commission]. This smear campaign, as Finkelstein says and the revisionist community would agree, has proved unstoppable. The revisionist community has made the point over the years that the willingness of the United States of America and other countries to put up with one amazing humiliation after another carried out by the World Jewish Congress and other Jewish organizations seems boundless.

What Causes Anti-Semitism?

Getting into the emotion-laden question of what causes anti-Jewish sentiment, Christie quoted a passage from Finkelstein's book:

The shakedown of Switzerland and Germany has been only a prelude to the grand finale: the shakedown of Eastern Europe. With the collapse of the Soviet bloc, alluring prospects opened up in the former heartland of European Jewry. Cloaking itself in the sanctimonious mantle of 'needy Holocaust victims,' the Holocaust industry has sought to extort billions of dollars from these already impoverished countries. Pursuing this end with reckless and ruthless abandon, it has become the main fomentor of anti-Semitism in Europe.

Christie then asked: "Is that in any way related to or echoed in the field of Holocaust revisionist opinion?" Mindful of the constraints imposed by the Tribunal, I replied:

Holocaust revisionists have very often stressed a similar sentiment, and that is that this extortion, this campaign against Switzerland and Germany, is but one chapter in a campaign that targets many other countries, and there seems to be no end to it. In fact, I think [that] since this book was published, revisionists have been struck that now the first faint signs of a campaign directed against United States institutions also now seems to be in the works.

One of the most striking passages here for revisionists is the final one that you quoted: "Pursuing this end with reckless and ruthless abandon, it has become the main fomentor of anti-Semitism in Europe." This is particularly striking because revisionists have over and over made a statement[s] consistent with this, which is completely at variance with what the Holocaust industry or what Holocaust organizations insist, and that is that anti-Semitism has no relationship whatsoever to what Jews do.

We are told over and over — in our universities, and [in] magazines and newspapers, and by organizations like the Anti-Defamation League and the Simon Wiesenthal Center — that anti-Jewish sentiment is a pathological, inexplicable manifestation of tortured, diseased personalities, and has no relationship to what Jews do. Finkelstein says here that hostility or sentiment against Jews is fomented by actions that Jewish organizations carry out. This gets, I think, really at the core of a lot of what this whole Hearing is about, from the point of view of the revisionist community, and

that is: What is the origin of anti-Jewish sentiment in not only this society in North America, but also in any society throughout history?

Revisionists have, over a long period of time and in numerous articles, that have been published in *The Journal of Historical Review* and elsewhere, stressed that there is a relationship between anti-Jewish sentiment and what Jews, particularly organized Jewry, do. Revisionists have also strongly stressed that any number of Jewish leaders have on occasion made this same point ...

A short time later I added:

Revisionists have also stressed on a number of occasions that these campaigns by the World Jewish Congress, by Israel, the Simon Wiesenthal Center, and so forth have had the impact, the effect, of increasing anti-Jewish sentiment in Austria, in Switzerland and in other countries. For example, *The Journal of Historical Review* has talked about the increase in anti-Jewish sentiment in Austria after the World Jewish Congress, in a very public way, went after Austria's President, and insisted or demanded that Austrians not elect Kurt Waldheim, so much so that the World Jewish Congress President, Edgar Bronfman, in a [1986] speech in [Montreal] Canada referred to Austrians as "dirty, anti-Semitic dogs." Statements like that, revisionists have pointed out, have the effect of increasing hostility toward Jews in Austria and other countries.

Revisionism and Anti-Semitism

On the relevance of Holocaust revisionism for relations between Jews and non-Jews, I testified that revisionists have repeatedly emphasized

that historical truth and historical understanding are essential for any kind of tolerant relationship between Jews and every other nationality in our world and that, far from promoting anti-Semitism, Holocaust revisionism should ultimately have the effect of diminishing it; that the alternative is to permit a one-sided, exploitive version of history to take hold in society, and [that] ultimately will have the effect, as Finkelstein suggests in this passage, of increasing hostility toward Jews ...

This is a point that revisionists have also made many times, that this entire Holocaust campaign has the danger certainly, if not the actual import, of harming the interests of "little Jews," or most Jews, or the majority of Jews, and that it benefits only those [Jews] in power and position.

Crossing Swords with Rosen

A high point of my testimony was the cross-examination on Friday, the 6th, by Wiesenthal Center attorney John Rosen, who was every bit at belligerent and arrogant toward me as he had been in December 1998 when I was being qualified as a witness. He repeatedly interrupted my answers to his own questions, rudely demanding that I respond with a one-word "Yes" or "No" answer. At one point he even interrupted me as I was speaking to Tribunal Chairman Pensa. (On at least one occasion Rosen put a question to me in a form that, in keeping with the Tribunal's restrictions, was not permitted to Doug Christie.)

Rosen sought to keep me from testifying as the Tribunal had directed, and as I had sworn to do, giving "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth." His outrageous behavior was not merely an insult to me, but to the Tribunal Commissioners who had qualified me as an expert witness to assist them in their deliberations. Nevertheless, Pensa and Devins repeatedly indulged Rosen's rude and insulting behavior, thereby manifesting what seems to be an underlying bias in favor of the anti-Zündel side.

One exchange in particular pointed up Rosen's arrogance, and the Commissioners' indulgence of his bigotry.

Rosen: "You say, as a revisionist, that there was no Final Solution?"

Weber: "No, I don't say that ..."

Rosen: "Was there a Final Solution?"

Weber: "Excuse me, Mr. Rosen. If I could not be interrupted again ..."

Rosen: "The answer just called for a 'yes' or a 'no,' sir, not a speech, but go ahead."

Weber: "Mr. Pensa...?"

Rosen: "Mr. Pensa, I asked a question that called for a 'yes' or 'no' answer."

Weber: "I would just like it if he would not interrupt me."

Chairperson Pensa: "Do you understand the question?"

Weber: "Yes, and I would like to give my answer, and I don't like to be interrupted."

Pensa: "You should answer the question as responsively and as succinctly as possible."

Weber: "Yes, and I would like it if he would not interrupt me."

In fact, Mr. Rosen [I went on], to the contrary,



Norman Finkelstein

there *was* a German policy called 'the Final Solution.' I have written extensively about it, [including] in the very document [No. 31] that is in the 'complained of' documents. There is an essay by me which tries to explain the Final Solution policy. It refers to an official German document from the Second World War, a memorandum of the Foreign Office which goes into detail about what the Final Solution policy was. I don't dispute that there was a Final Solution policy. I don't know any revisionist who does ...

The essay I referred to has been published by the IHR for years as a leaflet, "The Holocaust: Let's Hear Both Sides." It was downloaded by Canadian Human Rights Commission officials from the Zündelsite, who cited as document ("Tab") No. 31 in the official compilation. If Rosen had carefully read through the documents that are at the heart of this dispute, he would have known that I not only describe Germany's wartime "final solution" policy, but to explain it I quote a confidential German Foreign Office memorandum of August 21, 1942 (Nuremberg document NG-2586-J). Rosen's arrogant display of ignorance about the documents at issue in this case suggests that the Simon Wiesenthal Center, which presumably pays him well to represent its interests in these proceedings, is not getting its money's worth from him.

'The Germans'

In another question put to me, Rosen said that "the Nazis — that is, the Germans — during the Second World War executed a plan that was

designed to exterminate Jews who fell under their control..." With some emotion, I responded by saying that the form of this question is itself outrageous, implying as it does that "the Germans" are collectively guilty of mass extermination:

First of all, the way you put the question in its original form is outrageous. You referred to a plan carried out by "the Germans." This is typical language used by people who are defaming or castigating others, to talk about "the Germans." "The Germans" didn't carry out any execution plan of any kind, Mr. Rosen, and it is wrong to refer to a nationality or a group of people in that way, just as it is wrong to refer to "the Jews" killing people in Palestine, or "the Jews" doing this or that. To put a question in that way is already outrageous.

Seemingly taken aback, Rosen responded by claiming that I had "misquoted" him. "I did not say 'the Germans'; I said 'Germans,'" he protested. This was simply not true, as the official transcript proves. Indeed, I had been so struck by Rosen's slanderous reference to "the Germans" that I jotted down his precise words immediately after he uttered them.

The Tribunal, typically, was unperturbed by Rosen's hateful characterization of Germans. (Such anti-German bigotry is so widespread in our society that it routinely passes without objection, or even comment.) Especially given that, as the Tribunal has held, truth and motive may not be considered in determining if a statement is "likely" to promote "hatred or contempt," these words by the Wiesenthal Center attorney violate the spirit of very the law under which the Human Rights Commission was prosecuting Zündel. Rosen's statement, made in this public and official forum, is at least as "likely" to promote "hatred or contempt" for Germans as any Zündelsite statement is to promote "hatred or contempt" for Jews.

'Big Tent' Revisionism

After Rosen's bout, it was Freiman's turn to question me. His main point was to get me to say that Norman Finkelstein is not a Holocaust revisionist. However valid Finkelstein's points may be, he suggested, they should not be compared with the parallel remarks cited in the supposedly hateful Zündelsite documents. I readily acknowledged that Finkelstein apparently accepts the standard Holocaust extermination story, and holds views about specifics of World War II history that differ from those expressed by such revisionists as Robert Faurisson, Arthur Butz and myself.

All the same, I defined Holocaust revisionism rather broadly, saying that it includes not only a

skeptical or critical look at the role and treatment of Europe's Jews during the Second World War, but also the social, political and cultural impact of those events in society today. On this basis, I said, Finkelstein may "arguably" be regarded as a Holocaust revisionist. Not surprisingly, I pointed, some Jewish critics of his work have denounced him as a Holocaust revisionist or denier. (For example, Rabbi Irving Greenberg, Chairman of the US Holocaust Memorial Council, a US federal government agency, calls Finkelstein's book "a form of Holocaust denial" [New York *Jewish Week*, Sept. 8, 2000].)

Holocaust revisionism, I repeatedly pointed out, is a "big tent" that includes writers, scholars and activists who sometimes disagree among themselves about specific historical issues. In this regard, I mentioned disagreements (aired in this *Journal*) between, for example, Jürgen Graf and Arthur Butz, and between Robert Faurisson and David Irving. I also pointed out that prominent revisionists have, over the years, modified their views about specific issues, in somewhat the way that Raul Hilberg, perhaps the most prominent "establishment" Holocaust historian, has strikingly modified his views over time.

Double Standard

An important early witness against Zündel in this case was Gary D. Prideaux, a Professor of Linguistics at the University of Edmonton. In his testimony about the "complained of" documents downloaded from the Zündelsite, he said that "the epithet 'Holocaust lobby'" is used "to refer to Jews," and that "the term Holocaust lobbyists is used as a negative epithet for Jews."

This is simply not true, as any open-minded person can readily grasp, especially taking into account the entirety of the site's postings. Contrary to the claims of the anti-Zündel side, the "complained of" Zündelsite documents do not attack "Jews, but instead take aim at "the worldwide Holocaust lobby," "Holocaust lobbyists," and "the Jewish lobby — or the Israeli lobby, as some like to call it."

This important distinction is obvious, for example, in one of the allegedly "hateful" passages carefully culled by Canadian officials from the vast Zündelsite. In this "complained of" document ("tab" 22), taken from a March 1997 issue of Zündel's *Power* newsletter, he expresses *concern*, not "hatred or contempt," for the mass of Jews. Zündel writes: "I fear for the 'little Jew' who has no voice and no say in this matter, but ultimately will have to suffer the fallout!"

As was brought out during Christie's examination of me, a number of Jewish writers have made this same point in recent years. In *The Holocaust Industry*, Prof. Finkelstein stresses that major Jew-

ish organizations carry out a "shakedown" that cheats authentic Jewish wartime victims of reparations payments that Jewish leaders have "extorted" in their names.

By the standard that Canadian authorities are applying to Zündel, Internet communications even by established news services should be subject to prosecution. For example, on February 1, 2000, the renowned British news service BBC distributed through the Internet, and without comment, an editorial published the day before in a major Syrian daily paper, *Tishrin*. The editorial, which Jewish groups vehemently denounced as anti-Semitic, told readers:

... Zionist organizations are trying, as usual, to revive their own distorted view of history and exploit it in deceiving the world public, winning its sympathy and then blackmailing it ... Zionism has invented the Holocaust myth to blackmail the world and terrorize its intellectuals and statesmen. It is applying the Holocaust method in dealing with the Arabs.

An Orwellian Concept of Rights

Is Canadian society so fragile that an Ernst Zündel can seriously be regarded as a danger to its cohesion or stability? Apparently so. In spite of its Anglo-Saxon heritage of respect for civic rights, fearful Canadian leaders are quietly revoking traditional freedoms. For example, Canadian customs officials regularly (albeit haphazardly) seize "politically incorrect" books, magazines and compact disks at the border. They are confiscated under a code section that bans "hate propaganda," including items "alleging that an identifiable group is racially inferior and/or weaken other segments of society to the detriment of society as a whole," and items "alleging that an identifiable group is manipulating media, trade and finance, government or world politics to the detriment of society as a whole."

Among the items that have been seized by Canadian authorities over the years have been assorted issues of the IHR's *Journal of Historical Review* and various IHR leaflets, as well as such books as *Shockley on Eugenics and Race*, a scholarly anthology by the late Nobel prize laureate William Shockley, *Race, Intelligence and Bias in Academe*, by Roger Pearson, *The Dispossessed Majority*, by Wilmot Robertson, and *The Immigration Invasion*, by Wayne Lutton and John Tanton.

Less understandable have been the seizures of copies of *Advance to Barbarism*, a 50-year-old anti-war classic by British jurist F.J.P. Veale, and *From Moscow to Berlin: Zhukov's Greatest Battles*, the memoir of Soviet World War II General Georgi Zhukov (originally published in the US in 1969 by Harper & Row).

In the Zündel "Human Rights" case, the bias of at least one of the Commissioners is a matter of public record. In April 1999 a Canadian Federal Court found that there existed a reasonable apprehension of bias by Reva Devins because, in 1988, when she was with the Ontario Human Rights Commission, this provincial agency had issued a public statement applauding Zündel's criminal conviction for publishing an edition of the booklet *Did Six Million Really Die?*.

In this landmark case, a coalition of powerful and influential Jewish organizations is using a Canadian government agency, the Orwellian "Human Rights Commission," to censor writings they don't like — writings that are otherwise entirely legal.

The same Jewish groups that demand, in the name of "human rights," that Zündel be silenced, have well-documented records as staunch defenders of, and apologists for, the Zionist regime in Israel that routinely, and as a matter of state policy, oppresses people on the basis of ancestry. Israel's immigration policy, for example, which is based on ancestry criteria that parallel the strictures of Third Reich Germany's infamous 1935 "Nuremberg Laws," even prohibits non-Jews who were born in what is now Israel (including the occupied territories) from returning to their native land.

By any objective standard, these Jewish groups deserve to be in the dock at least as much as does Ernst Zündel. The hypocrisy and gross double standard of this entire case is all the more shameful because it is enforced by a Canadian government agency. Given all this, it's no wonder that Zündel fully expects the Tribunal's Commissioners to issue a sweeping, harshly-worded "cease and desist" order against him.

Ominous Implications

Why are major Jewish organizations devoting so much money and effort to this case? There seem to be three goals:

First, they are forcing Ernst Zündel, whom they hate, to spend a lot of his time and money. Reportedly he has already devoted some \$140,000 (Canadian) to defending himself in this case.

Second, Jewish organizations will quickly register a Tribunal "cease and desist" order with a federal court, and then cite any refusal by Zündel to obey it to demand that authorities expel him from the country. (Zündel, who holds German citizenship, lives in Canada as a "landed immigrant," a legal status comparable to that of "permanent resident" in the United States. In the 42 years he has lived in Canada, he has been a peaceful and productive member of society, maintaining an unblemished legal record.)

Third, and probably most important, if Jewish groups succeed in censoring the (USA-based) Zündelsite, they'll be set to have authorities censor every Internet site they don't like in Canada. Jewish groups in other countries could cite the Zündelsite precedent in Canada to demand that authorities ban or censor web sites elsewhere they don't like. If they succeed in banning or censoring an Internet site, Jewish groups would be emboldened to target books, newsletters, newspapers, magazines, videotapes, and even radio and television broadcasts.

Given that this case has far-reaching implications for the rights of all Canadians, it is a shame, as Paul Fromm has pointed out, that the Canadian media has all but ignored it.

Speaking Engagements

My visit to Canada provided an opportunity to address appreciative audiences in two packed meetings. More than 100 persons heard me speak in Toronto, and about 40 were on hand in Kitchener, about 60 miles to the west, with Paul Fromm introducing me on each occasion. Putting the Holocaust "extortion" campaign in historical and social-political context, I spoke about the tremendous power of organized Jewry. (My talk in Canada can be heard online through "Radio Freedom" on the "Freedomsite" <http://www.freedomsite.org/r-free>. It is also available on audio cassette tape from CAFE, P.O. Box 332, Rexdale, Ont. M9W 5L3, Canada.)

Zündel Concludes His Case

In the weeks after I testified, the Zündel side offered as witnesses for the defense two university professors. Dr. Tony Martin, who teaches African history at Wellesley College in Massachusetts, was to testify on efforts by Jewish groups to silence him, and Dr. Heinz Joachim Klatt, who teaches psychology at Kings College, University of Western Ontario, was set to testify on "political correctness." Commissioners Pensa and Devins rejected both witnesses.

In late November, after a motion to dismiss the case on the grounds that the statute under which it is being prosecuted is unconstitutional, Ernst Zündel abruptly concluded his defense. In his newsletter he cited the Tribunal's bias, the rejection by Canada's Supreme Court of his motions, and the prohibitively high cost of continuing the legal battle. Final arguments in the case are scheduled for February 28, 2001.

NEW! A Jewish Scholar's Explosive Assault on the Holocaust 'Extortion Racket'

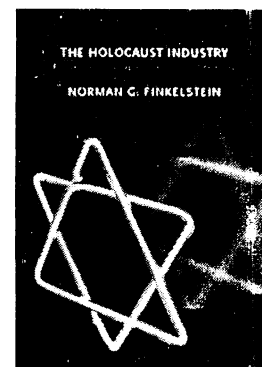
Just who benefits from the seemingly perpetual Holocaust campaign? In this passionate but thoroughly researched and closely argued new book, a American Jewish scholar nails the "Holocaust industry" as a "racket" that serves narrow Jewish interests, above all the interests of Israel and powerful Jewish-Zionist organizations.

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He exposes the "double shakedown" – the extortion by powerful Jewish groups of billions from European countries, and the betrayal by these groups of actual wartime Jewish victims. "In recent years," says Finkelstein, "the Holocaust industry has become an outright extortion racket ... The Holocaust may yet turn out to be the 'greatest robbery in the history of mankind'."

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The Holocaust Industry

by Norman G. Finkelstein

Hardcover. Dust jacket. 150 pages.

Source references. (#0520) \$ 23, plus shipping

Institute for Historical Review
P.O. Box 2739, Newport Beach, CA 92659 USA

Jürgen Graf Welcomed in Iran

Swiss Revisionist Forced Into Exile for Thought Crime

A prominent Swiss revisionist author who fled his homeland rather than serve a 15-month prison sentence for “Holocaust denial” has been welcomed in Iran.

Rather than begin serving the politically-motivated prison term that was to commence in October, Jürgen Graf is staying in Tehran at the invitation of a group of Iranian scholars and university professors who are sympathetic to Holocaust revisionism. (Contrary to some reports, he has not been given political asylum in Iran, nor has he requested it.) He has written an 80-page overview of the history and impact of Holocaust revisionism that is being translated into Persian and Arabic for distribution to scholars, journalists and religious and political leaders. Graf will also be giving lectures at Iranian universities. He is learning Persian (Farsi) in an intensive study course.

Graf arrived in Tehran on November 17, 2000, concluding a journey that had taken him to Poland, Russia, Ukraine and Turkey. He is impressed with the hospitality and helpfulness of his hosts, as well as with the orderliness, cleanliness and sense of security in the Iranian capital.

At the conclusion of his trial in July 1998, a court in the Swiss town of Baden sentenced Graf to 15 months imprisonment and imposed a heavy fine because of his writings. (See “Swiss Court Punishes Two Revisionists,” July-August 1998 *Journal*.)

Graf does not intend to return to Switzerland until normal rights of free speech and free intellectual inquiry are restored. However, he has not yet decided where he will settle and make a new home.

Jürgen Graf, born in 1951, is an educator, researcher and author of several books, including “Holocaust on the Test Stand,” which has appeared in more than half a dozen languages. In March 1993, following publication of the 112-page German edition, he was summarily dismissed from his post as a secondary school teacher of Latin and French. (See “Swiss Teacher Suspended for Holocaust Book,” Sept.-Oct. 1993 *Journal*.) In December 1994 the French-language edition, *L'Holocauste au scanner*, was banned in France by order of the country's Interior Ministry. Some 200,000 copies of an expanded edition of this work have been published and distributed in Russia under the title “The Myth of the Holocaust.” (See “A Major Revisionist Breakthrough in Russia,” July-August 1997 *Journal*.)

In recent years Graf has examined the sites of



Jürgen Graf at the 13th IHR Conference, May 28, 2000

numerous wartime German camps, and has carried out historical research at archives in Poland, Russia, and other countries. (See, for example, “Important Documents Found in Moscow Archives,” Nov.-Dec. 1995 *Journal*.) During the coming months he intends to bring out, in collaboration with Carlo Mattogno and Richard Krege, a book about Treblinka, the wartime German camp in Poland where, it is widely alleged, more than 750,000 Jews were killed between July 1942 and April 1943.

Since 1997 Graf has been a member of this *Journal*'s Editorial Advisory Committee. His addresses at the Twelfth and 13th IHR Conferences appeared in the Nov.-Dec. 1995 and July-August 2000 *Journal* issues.

In several countries, including Germany, France, Israel, Austria and Switzerland, it is a crime publicly to dispute standard “Holocaust” claims that six million Jews were systematically killed during World War II, most of them in gas chambers. Numerous writers and publishers have been fined or imprisoned for “Holocaust denial.” These one-sided “thought crime” laws are the result of a well-organized campaign by the World Jewish Congress and other powerful Jewish organizations.



Roger Garaudy

Growing Support

Awareness of the importance of the Holocaust story as a key propaganda tool of Israeli-Zionist interests is growing throughout the world, especially in Muslim countries. This was manifest, for example, during the 1998 trial in Paris of the prominent French scholar Roger Garaudy, who was fined \$40,000 for his book *The Founding Myths of Modern Israel*, which presents compelling evidence refuting the orthodox Holocaust story and other historical legends. (An attractive American edition is published by the IHR.)

Religious and political leaders, scholars and journalists in Egypt, Lebanon, Iran and other countries expressed support for Garaudy and Holocaust revisionism. (See T. O'Keefe, "Origin and Enduring Impact of the 'Garaudy Affair'," July-August 1999 *Journal*, pp. 31-35.) A professor at Cairo University, Dr. Amina Rashid, for example, declared: "Zionist propaganda, well entrenched in France, is exploiting the guilt complex among the French for the persecution of the Jews by the Nazis ... The Zionist lobby keeps concentrating on the 'Six Million victims' in spite of the corrections to this figure." In Iran, 600 journalists and 160 members of parliament signed petitions backing Garaudy, and during a visit to the country, he was received by the nation's chief of state, Ayatollah Khamenei, who congratulated the French scholar.

Iran's official radio voice to the world, IRIB, has in recent years expressed support for Holocaust revisionism by broadcasting sympathetic interviews with leading revisionist scholars and activists. Several interviews with IHR Director Mark Weber have been aired on the English-language service, and similar interviews have been broadcast with Ernst Zundel in German and with Ahmed Rami in Arabic. IRIB short-wave radio reaches millions in the Middle East, Europe and Asia.

An editorial, "Myth of the Holocaust," in the English-language Iranian paper *Kayhan International*, Dec. 6, 1999, commented sympathetically on Holocaust revisionism, and criticized German government persecution of Dr. Fredrick Töben and others who dispute Holocaust claims. The paper called Töben an "Australian historian of German origin who is known for his authoritative research on the myth of the Holocaust ... He was jailed and he was fined for having exposed the fabrications of the gas chambers where, Zionist propaganda says, six million Jews perished ..." The paper referred to the "preposterous figure of six million," and praised revisionist scholars for their "courageous research and highlighting of facts of the Second World War."

On May 1, 2000, the Iranian embassy in Vienna granted refuge to an Austrian engineer, Wolfgang Fröhlich, who had been hounded for expressing dissident views on history. At Graf's 1998 trial, Fröhlich had testified that, for technical reasons, mass gassings with Zyklon could not have been carried out in the German wartime camps as alleged. In his request for asylum, he reported that he had been offered \$5 million to repudiate his expert testimony in the Graf trial, and instead state that mass killings with Zyklon could somehow have happened as claimed.

Since the Iranian revolution of 1978-79, which overthrew the repressive and pro-Zionist regime of Shah Pahlavi, the Islamic republic has steadfastly opposed Zionist oppression and aggression. United States policy toward Iran has accordingly been hostile, and includes a ban on trade and investment. This belligerent policy, which reflects America's subservience to Zionist interests, is hypocritical. By any objective standard, Iran is today a much more "democratic" state than many with which the US has cordial relations, including Israel, China, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. US efforts to isolate the nation of some 65 million people have been a failure. Reflecting its good relations with the rest of the world (apart from the US and Israel), Iran's popular President, Mohammed Khatami, has in recent years made successful state visits to Italy, France, Germany and Britain.

The warm welcome being given to Jürgen Graf in Iran is not only a dramatic expression of support

for intellectual freedom and human rights, it further refutes the often-made claim that Holocaust revisionism has no significant public or scholarly support.

— M.W., December 23, 2000

International Conference on Revisionism and Zionism Set for Beirut

Prominent scholars, researchers and activists will participate in a landmark international conference on "Revisionism and Zionism" in Beirut, Lebanon, March 31-April 3, 2001. The meeting reflects, and will further strengthen, growing cooperation between revisionist scholars in the West and in Muslim countries.

The event is being organized by the Swiss revisionist organization *Verité et Justice*, in cooperation with the Institute for Historical Review. Conference addresses will be given in Arabic, French and English. Measures have been taken to insure complete security for the event.

Verité et Justice director Jürgen Graf, who was sentenced by a Swiss court in July 1998 to 15 months imprisonment for "Holocaust denial," has fled his homeland to live in political exile rather than serve the politically-motivated sentence. The 49-year-old educator is currently visiting Tehran, Iran, as a guest of scholars.

Guests are welcome to attend the Beirut conference, but they must cover their own travel and hotel expenses. United States citizens traveling to Lebanon require a valid US passport and a visa issued by the Lebanese embassy or a Lebanese consulate.

Updated information is posted on the special "Beirut Conference" section of the IHR web site — <http://ihr.org>.

— December 26, 2000

"It will be of little avail to the people, that the laws are made by men of their own choice, if the laws be so voluminous that they cannot be read, or so incoherent that they cannot be understood; if they be repealed or revised before they are promulgated, or undergo such incessant changes that no man who knows that the law is today, can guess what it will be tomorrow. Law is defined to be a rule of action; but how can that be a rule, which is little known, and less fixed?"

— James Madison, *The Federalist*, No. 62

A revisionist classic!

The 'Confessions' of Kurt Gerstein

Here is the headline-making university doctoral dissertation that debunks the key "Holocaust" testimony of SS officer Kurt Gerstein — the enigmatic, twisted Third Reich functionary who claimed to have witnessed mass gassings of Jews in 1942. In this closely argued study a French scholar subjects Gerstein's accusations to critical examination, striking at the very roots of the Holocaust extermination story. The stunning conclusion: not only are Gerstein's allegations of mass killings of Jews groundless, but prominent Holocaust historians have deliberately manipulated and falsified key parts of Gerstein's tortured testimony.



Henri Roques

This powerful exposé and its author 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.

Gerstein's bogus "confessions" were the basis of the anti-German and anti-Catholic hysteria stirred by Rolf Hochhuth's play "The Deputy." Roques' study thus shatters the myth of Pope Pius XII's complicity in Holocaust genocide.

British historian Hugh Trevor-Roper (Lord Dacre) praised this study as "an entirely legitimate, scholarly and responsible work of *Quellenkritik* [source critique] on a limited but important subject."

Michel de Bouard of the Institut de France declared: "Had I been a member of the jury, I would probably have given a grade of 'very good' to Mr. Roques' thesis."

Includes transcripts and translations of all six versions of Gerstein's "testimonies," as well as facsimiles of the original texts and other previously unpublished documents and records. Translated from the French by Ronald Percival, who also provides a foreword.

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Australia Orders Censorship of Töben Web Site

Jewish Groups Demand Ban on Revisionist Writings

A important legal battle is shaping up in Australia over an effort initiated by Jewish-Zionist groups to ban Internet web site writings that reject standard "Holocaust" extermination claims. In a landmark decision with international implications for freedom of speech, the government has ordered a leading Australian revisionist history resource center to remove from its site material that "denies the Holocaust," and to issue an abject written apology to the country's Jews.

Acting at the behest of Australian Jewry, the country's "Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission" (HREOC) on October 10, 2000, issued its order against the Adelaide Institute, which is headed by Dr. Fredrick Töben. HREOC Commissioner Kathleen McEvoy declared that the Institute had violated Section 18C of the country's 1975 "Racial Discrimination Act" by posting material whose main purpose was to denigrate Jews. The material, "none of which was of a historical, intellectual or scientific standard," she declared, should be banned because it is "bullying, insulting and offensive."

The order came in response to a 1996 complaint by the Executive Council of Australian Jewry (ECAJ), the country's most influential Jewish community organization. Welcoming the order, ECAJ national vice-president Jeremy Jones said that "Töben's Holocaust denial is offensive, insulting and, as HREOC has now confirmed, unlawful." He added: "The Commissioner has demonstrated an understanding of the need to apply laws which cover... the Internet and has also endorsed the view expressed in other jurisdictions that anti-Semitism masking as pseudo-history is as pernicious as more overt forms of racial hatred."

"This is a landmark case," said Peter Wertheim, a Jewish community leader, and ECAJ lawyer in the legal action, "because it deals with hate on the Internet, and it's the first in Australia, and quite possibly anywhere in the world, to have done so."

Consistent with his attitude throughout this legal battle, Töben immediately declared his defiance of the HREOC order, saying that he would not apologize for posting "factually correct material." The only consideration for the HREOC, he noted, is whether Jews were offended by the posted material. "I shall do nothing," he said, "because I consider the proceedings [that led to the order] to have been

immoral because truth was not a defense."

Töben has persistently protested the HREOC's standards and procedures. Noting that in such "human rights" cases, the truthfulness or accuracy of the material is not a consideration, he said: "Truth is not a defense. I cannot defend myself against someone's hurt feelings." In September 1997 Töben walked out of a preliminary hearing regarding his publications. "I cannot proceed," he declared, "because if truth is no defense, the lie must prevail. We have an inquisition here." He also withdrew from a public hearing scheduled for December 1997, protesting that he and the Adelaide Institute were being denied "natural justice."

Alan Gold, president of the "anti-defamation unit" of the Jewish-Zionist B'nai B'rith organization commented: "The decision by McEvoy to order the removal of material from the Adelaide Institute's web site is one of the first serious moves to be made against the real menace which the Internet has made possible... Her decision should rightly send shockwaves through the Internet community, to the racists who publish their viewpoints and service providers who allow their businesses to be used by these people." (*Sydney Morning Herald*, Oct. 19)

In early November 2000, the Australia/Israel & Jewish Affairs Council joined the ECAJ in calling on the country's Federal Court to enforce the HREOC censorship order against Töben and the Adelaide Institute. Freedom of speech not an absolute right, argued ECAJ president Nina Bassat. "Hurtful, abusive and incorrect" statements cannot be permitted, she said.

Olga Scully, an associate in Tasmania of the Adelaide Institute, is similarly being targeted by the HREOC and ECAJ. She engaged in "unlawful conduct," the HREOC has declared, by placing anti-Jewish literature in letter boxes and by selling such material at a market. She has been ordered to desist, and to apologize to Jews. The ECAJ has announced plans to bring her case to Federal Court. Scully — a Russian-born 57-year-old grandmother — is not intimidated, and says that she is "quite prepared" to go to prison. "I've lived through worse horrors in my childhood — certainly my family did. A few months or years in jail — that's not going to be any worry to me whatever." Jewish Bolshevik officials killed both of her grandfathers, she says. Fleeing Communism during World War II, her parents

brought her as an infant with her two brothers to Germany in 1943 where, she says, her family was treated with kindness.

Fredrick Töben was born in 1944 in northern Germany, but emigrated with his family to Australia when he was ten. He has lived most of his life in his new homeland, and is an Australian citizen. He studied at universities in Australia, New Zealand and Germany, and holds a Master's degree in education and a Doctorate in philosophy. He has worked as a teacher in Germany, New Zealand, Rhodesia/Zimbabwe, Nigeria and Australia.

He founded the Adelaide Institute in 1994. Centered in South Australia's largest city, and funded by donations, it plays a major role in the worldwide struggle against the historical blackout through its web site, an informative newsletter, and other activities. It can be reached at P.O. Box 3300, Norwood 5067, Australia. Web site: <http://www.adelaideinstitute.org> E-mail: info@adelaideinstitute.org

Last year Töben was jailed for seven months in Germany (April-November 1999) for having disputed Holocaust extermination allegations. (See "German Court Sentences Australian Holocaust Skeptic," July-August 1999 *Journal*, pp. 2-5.) He reported on his arrest and imprisonment in his address on May 28, 2000, at the 13th IHR Conference in southern California.

Standards and Power

Standards for determining just what is "offensive" are, obviously, elastic and subjective. Many people feel "offended" or "insulted" by much of what appears in magazines, books, as well as on the Internet. That's life. If anyone wants to avoid being "offended" by what's on the Adelaide Institute web site, or any other Internet site, he merely has to refrain from viewing the material. Simple.

In practice, only the politically powerful are able to translate their notions of what is "offensive" or "insulting" into law that everyone must obey. No government anywhere has attempted to censor Internet web sites that present a pro-Communist view of history, even though such sites presumably "offend" many victims of Communism. The only serious efforts — so far, anyway — to censor the Internet have, not accidentally, been in response to Jewish complaints.

The laws in various countries that criminalize skepticism of Holocaust extermination claims are the result of a well-organized, long-term Jewish campaign. In 1982 the Institute for Jewish Affairs in London, an agency of the World Jewish Congress, announced that it was launching a worldwide campaign to persuade and pressure governments to outlaw "Holocaust denial" (*Jewish Chronicle* [London], April 23, 1982). The anti-revisionist "thought crime"



Dr. Fredrick Töben addresses the 13th IHR Conference, May 28, 2000

laws that have subsequently been enacted in several European countries, as well as in Australia, reflect the success of this initiative. Underscoring the organized nature of this campaign, in June 1998 the International Association of Jewish Lawyers and Jurists called for new and more severe laws against Holocaust revisionism. ("Jewish Group Demands more Anti-Revisionist Laws," July-August 1998 *Journal*, p. 22.)

In Canada a censorship effort is underway similar to the one against Töben. Acting on a complaint from a Jewish group, a similarly named "Human Rights Commission" has called German-born publicist and civil rights activist Ernst Zundel before a "Human Rights Tribunal" in Toronto on charges that material posted on the US-based "Zundelsite" is "likely to expose" Jews to "hatred or contempt." In this case as well, the truth or factuality of the allegedly offensive material is irrelevant.

Australian Voices Against Censorship

The effort to censor the Adelaide Institute is particularly ominous because it comes in a country with a fairly strong tradition of free speech and civil liberties. If Australia's Federal Court upholds the precedent-setting "Human Rights Commission" order banning Internet material, Jewish groups might next seek to censor books, newspapers and

television broadcasts they deem “offensive” or “insulting.”

Happily, at least a few voices are speaking out against the effort to censor the Adelaide Institute web site. (These echo the criticisms in 1993 by Australian newspapers and civil liberties groups of a government order banning British historian David Irving from the country. See “Irving Barred From Australia: Major Newspapers and Civil Liberties Groups Denounce Ban Against Historian,” May-June 1993 *Journal*, pp. 13-15.)

A leading Australian daily paper, the *Herald Sun* of Melbourne, commented (Nov. 13): “To see how our over-bossy complaints industry can cause more harm than good, check the Executive Council of Australian Jewry’s bid to close down the web site of Dr. Fredrick Töben.” While calling Töben “a worry,” the influential daily warned that the Jewish campaign is only contributing to his “martyrdom.” Töben and Adelaide Institute associate Olga Scully, the paper concluded, can “now pose as a victims of a Jewish bid to deny them free speech, and there’s sadly just enough truth in that to make them [sic] a real menace.”

Terry Lane, a veteran newspaper columnist and television commentator, was more pointed in his criticism. “Are we to take it,” wrote Lane in *The Sunday Age* (Melbourne, Oct. 15), “that the human rights commissioner is going to order every outspoken person who offends some group or other to desist and apologize?” Töben’s claim about gas chambers, he added, is one that “can be proven or disproved by evidence. It does not need to be censored in advance of the argument ... If Töben is telling the truth, nothing will stop it. If he is a malicious fantasist, then he will be ignored. We should test his assertions, not silence them.” (See also Lane’s remarkable 1992 commentary, “I Surrender,” in the May-June 1993 *Journal*, p. 15.)

Nigel Jackson, an Australian author and civil rights defender, called the HREOC order “a victory of interests over principles.” He continued:

The HREOC can fairly be described as a pseudo-judicial body which was established and entrenched a few decades ago by servile and foolish governments to advance the interests of Jewish pressure groups and other minority ethnic bodies.

Any fair-minded person who studies the publications of the Adelaide Institute over recent years will quickly realize that the HREOC’s poorly articulated claim that none of its “Holocaust material” is “of historical, intellectual or scientific standard” is nonsense.

During the last 50 years a significant number of highly intelligent and academically qual-

ified people have cast profound doubt on the received version of “the Holocaust,” which was promoted after World War Two and became prominent in the seventies. The simplistic claim (of doubtful veracity) that all “mainstream historians” agree that “the Holocaust” consumed “the lives of six million Jews” will not remove that doubt. It is probably tautologous, the definition of “mainstream” being “those who accept the received version.” Historical disagreement of this kind should be dealt with by free and open debate in the intellectual forums of the land and not by appeal from a financially powerful elite to biased commissions or the courts.

For Jewish-Zionist groups, the campaign against “Holocaust” skeptics is nothing less than a war. Thus, WIZO Victoria, an Australian Zionist women’s organization, recently sponsored a special “War Against Holocaust Denial” meeting, at which prominent Zionist speakers addressed more than a hundred persons.

The struggle continues.

— M.W.

Update

German Court Ruling Threatens Internet Freedom

In an ominous blow against on-line freedom of speech, Germany’s highest court declared on December 12, 2000, that German law banning “Holocaust denial” material applies even to foreigners who post such content on Internet web sites outside of the country, as long as the material is accessible in Germany.

The federal supreme court in Karlsruhe, the *Bundesgerichtshof*, was ruling on issues arising from a lower court’s verdict against Dr. Fredrick Töben, director of the Adelaide Institute in Australia, for material posted on its web site. Töben was jailed for seven months in Germany (April-November 1999) for having disputed Holocaust extermination allegations. (See “German Court Sentences Australian Holocaust Skeptic,” July-August 1999 *Journal*, pp. 2-5.) According to news reports, German authorities are considering asking Australia to extradite Töben to Germany for further prosecution.

With this ruling, Germany is claiming the right to punish citizens of the United States and every other country for posting material on the Internet that is legal in most of the world. Echoing a darker past, the ruling attempts to censor the so far almost entirely unrestricted Internet world wide web. If

other countries, in keeping with the German court's decision, tried to enforce their domestic laws outside their own borders, the result would be international chaos. Internet freedom for dissident views on World War II history is thus an important litmus test for on-line freedom of speech generally.

The German court's ruling could even affect German citizens who post "right-wing" material on the Internet while visiting the United States, warned the *Berliner Zeitung* (Dec. 15).

If the German court's decision were to set an international precedent, the consequences could be bizarre and far-reaching. Americans visiting China could presumably be arrested there if they had ever posted material, even while in the United States, that supports independence for Tibet or calls for an end to Communist rule in China. US citizens who had ever posted material on the Internet supporting social tolerance or equality for homosexuals could be arrested while visiting countries where such views are against the law. Similarly, Americans who had ever posted material supporting discrimination against homosexuals could be arrested while visiting countries where such discrimination is illegal. Americans who have ever posted pornographic material on the Internet could be arrested while visiting countries where pornography is illegal.

"This German court wants to judge over the whole world in effect," commented Andy Mueller-Maguhn, a prominent figure in Germany's Internet scene. The ruling, he added, "seems to be the worst Internet-dependent court decision so far. If other countries would take this as an orientation and start to apply their laws on the citizens of other countries acting in their countries, the worldwide free flow of information could lead very fast to an unfree situation in the real world."

Jewish groups applauded the German court's ruling. "We have to commend the Germans and the French for basically saying 'in our societies, this is how we deal with the problems of hate, racism and Holocaust denial'," said Rabbi Abraham Cooper of the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles.

German newspapers seemed cautiously supportive of the high court's ruling. Munich's liberal *Süddeutsche Zeitung* praised it as "a small, boldly formulated contribution to combatting socially harmful Internet sites." Web sites such as those of the Adelaide Institute "endanger an important legal value of the Germans, namely peaceful cooperation among population groups." The conservative *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* questioned whether the Karlsruhe court "may not have gone beyond its means of enforcement. It will be difficult for the federal supreme court to plug this hole with a national penal code."

Ulrich Sieber, a University of Munich professor

of criminal law and information law, said that the Karlsruhe court decision "is a courageous step, but it will remain a toothless tiger" because it is difficult to enforce. "The ruling is only significant for people such as Mr. Töben, who are so imprudent as to come to Germany." Extending German penal law to other countries is problematical, says Sieber, because other countries could similarly extend their criminal laws to Germany and elsewhere. "The Internet would then become a dangerous thing, because everyone who posts material on it would have to be concerned that he has thereby broken the law somewhere around the world." The result would be an "informationally impoverished" Internet. "What we need," says Sieber, is a harmonizing of the criminal codes of the various countries. There's no other way to solve the problem."

In a related case, a Paris court in late November ordered the American Internet giant Yahoo to block all French access to sites selling Nazi memorabilia. The case had been brought by three Jewish and "anti-racist" groups, who said that sites accessed through Yahoo violated French laws against "hate" publications and the sale of racially offensive material. In its defense Yahoo argued that it would be impossible to bar only French users, as US-based sites are accessed by people around the world. The French court gave Yahoo three months to comply with its ruling, or face hefty fines of more than \$10,000 per day.

In late October a German court found a 36-year-old man guilty on four counts of "popular incitement" (*Volksverhetzung*) for having posted from his apartment in Zurich, Switzerland, on a Jewish web site a text that "denied the genocide of the Jews" in World War II. The court in Freiburg imposed a fine of 3,000 marks and a six month prison sentence (suspended), and ordered the seizure of the defendant's computer. The defendant acknowledged that in material posted on the discussion forum of the "haGalil" web site, which promotes Jewish interests in Europe, he had cited various sources to dispute the familiar figure of six million Jewish wartime dead, and had questioned, on technical grounds, the familiar claims of mass killings of Jews in wartime gas chambers using the commercial pesticide Zyklon B. He had hoped, he said, to thereby promote a healthy discussion of historical issues. (Sources: "Haftstrafe als Prävention," *Badische Zeitung*, Oct. 21; "Im Internet gegen den Holocaust polemisiert," *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, Oct. 23).

"To you insane world
But one reply — I refuse."

— Marina Tsvetaeva, Russian poet (1892-1941)

The Greatest Dirty Open Secret

ARTHUR R. BUTZ

In the trials and tribulations of Fredrick Töben one can observe in operation the greatest dirty open secret of our day. In explaining that remark here, I will do my best to be objective, despite the fact that because of the conditions I am to discuss several of my friends have been imprisoned or fined for doing the sorts of things I also do.

In October 1997 I received a request from Töben, director of the Adelaide Institute and a Holocaust revisionist, to be a defense witness for him in his hearings before the Australian Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (HREOC). The role would have involved writing a letter for him and perhaps testifying by telephone from my home near Chicago.

I resisted this request, pleading a shortage of time and the fact that he had told me, earlier that year in Chicago, that the Australian "Human Rights" legislation has no teeth and that he did not have to pay any attention to such proceedings against him. Both pleas were true but I had another strong reason for my reticence, which was too complicated to state in these rapid-fire e-mail messages, but which can be explained here in due course.

In any case I relented after a few passionate e-mails from Töben. I wrote a two page letter, intended to be submitted to the HREOC hearings. The letter, dated November 5, declared:

Alas I must say that you are arguably guilty of some of the charges. I looked over Jeremy Jones' stuff and I infer that the "Racial Discrimination Act" proscribes what might "offend, insult, humiliate or intimidate another person or group of people." Well, revisionism

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This essay, which will soon appear as the introduction to Fredrick Töben's forthcoming book, *Where Truth is No Defence: I Want to Break Free*, is also posted on the Adelaide Institute web site: www.adelaideinstitute.org.

certainly does the first three! It does not however "intimidate"; at least, I have never noticed such a case ... Heated controversy is a price of open debate, the foundation of a rational society.

Jeremy Jones was the representative of the Jewish organization that had brought charges against Töben. I commented on Jones' letter by declaring Töben guilty. Some defense witness!

Far from acting betrayed by me, Töben submitted the letter to the HREOC. I believe that he was starting to see my real reason for reluctance to get involved as a defense witness. Such matters as I had expertise in were irrelevant to the proceedings, which related not to historical truth, but to offending, insulting, etc.. For the most part I could not understand the notion of culpability as used in the proceedings, but to the extent that I could understand, Töben was guilty. I am at least as guilty, as are many of my revisionist friends. The situation was structured such that nothing I could have said would have helped attain a favorable verdict, as became clear to Töben shortly later.

On December 7 Töben ended his participation in the hearings, complaining that he was unable to defend the position of the Adelaide Institute because the HREOC was not interested in historical truth. The breaking point seems to have come when the Commission rejected the witness statement of Dr. Robert Faurisson as "irrelevant."¹ In a hearing conducted by telephone on November 27, the Commission had told Töben that for the most part the witness statements he had submitted had to be disqualified either because (1) they "make comments about the desirability, validity, constitutionality or sensibleness of this law" under which the hearings were being held or (2) they comment on "the substance" of the historical problem, that is, "the truth of the Holocaust, the extent of the Holocaust, its existence" which "is not of much significance" for the hearings.²

Of course these two questions are, to our common sense (or as Töben puts it our sense of "natural justice"), the only relevant questions. There is almost nothing left to be said if these two questions are excluded. I felt vindicated, because even the

accused had decided to submit no defense. I could not be accused of failing him. Faurisson had written one of his usual masterfully incisive analyses of the historical problems, formulated for the layman, and his statement was rejected. The implicit effect of what I wrote was to question the law itself, but I declared Töben guilty so my statement was accepted. We may make the basic observation that it was impossible to determine what Töben was being charged with, apart from saying things that annoyed some people. The commission was not interested in the intentions behind Töben's public declarations, or in their actual effect.

This observation raises the general question of the legal formulations under which Holocaust revisionists are persecuted in various countries. For purposes of such a discussion, we can take two: the "Human Rights Act" (such an Orwellian term!) in Canada and the 1990 Fabius-Gayssot law in France.

These two legislations do contrast sharply, but in practice they operate similarly, as I now explain.

In the Canadian case, the code excludes the relevance of three considerations:

1. The truth of the offending statements.
2. The intent behind the expression of the statements, for example, whether they were intended to cause people to hate Jews.
3. The actual effect of the statements, for example, whether they caused people to hate Jews, whatever the intent of the author.

We simple minded people will scratch our heads and wonder what is left to try. It is this: whether the statements "exposed" somebody to hatred or contempt.

It is impossible for me to clarify that standard because, to the extent I understand it, reference is being made to a condition into which all of us are born. Somebody may start hating us, and often does. Holocaust revisionists are hated more than most, but exposure to hatred is basically part of the human condition. One can be argued to be innocent of such an offense only in that sense, that is, that the condition referred to is a condition we are all in, independently of what statements are made by anybody. If that plea is unacceptable, then of course we are all guilty. Anybody may be hated in the future for all sorts of reasons. Witness human history.

By contrast, the French Fabius-Gayssot law is very clear. It proscribes contesting the truth of any finding in the "Crimes Against Humanity" section of the 1946 judgment in the main Nuremberg trial. It candidly expresses, without any tergiversation, what all legal moves against revisionists are trying to do: freeze received history in the state of the end of war hysteria of 1945-1946. This sort of law contrasts with the typical "human rights" legislation, since here there is no doubt what offense an accused



Arthur Butz at the 13th IHR Conference, May 27-29, 2000.

is being charged with.

The Australian statute resembles the Canadian, and the formulation of the French law is approximated in Germany, with its "denial of established fact" clause. These are two starkly contrasting formulations, and Töben may be unique in having been prosecuted under both, for as this book relates at length, in April 1999 he was jailed in Germany while traveling there.

That the two formulations have something important in common is suggested by what finally happened when Töben's trial came up in Germany in November 1999. Again, he decided to remain silent and offer no defense, and his lawyer did likewise. I commented on my web site:³

If I must conjecture the specific grounds for Töben's silence during the trial, I would guess that his protest is based on the impossibility of arguing the truth of any of the claims he has made, for which he is being prosecuted. I suppose in the court's eyes there is a certain amount of logic in that situation which, as so often happens, makes legal sense but not common sense. If, for example, there were a law outlawing the denial that Germany is on the planet Mars, and if I deny that Germany is on

the planet Mars and am prosecuted for the claim, then the question of whether Germany is on the planet Mars is irrelevant to the question of whether I broke the law. Truth is no defense. In those circumstances I would adopt the strategy Töben adopted, silence, which for me would make both legal sense and common sense.

Thus the two contrasting formulations confront the accused revisionist with the same practical situation: the impossibility of seeking to justify the offending statements in relation to the accusations. Before a "Human Rights" tribunal, a Holocaust revisionist confronts unintelligible accusations. Under the French or German laws, the Holocaust revisionist is accused of being a Holocaust revisionist. If I had been a defense witness for Töben in Germany, I could not have helped him and indeed he could not think of anything to help himself. There was nothing for him to say, and nothing a defense witness could have effectively said in his support. Such court victories as revisionist defendants have won have been based on legal and constitutional technicalities.

Since western society has, for many years, made freedom of expression one of its highest values, the reactions of the civil liberties groups to this offensive and scandalous situation are of great interest.

Their reactions are equally offensive and even more scandalous. The leading (in terms of general prestige) international civil rights group is Amnesty International, headquartered in London. Amnesty has a designation, "prisoner of conscience," which it describes thus:⁴

"Prisoners of conscience" is the original term given by the founders of Amnesty International to people who are imprisoned, detained or otherwise physically restricted anywhere because of their beliefs, color, sex, ethnic origin, language or religion, provided they have not used or advocated violence.

The concept of a prisoner of conscience transcends class, creed, color or geography and reflects the basic principle on which Amnesty International was founded: that all people have the right to express their convictions and the obligation to extend that freedom to others. The imprisonment of individuals because of their beliefs or origins is a violation of fundamental human rights; rights which are not privileges "bestowed" on individuals by states and which, therefore, cannot be withdrawn for political convenience.

Amnesty International seeks the immediate and unconditional release of all prisoners of conscience.

Early in Töben's German incarceration John Bennett, the Melbourne civil liberties lawyer, wrote to Amnesty to request them to formally adopt Töben as a "prisoner of conscience" which, in ordinary meaning, is what he was. In a long letter Amnesty declined, declaring that

in 1995 the organization decided at a meeting of its International Council — the highest decision making body of Amnesty International — that it would exclude from prisoner of conscience status not only people who have used or advocated violence, but also people who are imprisoned "for having advocated national, racial, or religious hatred that constitutes incitement to discrimination, hostility or violence." The decision codified Amnesty International's intention to exclude from prisoner of conscience status those who advocate the denial of the Holocaust and it confirmed what had in fact had been the de facto interpretation of the prisoner of conscience definition contained in Article 1 of Amnesty International's Statute.

That seems to say that "those who advocate the denial of the Holocaust" are viewed by Amnesty as thereby advocating "national, racial, or religious hatred that constitutes incitement to discrimination, hostility or violence." That is rubbish, an obvious logical *non sequitur*, empirically contradicted by easy observation; I have never seen such advocacy in the Adelaide Institute newsletter. It is such obvious rubbish that it must be called a lie. Töben is not in the class of an Elie Wiesel, who has incited hatred of Germans, or of Zionists who have incited discrimination and violence against Arabs.

Amnesty has declined to support freedom of expression for Holocaust revisionists for political reasons. It is, therefore, not worthy of respect.

The organization's hypocrisy is highlighted by the case of Nelson Mandela, who during his sabotage trial in South Africa in 1964, admitted that he believed in violence to achieve his political objectives and for that purpose had been a leader of a campaign of sabotage. Mandela was a hot subject of debate at Amnesty's meeting in September 1964 because, while the overwhelming sentiment was to continue to support him, one of the rules pertaining to the prisoner of conscience category was that those who used or advocated violence were not eligible. Thus the meeting decided against adopting Mandela thus, but it also voted for supporting him anyway.⁵ A mere label was withheld, not the support. Töben needed the support more than the label.

Thus we see in the Töben case hypocrisy at high levels of contemporary public life, but I opened by promising "the greatest dirty open secret of our day,"

and I have yet to explain.

Like the study of taboos, the study of hypocritical exceptions to agreed norms is highly instructive on the real, as opposed to declared, values of a society. That free expression of ideas must be a fundamental value of the sort of society we purport to be has virtual unanimous support, at least in the abstract. True, the ideal of free expression must be qualified in various ways, for example by national security laws and restrictions against distribution of pornography in some circumstances. However it is hard to make even a bad case for censorship of the history of the remote past unless that history impacts in some way on the present; in such event bad cases can be and are made.

The past and the present are linked, in the case of Holocaust revisionism, by Zionism. Many Israeli leaders agree that the Holocaust is "what this country's all about."⁶ That statement is more true than the speaker intended, because apart from Zionism's obvious contemporary exploitation of the Holocaust legend, there is the lesser known role that Zionism played in establishing, during the years 1942-1948, the legend that was to become its life blood, as I have discussed at length elsewhere. However even that is not the "greatest dirty open secret of our day."

It is widely imagined that the various national-socialist movements that flourished in Europe more than 50 years ago are dead, but that is not true. Yes, gone are not only Hitler's Nazis and Mussolini's Fascists, but also the British Union of Fascists, the Croatian Ustashe, the Hungarian Arrow Cross, the Romanian Iron Guard, the Parti Populaire Français, and all such national-socialist movements except Zionism, a movement born and nurtured in Europe during the heyday of nationalism and socialism, and which is quite vigorous today. Its *völkisch* principle, that of the "chosen people," is the oldest and best tested extant.

Despite occasional rhetoric by various governments and organizations like Amnesty International, for example against torture of prisoners, Israel and thus Zionism are essentially untouchable in international affairs. One cannot imagine, for example, Israel being treated harshly for defying UN resolutions, even with measures less severe than those used against Iraq during the past decade. Our institutions not only support Israel as a state, they also support Zionism in domestic policy by means tailored for each country. In Europe critical examination of Zionism's sustaining legend is outlawed.

That is not the case in the USA, for constitutional reasons, but US institutions look kindly on this European repression nevertheless. There are occasional references in the US press to the European anti-revisionist laws, but I have never seen an

editorial condemnation of them from these editors who so righteously scold China for its human rights violations. A frightening episode occurred in 1993 and 1994, when FBI Director Louis Freeh held talks with the German *Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz* (Federal Office for Protection of the Constitution), the euphemistically named agency that performs many of the functions once entrusted to the more honestly named *Geheime Staatspolizei* (Gestapo or Secret State Police). The talks sought to find ways the US could stop the flow, from the USA to Germany, of literature banned by German law but lawful in the USA.⁷ The talks seem to have come to nothing but the point was clearly made that the USA approves of such German repression of civil liberties. The role of the USA in supporting Israel diplomatically, financially and militarily is well known. The USA is also the mainstay of the operation of the related Holocaust restitution racket.

Thus the institutions of some major Western countries, flouting established legal and ethical norms, are as intellectually repressive as anybody's Gestapo, in enforcing service to the only surviving European national-socialist movement, and the others are tacitly or even openly supportive of that repression. That is the greatest dirty open secret of our day.

— September 2000

Notes

1. Adelaide Institute newsletter, Jan. 1998, pp. 1, 8.
2. Adelaide Institute newsletter, Feb. 1998, p. 10.
3. <http://pubweb.nwu.edu/~abutz>
4. *Prisoners of Conscience* (London: Amnesty International Publications, 1981), pp. 1-2.
5. Egon Larsen, *A Flame in Barbed Wire* (London: Frederick Muller, 1978; New York: W.W. Norton: 1979).
6. Efraim Zuroff, Israel director of the Simon Wiesenthal Center, quoted in the *New York Times*, Jan. 14, 1995, p. 6.
7. *Chicago Tribune*, Dec. 15, 1993, sec. 1, pp. 1,16; Dec. 19, 1993, sec. 1, p. 4; June 27, 1994, sec. 1, p. 4. Publicly the talk was about stopping "neo-Nazi" propaganda, but that is a common camouflage or package term when Holocaust revisionism is a target that it would be inexpedient to identify.

"The historian is not trying the men and women of the past; he is contemplating them; he has to see them as in truth they were and to present them as such to others, and a man, as a man, cannot be seen truly unless his moral worth, his loveworthiness, is seen."

— David Knowles, *The Historian and Character, and Other Essays*. Quoted in Thomas C. Reeves, *A Question of Character* (1992), p. vii.

A Black November for Revisionists

ROBERT FAURISSON

On November 1, 2000, French historian and sociologist Serge Thion, 58 and a father of three, was dismissed from the *Centre national de la recherche scientifique* (CNRS), without salary or severance pay. [Thion is the author of numerous scholarly articles and several books, including *Vérité historique ou vérité politique?*, a collection of revisionist essays published in Paris in 1980. He is also a contributor to this *Journal*.]

On November 6, the University of Lyon 2 began proceedings against Jean Plantin, 35, to revoke his *diplôme d'études approfondies* (DEA, "advanced studies degree"), obtained in 1991. France's Education Minister, Jack Lang, will make the final decision in the matter. (Lang, who is Jewish and a major Socialist party figure, has been a promoter, along with Laurent Fabius, also Jewish, of the anti-revisionist "Fabius-Gayssot law" of July 13, 1990.) On November 24 the teaching staff of the history department of the University of Lyon 3 let it be known that they are in favor of an identical course of action that, they hope, will strip Plantin of the master's degree conferred by their faculty in 1990. [Plantin is editor of the scholarly revisionist journal *Akribèia*, and director of a small publishing center of the same name, which has issued French editions of several revisionist works, including Arthur Ponsonby's *Falsehood in Wartime* and, most recently, Ralph Keeling's *Gruesome Harvest*. See "Scholarly French Journal Strives for 'Exactitude,'" Nov.-Dec. 1998 *Journal*.]

On November 17, Vincent Reynouard, a 31-year-old father of three small children, was dismissed from his position as a teacher of mathematics and science. Having been forced to leave a similar job at a state secondary school, he had just obtained this position in a Roman Catholic establishment run by a priest. Certain colleagues, who had heard his name on the "France-Culture" radio network, were either alarmed or angered by his presence among them. They all demanded that he be sacked.

On November 20, the Paris *tribunal de grande instance* ("high court") ordered the director of the giant American Internet firm Yahoo! to impose several forms of censorship in France and, in particular, to remove from its search engines links to revisionist web sites.

Outside of France as well, repression against revisionists is growing steadily more severe. In Ger-

many on May 23, Münster university professor Werner Pfeifenberger was driven to suicide. [See "German Professor, Accused of Revisionism, Commits Suicide," May-June 2000 *Journal*.] Also in Münster, Erhard Kemper, age 73, is once again in prison. His request for leave to go to the bedside of his wife, who is terminally ill with cancer and almost completely immobilized, was rejected on November 24 by unanimous decision of the judges.

Udo Walendy, 73, has been in prison for 28 months for having published dissident historical writings on the Holocaust issue. His request for normal release upon serving two-thirds of his sentence was recently rejected on the grounds that he is unlikely to change his views on history. Walendy suffers from a serious eye ailment. [See "Dissident German Historian Punished for Revisionist Writings," July-August 1998 *Journal*.]

In France, Henri Lewkowicz, who is half-Jewish, said in a radio talk show broadcast with Jean-Marie Le Pen that the Nazi gas chambers are a hoax. On September 7 in Paris, he was sentenced to, among other things, undergo a psychiatric examination that could lead to mandatory hospitalization.

On December 4, Jean-Louis Berger, a teacher of French and Latin at a secondary school near Metz (Lorraine), 55 years of age and the father of three, appeared before a disciplinary board. He will likely be expelled from the teaching profession, without salary or severance pay.

In Austria, Switzerland, Australia, New Zealand and Canada, the hunt for revisionists is intensifying.

In the mainstream media, not a single voice is raised in defense of the persecuted.

Last minute news: On December 8 the Internet servers for the revisionist web sites "Radio Islam" (which receives some 90,000 visits per day) and "aaargh" (with about 7,000 visits per day) has definitively shut down the two sites. It will be some time before new addresses are known.

In Paris a 35-year-old man has been arrested for putting on the Internet allegedly anti-Jewish, and probably revisionist, material. His arrest was made possible through a recently created French police agency, the *Brigade des affaires sanitaires et des libertés publiques* (BASLP, "Health Affairs and Public Liberties Brigade"). The French Interior Ministry bureau responsible for censorship is called the

"Public Liberties Office." (*Le Journal du dimanche*, Dec. 10, 2000)

In Nantes a teacher has been suspended for revisionism. (Details about the case, including the teacher's name, are not yet known.)

I cannot recommend strongly enough that those who have the means to do so come to the financial aid of any of the four latest French victims of anti-revisionist repression:

- Jean-Louis Berger, 146, Rue de Leitzelthal, 57230 Philippsbourg, France
- Jean Plantin, 45/3, Route de Vourles, 69230 St. Genis Laval, France
- Vincent Reynouard, 107, Chaussée de Vleurgatt, 1000 Brussels, Belgium
- Serge Thion, 1, Aubray, 91780 Chalo Saint Mars, France

— December 13, 2000

Germar Rudolf Joins *Journal* Advisory Committee

We are pleased to welcome Germar Rudolf, a leading revisionist writer and activist, as a member of this *Journal's* Editorial Advisory Committee. He is perhaps best known as the author of *The Rudolf Report*, a detailed 1993 forensic study based on an on-site investigation, chemical analysis of samples and meticulous research, which concludes that the "gas chambers" at Auschwitz, including Birkenau, were never used to kill prisoners as alleged. (An English-language summary edition is available through the IHR for \$5.99, plus shipping.) For the past four years, the 36-year-old German-born chemist has been forced to live in exile after a German court sentenced him to a prison term for expressing dissident views on history.

Rudolf was born on October 29, 1964, in Limburg/Lahm, Germany. After completing studies — *summa cum laude* — in chemistry at the University of Bonn, 1983-1989, he received certification as a chemist (Dipl.-Chem.). He then served with the German air force, 1989-1990.

In the Winter of 1990-91, while working toward a doctorate in chemistry at the renowned Max Planck Institute for Solid State Physics in Stuttgart (Oct. 1990-June 1993), he began a scientific investigation of the credibility of the *Leuchter Report*, a 1988 forensic examination by American gas chamber expert Fred Leuchter of the alleged mass execution gas chambers of Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek (Lublin). Rudolf's "Technical Report on the Formation and Detectability of Cyanide Compounds in the 'Gas Chamber' of Auschwitz," first published in January 1992, corroborates and strengthens the findings of earlier forensic investigations of purported Auschwitz "gas chambers." (For more on *The Rudolf Report*, see the Nov.-Dec. 1993 *Journal*, pp. 25-26, and the Nov.-Dec. 1994 *Journal*, pp. 14-15.)

Following predictable protests from Jewish community leaders, he was fired from his position with the Max Planck Institute. Similarly, the University of Stuttgart rejected, on political grounds, his doc-



Germar Rudolf addresses the 13th IHR Conference in southern California, May 29, 2000.

toral dissertation, in spite of laudatory recommendations.

A Stuttgart court declared that the *Rudolf Report* constitutes "denial of the systematic mass murder of the Jewish population in gas chambers," and therefore violates German laws against "popular incitement," "incitement to racial hatred," and "defamation." The judge in the case called Rudolf an anti-Semite who is "fanatically committed" to "denying the Holocaust." The court rejected Rudolf's request for evidence and expert testimony on the gas chamber issue because, it declared, "the mass murder of the Jews" is "obvious" (*offenkundig*).

German authorities also went after Rudolf for his role in writing and editing *Grundlagen zur Zeitgeschichte*, a revisionist anthology. (For more on this, see the May-June 1995 *Journal*, p. 43.) In 1996 a court fined the publisher 30,000 marks (about \$18,000), and ordered all remaining *Grundlagen* copies to be seized and burned.

While he was still living in Germany, police car-

ried out raids on his residence in 1993, 1994 and 1995, and on two occasions he and his family were evicted from their apartment, in each case when his wife was pregnant. After a German court sentenced him to 14 months imprisonment, Rudolf fled the country in 1996 to avoid serving the politically motivated sentence.

Since 1997 he has been director of Castle Hill Publishers in Britain (P.O. Box 118, Hastings, England TN34 3ZQ, UK), which has issued several important revisionist works, as well as editor-publisher of the scholarly revisionist journal *Vierteljahreshefte für freie Geschichtsforschung*. (See "Important New German-Language Revisionist Quarterly," May-June 1998 *Journal*, pp. 26 ff.)

Since October 1999, a sensational British media campaign has targeted Rudolf as a "neo-Nazi fugitive," with British authorities reportedly seeking to extradite him to Germany. (He is emphatically not a "neo-Nazi.") The campaign also prompted new calls, above all by Jewish groups, for a British law to criminalize "Holocaust denial" similar to those in Germany, France, Switzerland and other European countries. Rudolf's legal status in Britain is unclear because he has done nothing illegal under British law.

Rudolf has worked together with the Foundation for Free Historical Research, or Vrij Historisch Onderzoek (VHO), based in Flanders, Belgium. (See the VHO web site <http://www.vho.org>, and "A Belgian Foundation Battles for Free Speech," Jan.-Feb. 1996 *Journal*, p. 46.)

Rudolf is the editor of or contributor to several important revisionist anthologies, including *Vorlesungen über Zeitgeschichte* (1993) and *Grundlagen zur Zeitgeschichte* (1994), both published by Grabert in Tübingen under the pen name of Ernst Gauss, as well as *Auschwitz: Nackte Fakten* (1995), and *Kardinalfragen zur Zeitgeschichte* (1996), each nominally edited by H. Verbeke, and published in Belgium by VHO. Rudolf's most recent publication is an impressive 603-page English-language anthology, *Dissecting the Holocaust* (available from the IHR for \$50).

He was married in 1994, and has two young children, but amid the turmoil and difficulties of living in exile, his marriage has fallen apart. He addressed the 13th IHR Conference, May 27-29, 2000. Speaking with authority based on bitter personal experience, he dealt with the legal repression of dissidents in Germany.

For more about Rudolf, see the detailed article by Dr. Costas Zaverdinos in this *Journal* issue, as well as the information posted on the VHO web site: http://www.vho.org/Authors/Germar_RudolfE.html E-mail reaches Rudolf at: chp@vho.org

— M. W.

Young Germans Resist 'Holocaust Education'

No country, with the possible exception of the United States, has been so massively subjected to "Holocaustomania" as Germany. The campaign includes mandatory "Holocaust education" in schools, extensive treatment on television and in newspapers and magazines, "Holocaust"-theme motion pictures, and formal government ceremonies and solemn pronouncements by public figures. But this costly, seemingly endless effort doesn't seem to be paying off, especially in shaping the attitudes of younger people.

Two-thirds of Germans aged 14 to 18 do not even know what the term "Holocaust" means, according to a new "Emnid" public opinion survey cited recently by a member of the Baden-Württemberg provincial legislature. Moreover, 20 percent of Germans youths are unfamiliar with the term "Auschwitz." ("Aufklärung über NS-Zeit verbessern," *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, No. 190, Aug. 18, 2000.)

A clear majority of young Germans surveyed — 62 percent — oppose punishing persons who "deny the Holocaust." (In Germany, as in several other European countries, "Holocaust denial" is a crime.)

As a result of all this, lamented SPD legislator Norbert Zeller, many teenagers don't regard the events of the Holocaust as objectionable. To counter this, he went on to declare, German schools should deal even more intensively with the "Holocaust."

'Reductio ad Hitlerum'

"The propagators of the new religion of the holocaust are not actually interested in the sufferings of the Jews but in the destruction of every good thing that can be tarred with the Nazi brush: Lutheran and Catholic Christianity, patriotism and the affection for one's own people and traditions, conventional morality, traditional art and literature.

"Leo Strauss called it the *reductio ad Hitlerum*. If Hitler liked neoclassical art, that means that classicism in every form is Nazi; if Hitler wanted to strengthen the German family, that makes the traditional family (and its defenders) Nazi; if Hitler spoke of the "nation" or the "folk," then any invocation of nationality, ethnicity, or even folkishness is Nazi ..."

— Thomas Fleming, editor, *Chronicles* (Rockford, Illinois), May 2000, p. 11.

A Dark Secret of World War II Comes to Light

After more than half a century, facts about a grim chapter of World War II history are coming to light: the widespread rape by American military servicemen of local women on the Pacific island of Okinawa. The discovery in 1998 of the bones of three wartime US Marine Corps men, each one 19 years old and black, has — according to a *New York Times* report (June 1, 2000) — “refocused attention on what historians say is one of the most widely ignored crimes of the war, the widespread rape of Okinawan women by American servicemen.”

More than 200,000 soldiers and civilians, including one-third of the population of Okinawa, were killed in the April-June 1945 battle for the Pacific island.

As many as 10,000 Okinawan women may have been raped, one scholar estimates. Rape was so prevalent in the months following US subjugation of the island that most Okinawans over age 65 either know or have heard of a woman who was raped in the aftermath of the war. Marine Corps officials say they have no records of such mass rapes, but books, diaries, newspaper articles and other documents refer to rapes by American soldiers of various races and backgrounds. Apparently few if any Okinawan women reported being attacked out of fear and embarrassment, and those who did were ignored by the US military police.

The three black Marines whose bones were found in 1998, and who were identified by dental records, were apparently killed by men of the remote Okinawan village of Katsuyama because the three had repeatedly come to their village to rape their women. Elderly Okinawans who grew up in village told a *New York Times* reporter that three armed Marines would come to Katsuyama every weekend and force the village men to take them to their women, who were then carried off to the hills and raped. One day, villagers, with the help of two armed Japanese soldiers who were hiding in the jungle, ambushed three marines in a mountain pass. They were shot and beaten to death with sticks and stones, and their bodies dumped in a hillside cave. Because the three were black, the cave where their bodies were dumped became known as “Cave of the Negroes.”

“It would be unfair for the public to get the impression that we were all a bunch of rapists after we worked so hard to serve our country,” says Samuel Saxton, a retired Marine Corps Captain who has an interest in the case. There are no plans to prosecute anyone for the crimes.

— M.W.

Visit www.ihr.org

IHR Internet Web Site Offers Worldwide Access to Revisionism

On its own Internet web site, www.ihr.org, the Institute for Historical Review makes available an impressive selection of IHR material, including dozens of IHR *Journal* articles and



reviews. It also includes a listing of every item that has ever appeared in this *Journal*, as well as the complete texts of *The Zionist Terror Network*, “The Leuchter Report,” and Kulaszka’s encyclopedic work *Did Six Million Really Die?*. New material is added as time permits.

Specific information or items can easily be found by entering key words on the site’s built-in search feature.

Through the IHR web site, revisionist scholarship is instantly available to millions of computer users worldwide, free of censorship by governments or powerful special interest groups. It can be reached 24 hours a day from around the globe through the World Wide Web (WWW), a multimedia Internet service.

Journal associate editor Greg Raven maintains and operates this site as its “webmaster.” Because it is linked to several other revisionist (and anti-revisionist) web sites, visitors can easily access vast amounts of additional information.

The IHR web site address is

<http://www.ihr.org>

E-mail messages can be sent to ihr@ihr.org

Foreign Eyes

“The world looks at Germany. Any form of historical revisionism would make us not credible in the eyes of Washington or Jerusalem.”

— Volkhard Knigge, Director of the Buchenwald camp memorial center in Germany. Quoted in: *D. National-Zeitung* (Munich), May 31, 1996, p. 1.

Suppressing Debate about Auschwitz:

The Rudolf Case, Irving's Lost Libel Suit and the Future of Revisionism

COSTAS ZAVERDINOS

This essay illustrates how Gernar Rudolf, a young German chemist who is passionate about objective truth, was condemned as the exact opposite, and even labeled a “neo-Nazi,” by a prejudiced and ignorant society.¹ In the months since British historian David Irving (sometimes called a revisionist) lost his libel case against American Jewish activist Deborah Lipstadt — largely, I believe, because of his ignorance of Rudolf’s work — the issues raised in his headline-making trial have become all the more urgent for the future of revisionism.

All too often history is written for propaganda purposes. This is especially common when a state strives to inculcate the youth with its political views, but it also occurs when zealous writers seek to defend the historical rights, as they see them, of their own people.

Can history be objective? The question seems to have been first asked two and a half thousand years ago by Thucydides, historian of the 30-year war between ancient Athens and Sparta. At the beginning of his *History of the Peloponnesian War*, Thucydides states that his aim is to preserve an accurate record of the war, not only for its intrinsic interest but in the hope this would be useful for “those who desire an exact knowledge of the past as a key to the future.” He wished his *History* to be “a possession forever, not the rhetorical triumph of an hour.”²

Thucydides writes that as other authors “take rumors for granted and copy uncritically from each other,” his own work “because of its lack of fiction may be less pleasing than theirs.”³ This sentiment is the hallmark of a true historian: aiming to separate

Costas Zaverdinos was born in Johannesburg, South Africa, in 1938. Since 1970 he has been with the University of Natal (Pietermaritzburg), which awarded him a Ph.D. in mathematics in 1984. He is currently an honorary senior lecturer with the University’s School of Mathematics, Statistics and Computer Technology of the Faculty of Science. He is the author of several papers in internationally recognized scholarly journals. Since 1997 he has been a member of this *Journal*’s Editorial Advisory Committee. (For more about him, see the May-June 1997 *Journal*, p. 19) This essay is adapted from an address he gave at an IHR meeting in southern California on March 28, 1998.



Costas Zaverdinos, in front of a projector screen, addressing the special IHR meeting, March 28, 1998, in southern California.

myth from reality and not to please any party.⁴

This goal can only be achieved by closely examining all the available evidence. As Italian scholar Carlo Mattogno has emphasized, there is really nothing new about Holocaust revisionism: it simply calls for the same evidential rigor that is normally demanded when historians examine events other than the “Nazi genocide of the Jews.”⁵

History is important because the way we perceive the past fundamentally — and often unconsciously — affects our perception of the present. For example, Nicholas Ridley, a minister in the British government of Margaret Thatcher, cited Auschwitz and all it stands for as an argument to keep Britain out of the European Union, in which Germany plays a major role. Others see the Union as a means of “keeping Germany in check.” On the eve of Germany’s reunification, author Günther Grass

remarked that "Auschwitz speaks against our right to self-determination," showing how in modern Germany patriotism has been completely turned on its head.⁶

Nearly all the evidence supporting allegations of mass homicidal gassings in wartime Germany is eyewitness testimony, given at postwar trials of alleged war criminals or written down after the war, often decades later. The critical historian wishes to distinguish carefully between what a witness claims to have seen personally and what he or she has heard from others.

Historians should have asked some basic questions before concluding that German authorities planned the physical destruction of all Jews, and used gas chambers to carry out mass killings. As pioneer revisionists such as Robert Faurisson have demanded: show us an order, not necessarily from Hitler, but from any of his subordinates, to exterminate the Jews just because they were Jews; and, "show me or draw me a Nazi gas chamber!"⁷

At the Nuremberg "International Military Tribunal" of 1945-1946, or at the great Frankfurt "Auschwitz Trial" of 1963-1965, where defendants were convicted of participating in so-called selections of victims for gas chambers, the defense did not demand that forensic scientists examine the alleged "weapon of the crime," that is the homicidal gas chamber. Why not? This is remarkable, considering that scholars of ancient history defer to the archaeologist, not only when in doubt, but as a matter of course?⁸

Although there may be more to this problem, there seems little doubt that the rot set in at the main Nuremberg trial, the International Military Tribunal (IMT), which set the precedent in not only requiring no scientific evidence for the worst allegations of mass murder, but actually forbidding any such evidence.⁹ This meant that the Nuremberg court could accept allegations as "self-evident" facts and that it could (indeed, was bound to) take seriously any report made by Soviet and other "special commissions" expressly set up to "investigate" the alleged crimes.¹⁰

Today, hardly anyone claims that the Germans manufactured soap from murdered Jews. But why did it take many decades to admit this officially? Was it really so difficult to carry out a forensic test of any one of the notorious soap bars marked "RIF"? The irony is a sample of "human soap" was submitted evidence at Nuremberg by the Soviets with no effort by the defense to challenge its authenticity.¹¹

Several other "facts" — also "proven" at Nuremberg — are no longer taken seriously by historians,



Gernot Rudolf addressing the 13th IHR Conference, May 2000.

such as homicidal gas chambers in camps located in the German "Altreich" (Germany in its borders of 1937), and bizarre killing machines operated with electricity or steam.¹²

The Leuchter, Rudolf and Cracow Reports

Some readers will be familiar with the origin of the *Leuchter Report*. The German-Canadian publicist Ernst Zündel was twice put on trial for allegedly knowingly spreading "false news" because he republished *Did Six Million Really Die?*, an early revisionist booklet by Richard Harwood (Richard Verral) that was banned in numerous countries, including South Africa.¹³

For the second trial in 1988,¹⁴ Zündel engaged Fred Leuchter, widely acknowledged as the foremost US authority on execution gas chambers, as an expert witness. He sent Leuchter to Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek to determine, based on an evaluation of samples taken there, and other factors, whether the alleged extermination facilities there could have performed their grisly task as claimed.

It is generally agreed that hydrocyanic acid (HCN), a poisonous gas, was widely used at Auschwitz-Birkenau, and that it was extensively

used to kill lice and other disease-carrying vermin. The gas was contained in a commercially-produced pesticide, Zyklon B.¹⁵ For nearly 30 years a small group of historians has questioned the widely held view that this gas was used to kill hundreds of thousands of prisoners there. If the allegations are true, shouldn't traces of this gas be detectable today? Fred Leuchter took brick and mortar samples from an acknowledged disinfestation chamber, as well as from the ruins of crematory buildings (*Kremas*) where, it is widely alleged, mass killings with poison gas were carried out. These samples were later independently analyzed for cyanide residues by Alpha Analytical Laboratories in Ashland, Massachusetts. The results appeared astonishing: 1050 mg/kg of cyanide was found in the sample taken from the delousing chamber, but less than 10 mg/kg in the alleged homicidal chambers. This fact was cited in supporting Leuchter's conclusion that "none of the facilities examined were ever utilized for the execution of human beings."¹⁶

After issuing his report and testifying in April 1988 in the second Zündel trial in Toronto, Fred Leuchter came under vicious attack, above all from Jewish organizations. His health, marriage and livelihood were ruined, and he literally went into hiding in an effort to quietly rebuild his life.¹⁷ But film maker Errol Morris persuaded him to cooperate in making "Mr. Death: The Rise and Fall of Fred A. Leuchter, Jr.," a film in which Ernst Zündel, David Irving and others also make appearances.¹⁸ Having seen "Mr. Death," my overall impression is that Leuchter comes across as rather naive — even a bit of a "weirdo" — but not evil. On the other hand, those who brought him down appear as fanatics bent on destroying him at all costs. As with the Irving-Lipstadt trial, even bad publicity may be better than none. From a technical point of view, possibly the worst failing of "Mr. Death" is that it avoids any mention of the relatively huge concentration of cyanide found in Leuchter's sample taken from a non-homicidal delousing chamber.

Apart from attacks aimed at ruining his reputation and livelihood, there have been some reasoned criticisms of Leuchter, if not all of the same standard. One who thought he had decisively discredited the *Leuchter Report* (and the revisionists) was French pharmacist Jean-Claude Pressac.¹⁹

Aside from some uncalled for *ad hominem* attacks against Leuchter, Pressac raised pertinent issues that called for reasoned response. For example, he made the important point that much smaller amounts of hydrocyanic acid are needed to kill humans than lice, and that the delousing chambers

were exposed to warm gas (to increase its effect) and for much longer periods than those (allegedly) used to kill human beings.²⁰ Regarding the matter of remnants of cyanide in the "homicidal gas chambers," Pressac claimed that after nearly half a century of exposure to the elements "it is practically a miracle that any measurable traces of hydrocyanic compounds still remain."²¹ The inside walls of some of the delousing chambers are quite blue with ferric ferrocyanide (commonly known as Prussian Blue) as a result of their exposure to HCN, but Pressac goes so far as to claim that "the 'blue wall phenomenon' ... permits the immediate distinction ... with absolute certainty between delousing gas chambers, where the phenomenon is present, and the homicidal gas chambers, where it is not."²² He further writes: "... In a homicidal gas chamber, the action of highly concentrated HCN was rapid and intense (never more than 15 to 20 minutes), then the room was aired ... as quickly as possible ... The acid ... did not have enough time to impregnate and stain the brick."²³

It took a man of letters to first propose that the chemistry of the gas chambers be investigated by competent scientists: Robert Faurisson suggested the idea of taking brick and mortar samples to be later analyzed. Others, notably William Brian Lindsey, have considered chemical aspects of the problem.²⁴ Germar Rudolf, a graduate doctoral student employed by the prestigious Max Planck Institute for Solid State Physics in Stuttgart, began his own investigations in the early 1990s. He set himself the task of thoroughly investigating problems such as those posed by Pressac, who had written that the formation of Prussian Blue "occurs under the influence of various physico-chemical factors which have not yet been studied."²⁵

At about the same time, Paul Grubach in an article titled "The Leuchter Report Vindicated," dismissed some of Pressac's claims by pointing out that damp and cool environments favor the formation of stable iron compounds; heating *prevented* condensation of the gas. Like Leuchter, he concluded that "if the alleged extermination gas chambers had actually been used to kill people..., ferric ferrocyanide [Prussian Blue] would have been found in them in amounts comparable to those found in the delousing facility."²⁶

In 1989, the Jan Sehn Forensic Institute in Cracow, Poland, commissioned by the Auschwitz State Museum, took samples from the alleged gas chambers of Auschwitz and Birkenau, and conducted its own chemical tests, the results of which, in the eyes of many revisionists, appeared to confirm

Leuchter's findings, even though the Cracow Institute itself came to the opposite conclusion. (More will be said on this below).²⁷

Gerhard Rudolf praised the *Leuchter Report* for its "ice-breaking function" which, he said was of "inestimable value." But he also had some criticisms:

First of all, as a scientist one checks carefully if the work is solidly backed up by references to competent authorities. Unfortunately, Leuchter's report hardly has such a foundation. For one thing, none of the chemical conclusions is properly referenced. On their own, a few chemical results say nothing; they must be correctly interpreted. One cannot simply claim: there are no cyanides, therefore nobody was gassed. In the end, there could be other explanations for the lack of cyanide compounds. Leuchter ought to have scientifically eliminated these beforehand.

According to Rudolf, other shortcomings were that only one sample was taken from a delousing chamber and that there was no control analysis. Leuchter, a non-chemist, should have consulted specialists in this field. He had no original plans, which led him to make the incorrect claim that the *Leichenkeller* (underground morgues) in *Kremas* (crematory buildings) II and III had no ventilation. "Leuchter regards an approximately 1% by volume mixture of HCN with air as explosive while a table in his report clearly shows that only concentrations of more than 5% are explosive."²⁸

Austrian engineer Walter Lüftl shared Rudolf's view that "Leuchter is correct, even though he provided no detailed scientific proof in his report," adding that the final word has not been said on this subject.²⁹

At the Ninth IHR Conference in 1989 Leuchter himself called for the formation of an "international commission of scientists, historians and scholars to investigate the facilities in Poland and make an impartial report of their findings to the world at large."³⁰

When Rudolf first came across Leuchter's report, he told *Journal* contributor Fritz Berg: "I felt as though I had been hit on the head. I knew it straight away, either this American was a charlatan or my entire world-picture was completely false." To Berg's question, whether Leuchter had persuaded him, Rudolf replied "No, not at all," explaining that more questions were left open than had been answered, but he was keen to apply his scientific knowledge to test independently the validity of revisionist arguments.³¹



David Irving addresses the 13th IHR Conference, May 28, 2000.

Writing that Leuchter's study "should not be regarded as the end but rather as the beginning of more comprehensive investigations of the subject,"³² Rudolf recalled that he had expressed some of these reservations in a 1990 letter to the German periodical *Junge Freiheit*, noting that "Leuchter's report does not tell us in exactly what condition the supposed gas chambers are, how stable these residues (more precisely, cyanide compounds) are, and moreover whether they would even have formed in the first place ..."³³

Otto Ernst Remer, who as a German army officer played a major role in putting down the ill-fated anti-Hitler *Putsch* of July 20, 1944, had for years disputed the "gas chamber" claims, and was consequently indicted for "incitement of the people," "disparaging the memory of the dead" and "inciting racial hatred," and sentenced to 22 months imprisonment.³⁴

As a result of Rudolf's letter to *Junge Freiheit*, Hajo Hermann, attorney for Remer, came into con-

tact with the young scientist and commissioned him to compile a Leuchter-like forensic report on the alleged "gas chambers" of Auschwitz.³⁵

This was a unique opportunity for Rudolf to further explore the issue. Having made a thorough study of the extant literature, he traveled to Auschwitz (including Birkenau) where he took brick, concrete and mortar samples from various facilities. Rudolf's 119-page report, *Das Rudolf Gutachten* (the *Rudolf Report*), is a thorough technical investigation of the "gas chambers" of Auschwitz-Birkenau, which seems to confirm and complement the *Leuchter Report* in a spectacular way.³⁶

In the first chapter of his *Report*, "Construction Methods used for the Gassing Facilities at Auschwitz," Rudolf points out that a study of such methods is important because the type of building material and the way it was used, as well as how the various facilities were outfitted, could have significantly affected the formation of cyanide compounds.

In Chapter 2, "Formation and Stability of Prussian Blue," Rudolf discusses in detail the composition and properties of cyanide compounds, in particular those of the extremely stable and insoluble iron compound ferric ferrocyanide (Prussian Blue), as well as the conditions under which such compounds may form. The author considers the influence of moisture, reactivity of iron, temperature (which affects the adsorption, or sticking-effect, of hydrogen cyanide gas on walls) and the effects of acidity levels. Rudolf goes deeply into the question of the long-term stability of Prussian Blue,¹³ thoroughly surveying a number of related questions.

In chapter 3, "Procedures for Gassing with Hydrocyanic Acid (HCN)," Rudolf presents an overview of the toxicology of HCN, and he compares the gassing procedures for delousing chambers and what they theoretically should have been for the alleged homicidal chambers. He argues that eyewitness accounts, in particular the commonly made claim that death followed quickly (3-10 minutes) implies that large amounts of Zyklon B would have been needed to carry out the killing process. This affects the detectability of cyanide compounds today, as do other factors, such as the rate of evaporation of HCN gas from its holding material,¹⁴ the distribution of Zyklon B in the underground *Leichenkeller* (morgue cellar) No.1 of Birkenau *Kremas* II and III³⁹ (the 'homicidal gas chambers'), and the rate at which the morgues were ventilated, as well as their dampness.

In chapter 4, "Evaluation of the Chemical Analyses," Rudolf relates how the samples he collected

were analyzed by the prestigious Institut Fresenius in Taunusstein, Hessen, Germany, without the institute being informed of the origin of the samples.⁴⁰

This chapter includes a comparison of the methods and results of the Institut Fresenius, Alpha Analytical Laboratories and the Jan Sehn Forensic Institute. Rudolf regards the analytical method of the Cracow institute as altogether unreliable, mainly because it excludes the possibility of detecting stable compounds of cyanide like Prussian Blue, which should account for the vast majority of compounds detectable today.⁴¹ Table 15 in Rudolf's *Report* gives the precise place from where each sample was taken, the type of material it contains, the depth in the wall from which it originated, the iron concentration and, finally, the cyanide (CN-) content, measured in the standard ratio of milligrams per kilogram (mg/kg). Results from morgue No. 1 in *Krema* II, allegedly the chief killing location, show concentrations of 7.2 mg/kg or less, while the samples from the inner and outer walls of the delousing chambers show up to 13,500 mg/kg, quantities which are not merely larger but of different order. Rudolf also discusses the results of experiments in which he exposed building material to HCN under various laboratory conditions.

The fifth chapter contains Rudolf's conclusions (cited below). In chapter six, "Critique of Counter Reports," he responds to the 1945 and 1990 expert reports by the Jan Sehn Forensic Institute (Cracow),⁴² and also to the "anti-Leuchter" findings of French researcher Jean-Claude Pressac, German writer Werner Wegner,⁴³ G. Wellers, Austrian chemist J. Bailer,⁴⁴ Prof. G. Jagschitz,⁴⁵ and historian Gerald Fleming.

Prussian Blue stains are formed on walls as follows: First the hydrocyanic acid (HCN) gas sticks to the walls, where it is adsorbed on the surface in a purely physical process. Later HCN combines with ferrous iron and, eventually, ferric iron in the building materials to form the permanent blue compound.⁴⁶ Finally, the compound begins to "migrate" into and through the wall.⁴⁷ The presence of moisture, as in the damp morgue-cellars of Birkenau *Kremas* II and III, hastens this chemical process, which may take a long time to complete.

This can be observed in Auschwitz-Birkenau buildings BW (*Bauwerk*) 5a and 5b, which had delousing or disinfestation chambers that used Zyklon B. The north-west interior wall of the delousing tract in building BW 5a shows intense blue coloring, and there are dark blue patches on the exterior walls of both these buildings, especially the wall of

BW 5b which was exposed to wet westerly winds. This shows that Prussian Blue has “migrated” right through the brick. The claim that exposure to the elements would have “washed away” any cyanide compounds is thus shown to be false.⁴⁸ On the contrary, as Rudolf explains, the wet Polish winds have encouraged the process of Prussian Blue formation in the walls of the disinfestation chambers (especially the west-facing outer-wall of the gas chamber in building BW 5b). If Birkenau’s alleged homicidal “gas chambers” — the damp morgue rooms in *Kremas* II and III — had been exposed to Zyklon/HCN as claimed, Prussian Blue staining should have been similarly visible.

Rudolf cites the interesting case of a sample of building material taken from a farmhouse in the Bavarian countryside that showed a cyanide concentration of 9.6 mg/kg, which is of the same order as the 7.2 mg/kg found in the “gas chamber” of *Krema* II. This suggests that such low concentrations may well be a phenomenon of nature, or be below the practical detection level.⁴⁹

Some revisionists have suggested that the morgue cellars (where homicidal gassings were allegedly carried out) may have been disinfected from time to time with HCN, thus accounting for these low levels of cyanide. This is possible,⁵⁰ but pharmacist Pressac has plausibly pointed out that HCN would not normally be used as a disinfectant.⁵¹ As already noted, however, it appears that such low concentrations may have nothing to do with occasional exposure to Zyklon (HCN). In fact, though, we simply do not know if the morgues were disinfected with Zyklon B or not. If the figures for cyanide found in the *Leichenkeller* indeed have nothing to do with applications of Zyklon B, that would surely be more satisfactory than having to account for partial gassings there.

Rudolf’s Concluding Remarks

(A) The investigation concerning the formation and long-term stability of cyanide remnants in the witnessed facilities and the analysis of the brick and mortar samples resulted in the following conclusions:⁵²

1. The cyanide in the walls, which has been activated into Prussian Blue possesses a long-term stability of centuries ... Cyanide remnants should therefore be detectable in almost undiminished quantities, irrespective of the influence of the weather. This is proved by the intense blue in the outer walls of the delousing chambers of the buildings BW 5a and 5b which contain large amounts of cyanide.



“One Louse, Your Death!” This bilingual poster (German and Polish) warned prisoners at Auschwitz-Birkenau of the ever-present danger of typhus-bearing lice. This same emphatic warning appeared in large letters on the wall of Birkenau’s main sauna (disinfestation center). Amazingly, a German court found that, in citing this in his forensic report, Germar Rudolf “cynically ... identifies with National Socialist terminology.”

2. Under the actual conditions, as testified to by eyewitnesses of massive homicidal gassing in the disputed chambers, traces of cyanide residues would have formed of the same order of magnitude as those found in the delousing chambers, including the blue coloration of the walls.

3. The traces found in the alleged gas chambers are just as insignificant as those to be found in any building chosen at random.

Conclusion: On chemical and physical grounds, the mass gassing with hydrocyanic acid in the alleged gas chambers of Auschwitz, as described by witnesses, could not have taken place.

(B) The investigation of the practical and technical data regarding the witnessed mass gassing in the indicated facilities and their physical and chemical analyses resulted in the following conclusions:

1. The alleged main gas chambers of Auschwitz,

that is the morgue in the main camp, and the morgue number 1 of *Kremas* II and III in Birkenau, had no means to introduce the poison. Holes visible today in the roofs were made after the war.

2. The release of the lethal hydrogen cyanide gas from its carrier material could not have taken place in the short time span indicated by eyewitnesses. In fact, it would have taken hours before the gas was completely released.

3. The necessary ventilation of the alleged gas chambers of *Kremas* II and III, at the rate of one air exchange every 15 minutes would have taken at least two hours, contradicting all eyewitness accounts.

4. An effective ventilation of the alleged gas chambers of *Kremas* IV and V and Bunkers I and II⁵³ was not possible. The *Sonderkommandos* could not have removed the corpses from the chambers without wearing protective clothing and gas masks fitted with a special filter.

Conclusion: The mass gassing as described by witnesses cross-examined before courts, as stated in verdicts and published in literary and scientific writings could not, for chemical and physical reasons, have taken place.⁵⁴

Rudolf concludes with the declaration: "The author of this report can only refer to *existing* eyewitness accounts and documents, which can be the *only* basis for any historical consideration of the matters under discussion. Should the belief nevertheless arise that the eyewitnesses erred in their statements, then the author of the present report can only assert that there is *no* other basis for putting together a specialist report, and therefore ... there is no longer any legal basis for courts to prosecute certain opinions. The invention of new mass-murder techniques and scenarios which contradict all eyewitness testimony may be fine for the Hollywood horror industry but is unsuited for writing history."

Not all these conclusions are new, but as a scientist Rudolf rightly emphasizes that he can only go by *existing* evidence, either based on eyewitnesses testimony or on accepted scientific principles.

The 1994 Cracow Institute Report

In 1994 the Jan Sehn Forensic Institute published a second, lengthier technical report on the Auschwitz gas chambers, basing its conclusions on chemical analyses of numerous brick and mortar samples taken from various buildings.⁵⁵ If one accepts the methods used by the authors of this report, the results would appear to prove that there *were* homicidal gas chambers at Auschwitz, as they

found cyanide residues in the (non-homicidal) delousing chambers in amounts comparable to those found in morgue No. 1 of *Krema* II (an alleged homicidal gas chamber).

What, if anything, is wrong here? The Polish investigators called the blue wall phenomenon "controversial," and possibly due to paint! In a fax exchange with the Cracow Institute and the authors of this report, Germar Rudolf reminded them that, by their own admission, they had deliberately chosen an analytic method that would not detect Prussian Blue,⁵⁶ that is, the vast majority of stable cyanide compounds present in the walls.⁵⁷ This fact is crucial to their results and cannot be overemphasized, especially given that the Polish researchers offer no satisfactory explanation for their assertion that the Prussian Blue stains are "controversial," apart from the arbitrary conjecture that "this dye" (as they call it) may have resulted from "paint." They were not even sure if the "blue" was due to cyanide, something they could easily have ascertained.⁵⁸

If the standard DIN method used by Rudolf is the proper or correct one, then, we can conclude, with Rudolf, that the chemical results of the Jan Sehn Institute are completely meaningless.

Even a single gassing with hydrocyanic acid can be instructive. A fascinating instance of a one-time gassing is that of a church which was treated with HCN to rid the woodwork of bore beetles. A few months later intense blue patches began to show on the walls, and eventually all the plaster had to be removed to get rid of the Prussian Blue. The significance of this is clear: even a single gassing can result in the formation of large remnants of cyanide. It should be noted that the interior church walls had been freshly plastered some weeks before they were exposed to HCN, and that the chemical reaction producing Prussian Blue stopped only a year later, confirming the long-term action of the process.⁵⁹

Professor Richard Green, a chemist, joined the discussion — against the "deniers," as he calls them — about the conditions under which Prussian Blue is formed. While accepting that cyanide compounds of iron are present in the delousing chambers, he disputes whether they would have formed in the "homicidal gas chambers." Green regards Rudolf's "church" example as an exception rather than the rule, and believes that the Jan Sehn Institute's 1994 report "provided real information."⁶⁰

John C. Zimmerman, an Associate Professor at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, responded critically to a *Los Angeles Times* article⁶¹ that had given a fair description of Rudolf's forensic results.

In a letter published in the paper,⁶² Zimmerman wrote: "The problem for deniers like Rudolf is to explain why any traces of poison gas turned up in structures identified by numerous eyewitnesses as homicidal gas chambers."

In a reply to Zimmerman, Rudolf wrote: "Contrary to your false claim, I have no problems to explain the minimal cyanide residues in the walls of those morgues: They are not reproducible and in the same order of magnitude as in samples taken from all sorts of locations. In other words: These values close to the detection level cannot be interpreted at all." Rudolf also reminded Zimmerman of the faults of the second Cracow report.⁶³

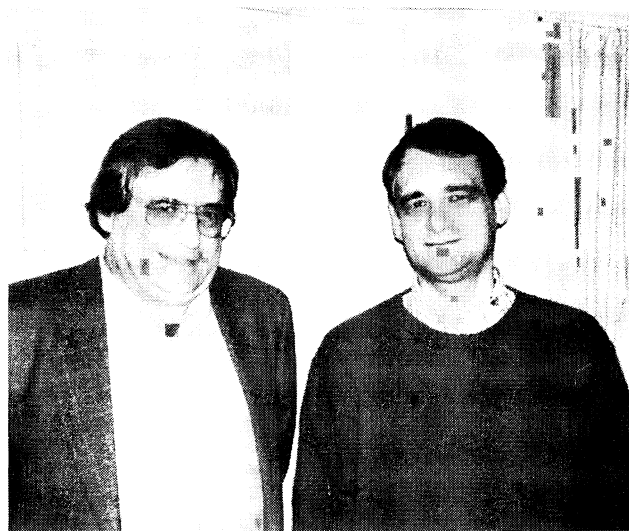
Because the Jan Sehn Forensic Institute used much the same methods for both its reports, revisionists should not cite the earlier report as somehow confirming Leuchter's findings.⁶⁴

(One of the charges brought against Rudolf in 1993 was, remarkably, the publication of his correspondence with the Jan Sehn Institute in the Berlin periodical *Sleipnir*.)⁶⁵

The Trial of Germar Rudolf

The court in Schweinfurt, Germany, that tried Otto Ernst Remer refused to accept Rudolf's *Report* in evidence. It found the former Major General guilty of the charges brought against him, and, in October 1992, sentenced him to 22 months imprisonment. Before fleeing to Spain in February 1994 he once again showed his defiance by adding his own polemical comments to a new edition of Rudolf's *Report*, publishing it, and then distributing it to leading German personalities, including many accomplished professors of inorganic chemistry. Remer's foreword or preface, as well as the epilogue (afterword) were added without Germar Rudolf's permission. When copies of the new edition began arriving at the Max Planck Institute in the middle of April 1993, heated discussions took place between Rudolf and his doctoral supervisor, Professor H. G. von Schnering. A letter of complaint by the Central Council of German Jews expressed anxiety that the Report "might all too easily be used as pseudo-scientific support for denial of the mass murder of the Jews."⁶⁶

The uproar led not only to Rudolf's dismissal from the Max Planck Institute,⁶⁷ but also to his indictment for collaboration with Remer. Formal charges were brought against him on April 19, 1994,⁶⁸ with the indictment accusing him of having "concomitantly (1) attacked the dignity of others in a way suited to disturbing public order by (a) inciting hatred against sections of the population (b) abus-



Costas Zaverdinos and Mark Weber

ing these people, maliciously making them appear despicable and calumniating them; (2) defamed the memory of the dead, and (3) defamed others."⁶⁹

In the indictment as well as the judgment (*Urteil*), the term *Gutachten* (expert report) is consistently given in quotation marks, apparently to denigrate the value of Rudolf's forensic investigation. We read in the indictment, for example: "In this '*Gutachten*', the notorious systematic mass murder of the Jews, which was committed by means of gas chambers in concentration camps of the Third Reich, in particular at Auschwitz-Birkenau, is denied in a degrading way and, in at least a partial identification with Nazi persecution and motivated by a tendency to exonerate National Socialism from the stain of having murdered the Jews, it is claimed that as a result of allegedly scientific research [*angeblich wissenschaftlich fundierter Untersuchungen*], neither at Auschwitz nor at Birkenau were there gas chambers for the destruction of human beings nor were they suitable for such a purpose."⁷⁰

The indictment then quotes Rudolf's "Concluding Assessments" (A) and (B) as given above, and goes on to state that the accompanying text of the '*Gutachten*' "blames the Jews for the 'gassing lie'." The indictment supports the charges against Rudolf by accusing him of sanctioning these additions as well as their distribution — although it accepts that he did not write them. The charges are further justified with the claim that the "degrading denial" of the "historically documented murder of Jews in gas chambers... represents a particularly serious slur on their memory," and the allegation that the

“actual [factual?] determinations [*tatsächlichen Feststellungen*] of the ‘Gutachten’ are completely unsuited for proving the conclusions (A) and (B).” It is further alleged that “considering the content of the ‘Gutachten’ and the accompanying text, it follows that the accused identifies with National Socialist racist ideology, and is thus determined to arouse feelings of hatred toward the Jews ...”

Remer’s foreword holds German politicians and the media responsible for what is called an “unbelievably satanical distortion of history,” and Jews are not even mentioned. The added epilogue — which covers Remer’s trial and some revisionist material — consists only of brief quotes from a few Jewish personalities.⁷¹

Thus the charge that Rudolf “blames the Jews for the ‘gassing lie’” was paper-thin to begin with. My understanding is that the “aggravating circumstances” — his revisionist work — was the real object of the trial, as I will try to show.

Although during the trial he categorically denied having collaborated with Remer, Rudolf has subsequently acknowledged that, through a third person he, in fact, gave Remer permission to distribute what he thought would be the *unpoliticized* version of his Report.⁷² In a deposition he explained that publication of the politicized version of his Report could only have detracted from its value. For one thing, it had already appeared in all its essentials under the pen-name of Ernst Gauss in the book *Vorlesungen über Zeitgeschichte* before Remer’s action had begun.

Rudolf has repeatedly stressed, both before and during the trial, that only dry, material arguments have a chance to be being taken seriously. It is difficult to see how the court could regard such an attitude, which he repeatedly emphasized in writings and dealings with others, as “particularly refined deception.” In his deposition he explained that the pen name “Ernst Gauss” had gained prestige, while the name of Otto Ernst Remer “is not an advertisement, as the public prosecutor alleges, rather it frightens people off [from reading revisionist literature].”⁷³

Without justification the court regarded as insincere even statements made by Rudolf in private letters. In a personal letter to his godmother, for example, he rejected David Irving’s “propaganda methods,” and wrote of Remer, “I do not wish to be associated with his totally obnoxious views.”⁷⁴ The judges cited this as an “index” of how Rudolf played down his connections with the extreme right! In the court’s opinion the publication of Remer’s edition of the *Rudolf Report* was a “publicity trick” which

served as an advertisement for the later authorized version. Allegedly, another purpose of Remer’s publication was to enable Rudolf to avoid the penal consequences of publishing the official version! The court declared: “The ‘Gutachten’ was ... the basis of a ‘revisionist’ publication campaign in which the theme of Auschwitz was discussed at various levels in order to force a public debate on the issue.”⁷⁵

Imagine! A public debate! How dare Rudolf! In its judgment the court claimed that because Rudolf could not find a publisher for his report outside the “national camp,” and in order “to avoid possible negative repercussions for his career..., he, together with his co-workers feigned the self-defense action⁷⁶ of a third person,” namely Remer, whereby the accused would “create the impression that he would be under pressure to prove his supposedly pure scientific aims by opposing the out-of-date Remer-version of the ‘Gutachten’ with that of a more current and purified version.”⁷⁷ This nonsense continues with the claim that “finally, by sending it to all professors of inorganic chemistry, from whom he expected no reaction,⁷⁸ the foundation would be laid for the later pseudo-argument that allegedly no technical errors had been found in the ‘Gutachten’.”⁷⁹

Not once did the court address any of Rudolf’s technical arguments, while it regarded his conclusions — (A) and (B), above — as constituting aggravating circumstances. Further aggravating circumstances were that Rudolf continued his revisionist work during the trial. The court cynically pronounced that “freedom of the sciences remains unrestricted, and is unaffected by the verdict ... In its totality, the Remer version of the ‘Gutachten’ ... is not scholarly. This follows already from the polemical character of the comments ... the court does not need to test whether parts are of a scientific nature or not — which, considering the political objectives of the accused and the way he treats facts..., seems improbable. The accused and his accomplices made use of the scientific-looking major section of the work with the express aim of committing the stated offence by means of the foreword and accompanying text.”⁸⁰

The court ordered a “self-reading procedure” for the Report itself, so that it was not to be read in open court. The court justified this order by explaining that “in spite of damage done to transparency,” “the work is extremely extensive and difficult to read and understand,” thus implicitly admitting it was not qualified to form an opinion on the technical issues discussed by Rudolf.⁸¹ While seemingly conceding that the Report is written in an “essentially

scientific style" (*im wesentlichen wissenschaftlichen Stil gehalten*), the court withdrew its "recognition" by tying a "strategy" to the *Stil*. The "Report," it patronizingly stated, "is concerned with a 'difficult to explain ... chemical detail,'" ⁸² "whose real purpose is, following a common 'revisionist' strategy, to fix on a central point and then draw general conclusions." ⁸³ Throughout the trial the court maintained that Rudolf's methodology has only the appearance of objectivity, his arguments are "pseudo-arguments," there is merely a "claim to scholarship," and that he merely gave the "impression" of being an unprejudiced researcher. ⁸⁴ In his submission for a review, attorney Ludwig Bock emphasized the court's negligence in testing any of the *Report's* theses, let alone whether Rudolf's arguments had any substance to them.

On a wall of the main Sauna at Auschwitz, one can still see the slogan *Eine Laus Dein Tod* ("One Louse Your Death"), warning prisoners of the ever-present danger of typhus. Because this is quoted in Rudolf's *Report*, the court found that the accused "cynically ... identifies with National Socialist terminology." As Rudolf comments in a note, "the truth is not cynical; cynical are judges who punish the proclamation of truth under the pretext of protecting the law." ⁸⁵

The court refused to admit extensive testimony that would have favored the defendant. For example, it dismissed as of no importance the avowal by a Jewish friend that Rudolf was no anti-Semite. ⁸⁶

Likewise, the court regarded as insignificant the fact that Rudolf had given a public lecture praising the German-Jewish patriot Eduard von Simson, the first president of the Reichstag. Similarly, in an introductory chapter of the anthology *Grundlagen zur Zeitgeschichte*, Rudolf expressed the hope that a resolution of the Holocaust issue might lead to a re-establishment of the fruitful German-Jewish "symbiosis." "In any case it is my wish, that both peoples may again find each other in a partnership of mutual respect and resume an epoch which brought so many benefits to the world, to Jewry and to the German people. It is also my wish that a chapter of history which has been full of mutual contempt, mistrust and fear can be finally closed. I long for the end of a period which, like none other before it, has brought so much unhappiness to the world, to Jews and Germans." ⁸⁷ The court arbitrarily dismissed this sincere appeal for reconciliation as merely an "attempt to make an impression." ⁸⁸

That the court saw Rudolf's "crimes" as more than his alleged approval of Remer's additions to his *Report* is already clear from the court's repeated cit-

ing of Rudolf's revisionist work, including *Vorlesungen über Zeitgeschichte* and *Grundlagen zur Zeitgeschichte*, both of which had nothing at all to do with the main charge. In support of its award of punishment, the court asserted that by means of his "specially refined and concealed strategy ... the accused made it as difficult as possible for the victims [survivors] to defend themselves." ⁸⁹ I interpret this as saying (among possibly other things) that the arguments in Rudolf's *Report* leading up to his conclusions appeared extremely difficult to see through.

On June 23, 1995, Germar Rudolf was sentenced to 14 months imprisonment. According to Judge Dietmar Mayer, Rudolf, who continued his revisionist work (for example on *Grundlagen*) "in spite of and while the trial was proceeding" was "an anti-Semite fanatically committed to the cause of Holocaust denial [*fanatischer Überzeugungstäter*]," with the result that no part of the sentence could be suspended. Thus there were "no mitigating circumstances which would make his offence 'more understandable.'" On the contrary, the calculating and refined way in which he camouflaged his crime is to be seen as particularly aggravating. ⁹⁰

One of the major flaws in the German judicial system is the lack of any records of statements made by witnesses. Since 1979 even summaries of such statements were dispensed with, thus allowing for later distortions and even contradictions during judgment. ⁹¹

Significantly, during the post-war trials of "war criminals" this same system was in operation. ⁹²

Because he had been convicted of a "thought crime," the University of Stuttgart refused to accept Rudolf's doctoral thesis — ironically on the basis of a 1939 law signed by Hitler that permits German universities to withdraw or withhold academic titles in cases of "lack of academic dignity." ⁹³

At the time of his flight from Germany there were other cases pending against Rudolf. Rather than serve his 14-month sentence, he fled the country, first going to Spain and then settling in England. Since its founding in 1997, Rudolf has been editor of the quarterly *Vierteljahreshefte für freie Geschichtsforschung* (VffG), ⁹⁴ a scholarly, intellectually ambitious revisionist quarterly journal. Rudolf also runs Castle Hill Publishers, which has brought out new and important revisionist works. ⁹⁵

"German neo-Nazi fugitive is found hiding in Britain" headlined a report in the British *Sunday Telegraph* of October 17, 1999. The writers, Jessica Berry and Chris Hastings, claimed that they had "tracked down" a "neo-Nazi who fled Germany after being convicted of inciting racial hatred." Rudolf

was quoted as saying "In Britain I work as an Holocaust revisionist 24 hours a day. My work has brought me into contact with people on the far Right. I have met leading members of the National Front and the British National Party while I have been in England. I have also made contact with David Irving. But I want to make clear that I am not a member of any far-Right organisations. I am not a total apologist for the Nazis like a lot of people who support my work. I miss Germany but I am a political prisoner who came here because I wanted to be free."

Based on the *Sunday Telegraph* article, the German news agency dpa issued a report about the "wanted German neo-Nazi" that appeared in several German newspapers, and a German radio station told listeners that Germany's Jewish Community demanded that the German government ask Britain to extradite Rudolf to Germany.⁹⁶

Rudolf immediately issued a response to the *Sunday Telegraph*, which the paper did not publish. In this letter of response,⁹⁷ Rudolf categorically denied that he ever was "involved in a neo-Nazi organisation," or held "political views which are even close to National Socialism." He was, in fact, "a patriotic conservative with strong libertarian convictions," adding that he had been living quite openly in England since he arrived there in the Spring of 1997, that the German police knew this and had not been "looking" for him. Furthermore, Rudolf continued, his only reason for contacting the head of the British National Party was because he "wanted to report [in *VffG*] about him [the BNP leader] being prosecuted for 'Holocaust denial'." Dismissing the imputation that he might be a partial "apologist for the Nazis," Rudolf wrote that his "business is not to apologize for what happened or did not happen in Germany 60 years ago, but to try to bring historiography into accord with the facts." Finally, he reminded the *Sunday Telegraph* of the circumstances under which he was unable to complete his doctorate, and that he had not been "expelled from [his] university course."

Rudolf also recalled that reporter Chris Hastings "was very curious about the situation in Germany regarding freedom of speech." Rudolf had told him of the thousands of prosecutions each year for "thought crimes," "as published by the German authorities," and that these authorities "burned many thousands of books" in recent years "even if German professors testified ... that some of these books are scientific and should be protected by ... internationally guaranteed human rights." Rudolf had "offered Hastings hard evidence for these

things" but to no avail.⁹⁸ Instead, the *Sunday Telegraph* article reported that "the ease with which Rudolf has been able to continue his revisionist work ... has intensified calls for the introduction of Holocaust denial and race hate legislation in Britain. Andrew Dismore, the Labour MP for Hendon and a member of the Council Against Anti-Semitism, said: 'I think a cause like this can only strengthen the case for Holocaust denial legislation to be introduced in Britain. I hope the German authorities will take immediate action to deal with this man. I intend to refer the case to the Director of Public Prosecutions.' Lord Janner, the chairman of the Holocaust Education Trust, said: 'Holocaust denial legislation is long overdue in Britain. I intend to refer this particular case to the Home Secretary'."⁹⁹

It is encouraging to note that former Conservative MPs Michael Howard and Sir Leon Brittan, to mention only two of Jewish origin, have vigorously opposed such legislation. The article confirmed that "there is a warrant out for [Rudolf's] arrest," and Rudolf told his supporters "They won't get me, I promise you all." "Did Britain fight two World Wars and sacrifice its empire in order to end up in a unified Europe that is being ruled by German political paranoia?" he asked in his letter to the *Sunday Telegraph*.

Two weeks later the *Sunday Telegraph* again reported on the Rudolf case. "The disclosure that Rudolf is likely to be extradited has been welcomed by MPs and Jewish groups. Stephen Twigg, the chairman of the lobby group Labour Friends of Israel, said: 'I welcome any action that would bring this man to justice.' Mike Gates MP, the vice-chairman of The Council Against Anti-Semitism said: 'This is excellent news. This country should not be used as a haven for people who have committed crimes abroad'."¹⁰⁰ In January 2000 this same paper assured its readers that "police here have joined the hunt for Germar Rudolf ... If he is arrested on British soil, he faces extradition or deportation. One source close to the case said: 'Concern about this man's presence in Britain has been raised at the very highest level. The Home Secretary is likely to want to do all he can to help the Germans bring this man to justice'."¹⁰¹

The manhunt turned into hysteria with a BBC report about Rudolf on March 28, 2000, which was repeated the next day by the south English regional TV station ITV. This television report included six or seven photographs of Rudolf, which had been taken from Rudolf's website. The public was warned to be aware of this "nazi sympathizer", as though

Rudolf was some dangerous skinhead. Michael Whine of the British Jewish Board of Deputies appeared on screen to announce that Britain was dealing with a “new breed of dangerous Nazis.” The local press chimed in once again with a report on “Escaped Neo-nazi still hiding in Hastings ...”¹⁰²

In May 2000, the British Home Secretary — responding to an inquiry by a Member of Parliament — stated: “The Government are aware of the reports in some quarters that Mr. Rudolf may be in the United Kingdom. The police have also been informed of the allegations against Mr. Rudolf.”¹⁰³

Thus Rudolf is treated as a common criminal. No one bothers to read a single word of his writings, let alone take any of it seriously. Or is his writing taken so seriously as to be regarded as a threat?¹⁰⁴

The Irving-Lipstadt Libel Trial

In his well-publicized libel action against Deborah Lipstadt and Penguin Books for what Lipstadt had written about him in her book *Denying the Holocaust*,¹⁰⁵ British historian David Irving made almost no use of the *Rudolf Report*. Had he made good use of it he would possibly have stood a better chance in the London Royal Courts of Justice.¹⁰⁶ At least the airing of some of Rudolf’s scientific research might have aroused wider public interest in revisionism. As it was, Irving had no legal representation, while the defendants’ case was ably argued by Richard Rampton, Queen’s Counsel.¹⁰⁷

Deborah Lipstadt, professor of Jewish Studies at Emory University claimed in her book that “Irving is one of the most dangerous spokespersons for Holocaust denial. Familiar with historical evidence, he bends it until it conforms with his ideological leanings and political agenda.”¹⁰⁸ Irving, she further stated, “is best known for his thesis that Hitler did not know about the Final Solution, an idea that scholars have dismissed ... he has been accused of skewing documents and misrepresenting data in order to reach historically untenable conclusions, particularly those that exonerate Hitler.”¹⁰⁹ Most of Lipstadt’s statements merely echo the opinions of others, and are properly referenced.¹¹⁰

The three-month trial began on January 11, 2000, and ended April 11, 2000, with Justice Gray’s finding in favor of Lipstadt and Penguin Books.¹¹¹ Under English law a libel case favors the plaintiff because the defendants are obliged to prove the “substantial truth of the defamatory imputations.”¹¹² It is fair to say that, had Irving brought this action in the United States, he would have stood just about zero chance of winning his case. The defendants called numerous “expert witnesses,”

who submitted lengthy “expert reports,” for which they were handsomely paid.¹¹³ They included Professor Richard Evans of Cambridge University (England), Robert Jan van Pelt, author (with Debórah Dwork) of a detailed book about Auschwitz,¹¹⁴ as well as the American historian Christopher Browning,¹¹⁵ and the German historian Dr. Heinz Peter Longerich.

Irving claimed that the defendants conspired with what he calls “the traditional enemies of truth” to ruin his reputation and income. They influenced publishers not to publish his books and even to break existing contracts.¹¹⁶ Justice Gray correctly identified these “traditional enemies” as Jewish¹¹⁷ and pointed out “that ... it would be necessary for him to prove on the balance of probability that both the Defendants were implicated in the alleged conspiracy,” that Lipstadt “was acting in league with the Anti Defamation League, the Board of Deputies of Jews and other organizations intent on targeting him.”¹¹⁸ Justice Gray did not consider, on the evidence placed before him, that this claim of Irving was established.¹¹⁹

To decide whether calling Irving a “Holocaust denier” constitutes libel, Justice Gray wished to know how “the notional typical reader ... would have understood the words.”¹²⁰

While I agree that our century has known many holocausts, Irving should have been aware of the commonly accepted meaning of “Holocaust denier”: one who denies that National Socialist Germany murdered Jews on an industrial scale in gas chambers. In fact, Prof. Richard Evans devotes almost a hundred pages of his 740-page “expert report” to finding a suitable definition of the expression,¹²¹ concluding it fits Irving quite well.¹²²

Irving wrote in his Statement of Claim that “the true or legal innuendo of the words ‘Holocaust denier’ is that any person described as such wilfully perversely and with disregard to all the existing historical evidence denied and continues to deny all and any occurrence of one of the worst crimes known to history, namely the mass murder by whatever means by Hitler’s agents and their associates of the Jewish people and hence genocide and hence a crime against humanity.”¹²³

The rest of this section will explore to what extent Irving should be regarded as a spokesperson for Holocaust revisionism, and to his responses to the arguments of his adversaries, especially those dealing with chemistry.

The trial was puzzling from the start, with Irving determined not to make this a debate about the Holocaust as such,¹²⁴ on which he is no expert¹²⁵—

and which in any case “bores” him¹²⁶ — but to defend his reputation as an historian.¹²⁷ Yet, on the very first day Irving stated: “The most interesting part of the action in the light of history is, undoubtedly, the Holocaust and Auschwitz, and is also, I think we all apprehend, the most complicated to prepare.”¹²⁸ On another day he declared “When you are an author, you are constantly receiving letters from members of the public suggesting you have got things wrong. Sometimes you ignore them.... But when you are conscientious, then you will put those objections to other people who are probably better informed than yourselves and say, ‘What do you say about this?’ This is precisely what I did.”¹²⁹

How well Irving was prepared for the trial and how much he followed his own advice is problematic, as we will see.

Just as the trial was getting under way, Robert Faurisson wrote: “I expect David Irving to make twists and turns and recantations. He writes and publishes too much in order to allow himself the time, beforehand, to read attentively the documents which he quotes or which the opposing side submits. If he is acquainted with the revisionist literature, it is only just barely; he cannot be considered a spokesman for historical revisionism. I have always called him ‘the reluctant revisionist.’ Strong in appearance, he is, in reality, fragile. His opponents will have an easy time tripping him up.”¹³⁰

In the introduction to his edition of the *Leuchter Report*, Irving wrote that “chemistry is an exact science ... the laboratory reports were shattering ... I myself would, admittedly, have preferred to see more rigorous methods used in identifying and certifying the samples ...”.¹³¹ And although it dealt only with Auschwitz and Majdanek, the *Report* appeared to convince him that the homicidal gas chambers of the Third Reich were a total myth¹³² — except possibly for some “experimental” gas vans.¹³³ Whenever he spoke of the report in public, he expressed no doubts about it beyond what he had written in the introduction to his own edition of the *Leuchter Report*. Statements such as “the gas chambers that are shown to tourists in Auschwitz are fakes”¹³⁴ give the impression that the gas chambers at Birkenau are also fakes since for most people “Auschwitz” includes Auschwitz II. Irving found it easy to use such loose language when talking to admiring audiences, but it harmed his case.¹³⁵

In 1977 David Irving touched off a lively historical controversy with the presentation, in his book *Hitler's War*, of his provocative thesis that Hitler was not responsible for the Holocaust, and hardly knew about it until quite late in the war.¹³⁶ Revi-

sionism has since moved on and we now ask “what is it exactly that Hitler was supposed to know?” Not so for David Irving, who in this trial conceded just about every point made by the opposition, including their objections to the *Leuchter Report*, but could not help himself and returned again and again and again to the “Hitler didn’t know” theme.

In my view, Irving’s worst blunder was to neglect the work of Germar Rudolf, who did not appear as an expert witness.¹³⁷ Neither his own report nor his technical opinions on Van Pelt’s report¹³⁸ were placed in Irving’s discovery. At Irving’s request Rudolf wrote a “Critique of the ‘Findings on Justification’ by Judge Gray,” for use in a possible appeal.¹³⁹ However, nearly everything Rudolf wrote there on the chemical and physical aspects of gassing could already be found in the *Rudolf Report* and his other pre-trial writings.¹⁴⁰ Often trumpeted by Irving as a more thorough study than Leuchter’s,¹⁴¹ the *Rudolf Report* was never submitted, and this tied Gray’s hands in forming his judgment. On the morning of the ninth day, Irving promised to have it couriered for the afternoon session, but it failed to arrive.¹⁴² The next day there was a repeat of this tragicomedy as the “dozen copies” of the “glossy blue publication” that should have been handed to his Lordship were “through an oversight... not listed in discovery,” for which Irving apologized.¹⁴³

Then Robert Jan van Pelt took the stand, and defense attorney Rampton examined him on Rudolf’s work, as well as on the various reports made by the Institute of Forensic Research in Cracow,¹⁴⁴ even though Van Pelt admitted he was far from qualified as a chemist. With regard to Rudolf’s *Report*, van Pelt said that he was “vaguely familiar with it.” But given that he thought it had “something like” 20 pages, van Pelt could hardly have looked at it.¹⁴⁵ Van Pelt said that he was “hesitant to give any kind of definite opinion,” but thought that “in substance the Leuchter results were substantiated by Rudolf, which means a high level of Prussian Blue.” Citing the compilers of the Jan Sehn Forensic Institute reports, he said “What I do know is that they [the Polish investigators] found that the Prussian blue test was problematic,”¹⁴⁶ and he proceeded to expound on the perceived merits of their 1994 report.¹⁴⁷

Furthermore, had Irving been familiar with Rudolf’s work,¹⁴⁸ he might have been able to counter van Pelt’s arguments, as well as those of Dr. James Roth, who had analyzed Leuchter’s samples in 1988, but who now says “I do not think that the Leuchter results have any meaning ...”¹⁴⁹ Moreover,

David Irving would not have reiterated again and again the “virtues” of the 1990 Cracow report, which, if accepted, logically compels one to accept the 1994 Cracow report as forensic evidence for the existence of homicidal gas chambers at Auschwitz.¹⁵⁰

Had David Irving examined more thoroughly his doubts about the *Leuchter Report* — and made them “plain to his audiences”¹⁵¹ — before the trial, instead of having his nose rubbed in them during the proceedings, he might have been in a better position to counter the rather thin arguments of his opponents. The strongest criticism of Leuchter was that he had grossly overestimated the concentration of HCN gas that would have been needed in the “homicidal gas chambers.”¹⁵² That Irving did have some doubts concerning this issue emerges from the correspondence he had in the 90’s with one “Colin Beer” (probably a pseudonym), who raised this very point — causing Irving to write: “these criticisms ... have to be taken on board.” Rampton reminded Irving of this. He responded: “I completely agree and you are absolutely right. There are probably concessions [which] have to be made at both ends of this scale.”¹⁵³

Although Irving held on to Leuchter’s forensic chemistry, he lacked the necessary knowledge to back up his argument. When confronted with technical details he had to confess: “I am afraid I am way out of my depth there,” “I am lost.”¹⁵⁴

Irving probably made his strongest impact with Faurisson’s “No Holes, No Holocaust” reasoning. Although Justice Gray agreed that “Irving’s argument deserves to be taken seriously,” he also agreed with Van Pelt that the now-collapsed roofs of the “gas chambers” are too fragmentary to permit any firm conclusions, and that “it is unclear how much of the roof can be seen in the photograph on which Irving relies.”¹⁵⁵

Irving also pointed out that Roth was wrong in assuming that cyanide is only a “surface reaction,” given that cyanide had penetrated to the outer walls of the delousing tracts. Questioned whether the outside walls had been tested, Irving answered: “Yes, by Germar Rudolf.”¹⁵⁶

Two days later Van Pelt acknowledged that the blue stains on the outside walls were due to cyanide.¹⁵⁷ With nobody an authority on the subject, it was really a case of the blind leading the blind. On day nine Van Pelt, in his discussion of the 1994 Cracow Institute report, pointed out that samples taken from blue stains on both the inside and outside walls of the building mentioned by Irving, showed “relative high readings,” comparable to those from

morgue number 1 of Birkenau *Krema II*. This was supposed to constitute “a positive proof that the spaces in the crematoria they had tested had been used with Zyklon B” [sic].¹⁵⁸ However, since Van Pelt mentioned that the Cracow Institute had not tested for Prussian Blue, what then was the point of taking samples from the “blue stains”? Not even once did Irving challenge Van Pelt’s “evidence,” and his ignorance of Rudolf’s arguments was once again his nemesis. The heart of the matter is that the analytic methods used by the Cracow forensic institute do not pick up total cyanide, and are therefore suspect.

David Irving repeated Leuchter’s challenge: “If you don’t like Leuchter’s results, go and do the tests yourself and prove that I am a nincompoop.”¹⁵⁹ But in the end Irving accepted that in Birkenau “gas chamber experiments were conducted.”¹⁶⁰

What is one to make of Irving’s statement about the “Reinhardt” camps, Belzec, Treblinka and Sobibor? “For the purposes of this trial,” he said, “we are accepting that gassing did occur in those camps.”¹⁶¹ Was this merely a tactical manoeuvre? Asked if he accepts that “hundreds upon thousands of Jews were from ... the spring of 1942, and in Chelmno earlier, and probably Belzec, deliberately killed in Sobibor, Treblinka and Belzec,” Irving responded “I think on the balance of probabilities, the answer is yes,” but added that “the evidentiary basis for that statement is extremely weak.” He repeated once more: “I have to keep on emphasizing I am not an expert on the Holocaust...,” but agreed that hundreds of thousands were killed in those camps.¹⁶²

Although he scored some good points on the Gerstein documents,¹⁶³ Justice Gray indicated that Irving’s arguments had no real purpose because he was already “accepting that gas chambers were used [to] kill Jews in those three camps.”¹⁶⁴

Regarding Chelmno and the “gas vans,” Irving was more explicit: “I have repeatedly allowed that [Jews] were killed in gas vans” — and he included Yugoslavia among the places where such vans were used.¹⁶⁵ A dramatic moment in the proceedings came when Irving was shown a document describing the gassing of 97,000 Jews in Chelmno “gas vans.”¹⁶⁶ Although he claimed to have first seen this document only five or six months earlier, he accepted it as genuine. It showed “systematic, huge scale, using gas trucks to murder Jews.”¹⁶⁷

As Rampton put it in his closing speech: “Mr Irving has been driven, in the face of overwhelming evidence presented by Professor Robert Jan van Pelt, Professor Christopher Browning and Dr Long-erich, to concede that there were indeed mass mur-

ders on a huge scale by means of gassing at Chelmno in the Warthegau and at the Reinhardt camps of Belzec, Treblinka and Sobibor; and even that there were 'some gassings' at Auschwitz."¹⁶⁸

The Future of Revisionism

In many countries revisionists are outcasts, and their writings suppressed; in some countries questioning "the Holocaust" is a crime. In France for example, Professor Faurisson has repeatedly been convicted for so-called "Holocaust denial,"¹⁶⁹ as have others in Germany, including David Irving. The list grows longer and longer.¹⁷⁰

Why are authorities so determined to stamp out revisionism? Some claim that the answer lies in Jewish influence, in particular in the power of the "Jewish lobby." There is much truth in this, but I believe the matter is more complex than that, even if I don't claim to have the answer. Let it be said, though, that if six million innocent men, women and children were indeed killed in cold blood only because of their birth — in other words if one accepts the standard picture of the Holocaust, with all its chilling details — then it is not so surprising that humanity's conscience should be deeply troubled, and that thinking people would want to keep the memory of it alive, especially the German leaders. "The Holocaust," it has often been said, forms the foundation stone of the Federal Republic of Germany.¹⁷¹ All the same, political leaders, especially in Germany, should be aware of the dangers posed by officially sanitized truth!¹⁷² Even German judges must see the absurdity of condemning a thesis while ignoring its content. A strong hint that a condition set for German reunification by the victors of World War II was that the German authorities clamp down on revisionists can be gleaned from a 1994 *Der Spiegel* interview with the then Interior Minister for Brandenburg, Alwin Ziel, who stated: "The Allies only allowed Germans to consider reunification on the condition that a catastrophe such as National Socialism would never again take root in Germany ... Restrictions on freedom of opinion and association, which before unification were viewed critically, are now justified. Today Germany and her basic law are different from what they were before unification."¹⁷³

"The Holocaust," it seems, has taken on quasi-religious characteristics and, like any religion, is used and abused — by Jews as well as non-Jews — for political purposes. However, we must accept that, on the whole, the "Holocaust promotion lobby" is concerned with preserving what it perceived as truth. Let us also not forget that what did happen to

Europe's Jews during World War II was dreadful enough. There cannot be any reasonable doubt about the realities of the forced deportations of millions, including the very young and the very old, of forced labor, or of anti-Jewish pogroms and massacres in the East. Surely it is a bitter irony that many talented Jews would likely have *remained* patriotic Germans and contributed to Germany's struggle for equality among nations, had not the regime turned against them only on account of their birth. I do not think it will ever be possible to really understand why National Socialist Germany carried out such harsh measures against Jews as a people. One day, perhaps, it might be possible to better "understand" these measures, and Irving's question is perfectly valid: "Why were the Jews so hated?" At this junction however, any insensitive approach to the problem can only harm *historical* revisionism.¹⁷⁴

It is clear to me that historians should long ago have challenged the prosecution evidence at the Nuremberg trials, especially regarding the alleged systematic extermination of six million European Jews. By the 1980's at the latest, serious and respectful consideration should have been given to the revisionist critique of the Holocaust story, certainly in the wake of the arguments presented by Robert Faurisson in *Le Monde*, and of two books published in 1980, Faurisson's *Mémoire en défense contre ceux qui m'accusent de falsifier l'Histoire* and *Vérité historique ou vérité politique* by Serge Thion.¹⁷⁵ How, then, is it that revisionist scholarship is continually subjected to ridicule and that serious revisionists are habitually vilified? While it is generally normal to be wary of, sometimes even hostile to a new idea that challenges the *status quo*, the very nature of the Holocaust issue intensifies such feelings a hundredfold, and not just among Jews. Shock waves from the Hitler period are still being felt, above all in Germany. In no other country would a head of state call his own people a nation of criminals — *ein Tätervolk*.¹⁷⁶

A major impediment to revisionist views gaining legitimacy is the fact that many of revisionism's adherents often have their own, all too obvious, political-ideological agendas, which frightens off those who might otherwise be interested, even supportive. This is the "baggage" that *Skeptic* editor-publisher Michael Shermer spoke of in his July 1995 debate with Mark Weber.¹⁷⁷ Frequently spokespersons for revisionism (self-proclaimed or otherwise) give the impression that in their view Hitler's Germany did nothing wrong, and that the Jews were themselves ultimately responsible for their fate. Some Internet users with ill-considered,

even irrational, viewpoints are increasingly labelled “revisionist,” or label themselves thus, so that the term may be losing any clear or precise meaning.

All this adds to the widely held perception that Holocaust revisionism is not serious or scholarly, and gives ammunition to those who regard revisionists as “Neo-Nazis, nostalgics and agitators.”¹⁷⁸ What self-respecting established historian would risk being confused, let alone identified, with such persons? Of course many other factors play a role, for example the perception that questioning the Holocaust is a little like committing the crimes all over again.¹⁷⁹

In order to facilitate cross-fertilization with academic historians, genuine Holocaust revisionists may ultimately have to distance themselves from those who use and abuse the, often still tentative, results of revisionist research for overt political ends. It cannot be overemphasized that for revisionism to be taken seriously, “... only publications with a content that is dry, objective, serious (*sachlich*) and demand high scientific standards can be productive”, as Germar Rudolf has underscored.¹⁸⁰ We also have to keep in mind that only a tiny proportion of historians accepts the revisionist thesis — that is, there was no plan to exterminate the Jewish people, there were no gas chambers to carry out such a plan, and the number of Jewish dead has been vastly exaggerated. Furthermore, we need to remind ourselves that nothing is one hundred percent certain, and this also applies to Auschwitz, the camp most thoroughly studied by both sides. Although apparently based on *standard* scientific methods, Rudolf’s results should not be regarded as the final word on the subject, and need to be confirmed by other competent scientists. Compared to Auschwitz, much less is known about the “purely extermination” camps (Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka, Chelmno).¹⁸¹ Extensive research also remains to be done on the special security police units, the *Einsatzgruppen* and the *Ordnungspolizei*,¹⁸² on the extent to which local militia in the occupied Eastern territories were responsible for massacres,¹⁸³ and on the number of Jewish deaths,¹⁸⁴ and exactly how these came about.

Should Auschwitz go the way of “Jewish soap,” it is obvious that many historians would consider questions on the Holocaust with a far more open mind and, in fact, find themselves forced to re-examine all aspects of that terrible period.¹⁸⁵

To get to the truth, a completely open debate is needed — something that revisionists have wanted for a long time.¹⁸⁶ Let us hope historian Donald Cameron Watt is wrong in speculating that the Irv-

ing case “could have one undesirable outcome — to drive the Holocaust deniers underground. ‘We need to have this stuff out in the open ...’”¹⁸⁷ As a small group that holds a dissident, minority viewpoint, our impact and importance is limited. Revisionism will only have a wider impact once it starts to filter down from recognized authorities to the public at large.¹⁸⁸

There are several criteria for judging revisionist progress. The most important one will always be the quality of work published, but another is the extent to which it is accepted by historians of more general standing, and the degree to which revisionist work is acknowledged in quality journals, newspapers, and so forth.

In conclusion, let me quote Germar Rudolf’s words from a statement he made in 1994: “Our challenge must be to write a comprehensive history of the persecution of the Jews during the Third Reich: one that says not merely what did not happen, but above all tells us what really did happen.”¹⁸⁹

Notes

1. This essay is adapted from a talk given on March 28, 1998, at a meeting in Costa Mesa, southern California, organized by the Institute for Historical Review. It was an honor to have shared, at that meeting, the platform with David Irving, the historian who first made me aware, more than 20 years ago, that not all was well with the standard account of Second World War history. I wish to thank the Institute, and especially its director Mark Weber, for this invitation and for the financial assistance afforded me, and to thank both Mark and his wife, Priscilla, for their hospitality. A very special thanks to Dr. Robert Countess and his wife Elda for their generous hospitality and for financial assistance which they procured, without which my first visit to America would have been much more difficult. Last but not least, I wish to thank Germar Rudolf for much information and for making many useful suggestions after carefully going through this text.
2. Book A. As quoted in the “Thucydides” entry in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1957 and 1959 editions.
3. Thucydides, Book A, §20, §22. I have translated “mythos” as “fiction.”
4. Thucydides could not fulfill his ideal; many of the speeches he quotes at length are reconstructed, as he says himself.
5. *Intervista sull’ Olocausto* (Edizioni di Ar, undated), p.11; English translation: *My Banned Holocaust Interview* (Granata, Box 2145 PVP, CA 90274, USA, 1996), p. 5.
6. Minister Nicholas Ridley expressed his horror at Britain becoming closely associated with Germany when he told journalists: “Only two months ago I was in Auschwitz ...” (*Spectator*, July 14, 1990). For the G.

- Grass quote see *Die Zeit*, February 23, 1990. Expressions of the perceived ingrained brutality of Germans are frequent and widespread. See for example Luc Rosenzweig's *Le Monde* article of March 29, 1990 (*The Guardian Weekly*, April 15, 1990, p. 14), in which he asks "Could Auschwitz make reunification morally unacceptable?," *Newsweek* of March 5, 1990, in which George Will poses the question whether "there is some character trait, some national chromosome that makes Germans dangerous ...", or the article "Will German Unity Breed a Monster?" in the *Natal Mercury* of March 3, 1990.
7. Faurisson's challenge has been repeatedly made since 1978. See, for example, *Le Monde* of December 28, 1978, p. 12, "Le problème des chambres à gaz ou 'la rumour d'Auschwitz'." (Authorized translation published in "Faurisson's Three Letters to Le Monde, *The Journal of Historical Review*, May-June 2000, pp. 40-41.) The bankruptcy of traditional history, when it concerns the Holocaust, was manifest in 1979 when 33 historians countered Faurisson's demand for scientific proof of the alleged Nazi gas chambers with the absurd response that "such a mass murder was technically possible since it took place." ("La politique hitlérienne d'extermination: une déclaration d'historiens," *Le Monde*, February 21, 1979, p. 23). His books and articles, many of which have appeared in *The Journal of Historical Review*, are all immensely worth reading. See in particular "A challenge to David Irving," an abridged version of which is in the Winter 1984 *Journal* (Vol. 5, Nos. 2,3,4), pp. 289-305, as well as "Response to a Paper Historian" in the Spring 1986 *Journal* (Vol. 7, No. 1), pp. 21-72. One of my favorites, "How the British Obtained the Confessions of Rudolf Höss," appeared in the Winter 1986 issue (Vol. 7, No. 4), pp. 389-403. See also his article "Jean-Claude Pressac's New Auschwitz Book" in *The Journal of Historical Review*, January-February 1994 (Vol. 14, No. 1), pp. 23f.
 8. See R. Faurisson, "Response to a Paper Historian" in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1986 (Vol. 7, No. 1), pp. 21-72. For a revisionist view of the Frankfurt trial, see Wilhelm Stäglich's *Auschwitz: A Judge Looks at the Evidence*, published in 1990 by the IHR, a translation of *Der Auschwitz Mythos* (Grabert, 1979).
 9. Article 19 of the IMT Charter states that "the Tribunal shall not be bound by technical rules of evidence. It shall adopt and apply to the greatest possible extent expeditious and non-technical procedure, and it shall admit any evidence which it deems to have probative value." Article 21 states that "the Tribunal shall not require proof of facts of common knowledge but shall take judicial notice thereof. It shall also take judicial notice of official government documents and reports of the United Nations ..."
 10. See the *Trial of the Major War Criminals before the International Military Tribunal* (Nuremberg, Germany, 1947-1949; 42 vols.). For some of the more absurd accusations made at the Nuremberg IMT, see Carlos W. Porter's *Made in Russia: The Holocaust* (Historical Review Press, 1988). Porter's book is reviewed by Theodore J. O'Keefe in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1989 (Vol. 9, No. 1), pp. 89-95. A CD containing the complete official records of the Nuremberg trials has been produced by James Joseph Sanchez: *Nuremberg War Crimes Trial Online* (Copyright 1995 Aristarchus Knowledge Industries, PO Box 45610, Seattle, WA 98105, USA). It contains the 42-volume IMT "blue series," the eleven-volume "red series" *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression* (NCA), the Nuremberg Military Tribunal (NMT) "green series," and the Final Report to the Secretary of the Army (TTFR). This useful tool for researchers is available from the IHR (P.O. Box 2739, Newport Beach, CA 92659, USA).
 11. RIF stood for *Reichsstelle für Industrielle Fettversorgung* ("Reich Center for Industrial Fat Provisioning"), and not, as some have alleged, for *Rein Jüdisches Fett* ("Pure Jewish Fat"), which should in any case have been abbreviated as "RJF," not "RIF." See "Jewish Soap" by Mark Weber in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1991 (Vol. 11, No. 2), pp. 217-227. In addition to submitting samples of "human soap" (IMT exhibit USSR-393), the Soviet prosecution also presented a sample of untested "semi-tanned human skin" (USSR-394).
 12. IMT "blue series," Vol. 6, p. 213, Vol. 7, pp. 376, 377, 576, 577, 586, Vol. 12, p. 369, Vol. 19, pp. 598-599, Vol. 32, pp. 153-158. A striking absurdity is the "confession" of SS man Paul Waldmann (IMT document USSR-52), who claimed that 840,000 Soviet prisoners of war were killed at Sachsenhausen, and described a bizarre foot-operated device used there to kill prisoners by bashing their heads. See Carlos W. Porter's *Made in Russia: The Holocaust*, pp. 14-16, 378-380, and Sanchez, pp. 10343-10350, 10946-10953, 33733-33744.
 13. On the first (1985) Zündel trial see *The Great Holocaust Trial* by Michael A. Hoffman II (2nd edition, IHR, 1985), or the "Expanded, Third Commemorative Edition," Wiswell Ruffin House (PO Box 236, Dresden, New York 14441), 1995 which includes, among other things, a brief description of Zündel's second (1988) trial. In spite of often loaded language (for example, needlessly labeling Sabina Citron, the person who brought charges against Zündel, as a "commissar"), the booklets contain invaluable information. To mention only one example, at the first trial, Raul Hilberg, author of a "standard work" on the Holocaust, *The Destruction of the European Jews: Revised and Definitive Edition* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1985), and widely regarded as the world's foremost Holocaust authority, was forced to admit under cross-examination that there is no scientific evidence to support allegations of German wartime mass gassings. Asked about a Hitler order to exterminate the Jews, he tied himself in knots assert-

ing that Hitler “wanted the Jewish Bolshevik commissars liquidated” — something quite different. Hoffman quotes Hilberg from a 1983 speech, as reported by *Newsday* of February 23, 1983: “Thus came about not so much a plan [to exterminate the Jews] being carried out, but an incredible meeting of minds, a consensus; mind-reading by a far-flung bureaucracy.” (*The Great Holocaust Trial*, third edition, pp. 51-54). In the first (1961) edition of *The Destruction of the European Jews*, Hilberg maintained that there were two Hitler orders to exterminate the Jews. There are no such claims in the 1985 “Definitive Edition”. See also Robert Faurisson, “The Zündel Trials (1985 and 1988),” *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1988-89 (Vol. 8, No. 4), pp. 417-431.

14. See Barbara Kulaszka, ed., *Did Six Million Really Die: Report of the Evidence in the Canadian “False News” Trial of Ernst Zündel — 1988* (Samisdat Publishers, 206 Carlton St., Toronto, M5A 2L1, Canada, 1992; Available from the IHR). Shorter, but worth consulting is Robert Lenski’s *The Holocaust on Trial: The Case of Ernst Zündel* (Decatur, Alabama: Reporter Press, 1989), also available from the IHR.
15. See for example Jean-Claude Pressac’s lengthy work, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers*, commissioned and published 1989 by the Beate Klarsfeld Foundation. In it (p. 15) Pressac states that “over 95 percent” was used for non-homicidal, sanitation purposes. Raul Hilberg, in an interview by the French paper *Le Nouvel Observateur* (“Le document de la semaine,” July 3, 1982, pp. 70-76) was asked why he thought Zyklon B was used for mass murder and not just for disinfestation purposes. “Not in such quantities,” he replied, adding “of course, they also disinfected some clothing,” while he was unsure if the same gas chambers were used for both purposes! (p. 76). When one realizes that this interview was aimed at discrediting Faurisson, it is scandalous that a historian who claims to specialize in the Holocaust could be so ignorant of such a basic matter.
16. The full report, *An Engineering Report on the Alleged Execution Gas Chambers at Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek, Poland prepared for Ernst Zündel, April 5, 1988* by Fred A. Leuchter, Jr. with a foreword by Robert Faurisson is available from Samisdat Publishers (Toronto). An abridged or summary version is available from the IHR.
17. For information on this and Leuchter’s arrest in Germany, see his articles “Witch Hunt in Boston” in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1990 (Vol. 10, No. 4), pp. 453-460 and “Is There Life After Persecution?” the Winter 1992 issue (Vol. 10, No. 4), pp. 429-444, as well as M. Weber’s article “Fred Leuchter: Courageous Defender of Historical Truth” in that same Winter 1990 *Journal* issue, pp. 421-428.
18. See the review “Flawed Documentary of Execution Expert” by Greg Raven in *The Journal of Historical Review*, September-December 1999 (Vol. 18, No. 5/6),

pp. 62-69. Nearly all mainstream reviews of the film have been very critical of Leuchter and Holocaust revisionists. For example, Scott Timberg’s “Unwanted Thoughts,” in the *New Times Los Angeles Online*, Dec. 23-29, 1999, and Simon Hattenstone’s “When it comes to killing, this man knows it all,” in the British *Guardian*, October 22, 1999, which describes Leuchter’s trip to Auschwitz as “horrific,” presumably because he took samples from the “gas chambers.” Cyber-activists like Ingrid Rimland at <<http://www.zundelsite.org>>, Russ Granata at <<http://www.codoh.com/granata>> and Michael Hoffman at <<http://www.hoffman-info.com/>> have informed their readers by e-mail about media reports, often adding comments of their own. In her reports of September 19 and 21, 1999, Rimland claimed that the Morris documentary was “the biggest breakthrough, next to the two Great Holocaust Trials of 1985 and 1988 and the cyberwar of 1996 around the Zündelsite,” and that it “will change the course of Revisionism.” This seems like hyperbole. In an e-mail of December 11, 1999, Granata mentioned how he had the opportunity to publicly challenge Morris (who considers Leuchter to be “insane”) about a second version of “Mr. Death.” After a showing at Harvard, Morris found “something very disturbing” according to “Unwanted Thoughts” by Steve Dewall in the *New Times Los Angeles* of December 23-31, 1999: “Some of the students were convinced by Leuchter and started to wonder if the Holocaust had ever happened, while others thought that Morris was convinced by Leuchter and thought the Holocaust had never happened. It was here that Morris turned to several historians and Holocaust activists for balance.” “People bought into Fred’s story, hook, line and, sinker... That response was unacceptable,” according to Hal Niedzviecki writing in the *National Post* of January 29, 2000, pp. B1, B6. So, in the new version, according to Jennifer Rosenberg, “the documentary is not solely the voice of Leuchter but also of Ernst Zündel, David Irving, Leuchter’s estranged wife, James Roth (laboratory manager of Alpha Analytical Laboratories), Robert Jan Van Pelt (co-author [with D. Dwork] of *Auschwitz: 1270 to the Present*), Shelly Shapiro (Director of the Holocaust Survivors and Friends Education Center), and Suzanne Tabasky (founding member of the Malden Holocaust Commission). These and other people discuss Leuchter’s ‘findings’” (See [http:// history1900s.about.com/education/](http://history1900s.about.com/education/), Date-line January 24, 2000).

19. See Pressac’s magnum opus *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers* (New York: The Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1989), as well as Shelly Shapiro (ed.), *Truth Prevails. Demolishing Holocaust Denial: The End of the “Leuchter Report,”* (The Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1990), especially the chapter by Pressac, with its additional notes, “The Deficiencies and Inconsistencies of the ‘Leuchter Report,’” pp. 31-73. For a review of this book see Mark Weber’s

- essay, "Book-Length 'Scholarly' Polemic Fails to Discredit Leuchter," in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1992 (Vol. 12, No. 4), pp. 485-492. For reviews and critiques of Pressac's *Auschwitz*, see Mark Weber's article in *The Journal of Historical Review* (Summer 1990 (Vol. 10, No. 2), pp. 231-237), which concludes that "in spite of its defects, [Pressac's book] is an important and enlightening work, even if not for the reasons intended by either the author or the publishers." See also Carlo Mattogno's article, "J.-C. Pressac and the War Refugee Board Report," in the Winter 1990-91 *Journal* (Vol. 10, No. 4), pp. 461-485; the extensive two-part critique by Robert Faurisson, "Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers, or, Improvised Gas Chambers & Casual Gassings at Auschwitz & Birkenau According to J.C. Pressac (1989)" in the Spring 1991 *Journal* (Vol. 11, No. 1), pp. 25-66, and Summer 1991 *Journal* (Vol. 11, No. 2), pp. 133-175. This is followed in the same *Journal* issue by Enrique Aynat's "Neither Trace Nor Proof: The Seven Auschwitz 'Gassing' Sites According to Jean-Claude Pressac," pp. 177-206. Arthur R. Butz's essay, "Some Thoughts on Pressac's Opus," is in the May-June 1993 *Journal* (Vol. 13, No. 3), pp. 23-37. Robert Faurisson responded briefly to Pressac's later book, *Les Crématoires d'Auschwitz: la machinerie du meurtre de masse* (CRNS, France, 1993; (German edition: *Die Krematorien von Auschwitz: Die Technik der Massenmorde*, Piper, 1994) in *The Journal of Historical Review*, January-February 1994 (Vol. 14, No. 1), pp. 23-24: "Jean-Claude Pressac's New Auschwitz Book". A fuller rebuttal is Faurisson's *Réponse à Jean-Claude Pressac*, (R.H.R. (1994), B.P. 122, 92704 Colombes Cedex, France). This appears in German translation in the anthology *Auschwitz: Nackte Fakten: Eine Erwiderung an Jean-Claude Pressac*, which also includes contributions by Germar Rudolf, Carlo Mattogno and Serge Thion (Vrij Historisch Onderzoek, ed. Herbert Verbeke, Postbus 60, B-2600 Berchem, Belgium, 1996 (online: <http://www.vho.org/D/anf/AR.html>). The introduction by Germar Rudolf ("Ernst Gauss") is dated May 15, 1995, a month before Rudolf was sentenced by a Stuttgart Court to 14 months imprisonment. A critique by Serge Thion of Pressac's second book on Auschwitz, "A French Scholar Responds to Widely Acclaimed anti-Revisionist Work about Auschwitz," appeared in *The Journal of Historical Review*, July-August 1994 (Vol. 14, No. 4), pp. 28-39. Another response to Pressac's second book is Carlo Mattogno's "The Crematories of Auschwitz: a Critique of J.-C. Pressac," in the November-December 1994 *Journal* (Vol. 14, No. 6), pp. 34-42. Mattogno's more complete response, *Auschwitz: The End of a Legend*, is available from the IHR.
20. Pressac states that 0.3 gm per cubic meter of air "is immediately fatal" for humans as opposed to 5 gm applied for at least 10 hours for lice. He then claims that "40 times the lethal dose ... killed without fail one thousand people in less than five minutes." *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers*, p. 53. On p. 63 of *Truth Prevails* Pressac gives figures of at least 12 hours per day for delousing and "5 to 10 minutes [of gassing] every day or two" for killing humans.
 21. *Truth Prevails*, p. 44.
 22. On p. 66 of *Truth Prevails* Pressac proposes a totally unjustified explanation for the absence of cyanide in Leuchter's sample No. 5 (taken from the 'gas chamber' of Krema II): "... an accomplice could have slipped him — or could have already planted — a 'harmless' piece of brick In this case the temptation to practice deception was too much."
 23. *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers* (1989), p. 59.
 24. Dr. William B. Lindsey, for 33 years a research chemist with the Dow Chemical company, testified at the first Zündel trial that in his opinion, homicidal mass gassing with Zyklon B was an impossibility. (See *The Great Holocaust Trial*, 3rd edition, pp. 65, 85). He also authored the excellent article "Zyklon B and the Trial of Dr. Bruno Tesch" in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Fall 1983 (Vol. 4, No. 3), pp. 261-303.
 25. *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers*, p. 53.
 26. *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1992-93 (Vol. 12, No. 4), pp. 445-473. Paul Grubach, in an open letter of December 22, 1991, to Michael Shermer (editor of *Skeptic* magazine) was highly critical of the latter's treatment of Holocaust Revisionism in *Why People Believe Weird Things: Pseudoscience, Superstition & Other Confusions of Our Time* (New York: W. H. Freeman and Co., 1997). *Skeptic* magazine, Vol. 2, No. 4 (1994), has a "Special Section on Pseudohistory" aimed at discrediting Holocaust revisionism (pp. 32-87).
 27. "An Official Polish Report on the Auschwitz Gas Chambers" appeared in translation in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1991 (Vol. 11, No. 1), pp. 207-216. This report was also published in part in *Deutschland in Geschichte und Gegenwart (DGG)*, Vol. 39 (1991), No. 2, pp.18-19 and on p. 48 of *Historische Tatsachen*, No. 50 (1991). Online it can be seen at http://www.vho.org/D/DGG/IDN39_2.html.
 28. *Vorlesungen über Zeitgeschichte* ("Lectures on Contemporary History"), (Tübingen: Grabert Verlag, 1993), pp. 180f. The book has recently been banned in Germany: see Grabert's *Euro-Kurier* of June 2000. It is available online at: <http://www.vho.org/D/vuez/v1.html> Also, an English-language edition is in preparation by Thesis and Dissertation Press in "Holocaust Handbooks Series," under the title: Ernst Gauss / Germar Rudolf, *Lectures on the Holocaust. Points at Issue Cross-Examined*. See the website <http://tadp.org>.
 29. "The Lüftl Report," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1992 (Vol. 12, No. 4), pp. 391-420 (p. 418).
 30. This challenge is unfortunately not in the printed

version, "The Leuchter Report: The How and the Why" (*The Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1989, pp. 133-139) but can be heard on the audio recording of his talk, available from the IHR. The same challenge is repeated by Faurisson in the January-February 1994 *Journal of Historical Review* (Vol. 14, No. 1), p. 24.

31. Wilhelm Schlesiger (ed.), *Der Fall Rudolf*, London: Cromwell Press, 1994, pp. 6f. This text is also online at vho.org/D/Fall.html, where one will also find an English translation.
32. *Vorlesungen über Zeitgeschichte*, p. 181.
33. *Der Fall Rudolf*, p. 7.
34. These criminal offenses, *Volksverhetzung*, *Verunglimpfung* and *Aufstachelung zum Rassenhaß*, are laid out in Sections 130, 189 and 131 respectively of the German Penal Code. For information on Remer see: "My Role in Berlin on July 20, 1944" in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1988 (Vol. 8, No. 3), pp. 41-53; "Otto-Ernst Remer Sentenced to 22 Months Imprisonment for Revisionist Publications," March-April 1993 *Journal* (Vol. 13, No. 2), pp. 29-30; "Remer Evades Imprisonment for 'Thought Crime,'" May-June 1994 *Journal* (Vol. 14, No. 3), pp. 42-43; "Remer Seeks Asylum in Spain," July-August 1995 *Journal* (Vol. 15, No. 4), pp. 33-34, and, "Remer Dies in Exile," January-February 1998 *Journal* (Vol. 17, No. 1), pp. 7-9.
35. *Der Fall Rudolf*, p.7. See also the *Journal* articles on Remer, cited above.
36. The authorized (first) edition: *Das Rudolf Gutachten: Gutachten über die Bildung und Nachweisbarkeit von Cyanidverbindungen in den 'Gaskammern' von Auschwitz*, Rüdiger Kammerer, Armin Solms (Hg.) ("Expert Report on the Formation and Detectability of Cyanide Compounds in the 'Gas Chambers' of Auschwitz," Rüdiger Kammerer, Armin Solms (editors)), Cromwell Press (London), 1993. For a brief review of Rudolf's *Report* see "Three Revisionist Books from Germany: The Rudolf Report" and "Valuable 'Lectures' in *The Journal of Historical Review*, November-December 1993 (Vol. 13, No. 6), pp. 25-26. Udo Walendy commented on the *Report* in *Historische Tatsachen*, No. 60 (1993): "Naturwissenschaft ergänzt Geschichtsforschung." There is also a 16-page "summary" edition in German (which is really an unauthorized commentary on the report) and its translation into English: *The Rudolf Report* (Cromwell, 1993), available from the IHR. To the best of my knowledge, the full report has so far been translated only into French and Dutch. An English edition is in preparation as volume 2 in the "Holocaust Handbooks Series" by Thesis and Dissertation Press: Gernar Rudolf, *The Rudolf Report. Witch Hunting Gernar Rudolf for his Research about Auschwitz*. Its website <http://tadp.org> announces its publication by the end of 2000. The report is regularly updated online at vho.org/D/rga/rga.html, and a second German edition should soon be available from Castle Hill

Publishes, PO Box 118, Hastings TN34 3ZQ, England, UK. The first review of the *Rudolf Report*, "Le Rapport Rudolf" was written by Célestin Loos and appeared in the French revisionist journal *Revue d'histoire révisionniste (RHR)*, No. 6, May 1992, pp. 9-21. On April 11, 1997, the *Journal Officiel de la République française* announced the banning of the French edition of the *Rudolf Report*, which had been published by Vrij Historisch Onderzoek (VHO), and also distributed by La Vieille Taupe. See Serge Thion's electronic release of April 20, 1997, of *Le Temps irréparable*. See also the French scientific review *La Recherche* of July-August 1997 (No. 300), a German translation of which appeared in *Vierteljahresshefte für freie Geschichtsforschung (VffG)*, December 1997 (Vol. 1, No. 4), pp. 223-225. *La Recherche* has a declaration by the members of the chemistry division of the French Academy of Scientists: "This work [Rudolf's report] is a remarkable example of the perversion of science; it is only of interest at the psychological level but is clearly dangerous because of its serious appearance." This is very reminiscent of the 1979 anti-Faurisson declaration issued by 33 historians (mentioned above). Personally, I am surprised that it has taken historians (including some revisionists) so long to recognize the full significance of Rudolf's report.

37. This long-term stability of Prussian Blue was testified to by Dr. James Roth, laboratory manager at Alpha Analytical Laboratories, at the second Zündel trial. See Barbara Kulaszka, ed., *Did Six Million Really Die?* (1992), pp. 362f. In the later version of Morris's film "Mr. Death," Roth understands things differently. As a result, Michael Shermer of *Skeptical* magazine challenged Rudolf with this new angle as follows: "Leuchter chipped off huge chunks of concrete and brick and ground up the entire chunks into powder when they were analyzed (or, more to the point, the chemist whom he gave the samples to did because Leuchter didn't tell him what they were), thereby diluting the Zyklon-B traces by hundreds of thousands of times. As you must know, Zyklon-B gas only penetrates about 10 microns into concrete (a human hair, by comparison, is 100 microns thick). What was your procedure for controlling this problem?" (Sent by SKEPTICMAG@aol.com on March 12, 2000, and re-transmitted by Russ Granata). Rudolf responded the next day as follows: "Please read my reply to Prof. van Pelt, posted at ... Search for 'Roth' to see my response to his *utmost reputation-wrecking nonsense*. This stuff is out there for a long time. Even the reply to van Pelt is nothing but a rearrangement of the stuff posted on www.vho.org/D/rga and other material posted on the internet for more than two years. The same material was published in printed form in 1993 and 1994, and some of it even much earlier. I am not willing to repeat myself endlessly. Should you and your folks continue to ignore the facts and opinions of others, then this

- proves your pseudo-scientific behavior. Period.”
38. Carlo Mattogno discovered a Zyklon B variant, patented in 1926 and which released practically all its HCN gas within 10 minutes but nobody seems to know whether this product was ever used. Since the sources cited by Rudolf indicate that it takes about two hours before 80 percent of the HCN is released from its carrier material, Rudolf's arguments could well be adversely affected if it is shown that the 1926 variant came into use. See section 5.4 of the chapter “Die ‘Gaskammern’ von Auschwitz und Majdanek” by G. Rudolf (and “Ernst Gauss”) in the anthology *Grundlagen zur Zeitgeschichte: Ein Handbuch über strittige Fragen des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen, Grabert, 1994). It is posted on the vho web site, and an expanded version has been published in English under the title *Dissecting the Holocaust. The Growing Critique of ‘Truth’ and ‘Memory.’* (Thesis and Dissertation Press, P.O. Box 64, Capshaw, Alabama 35742, USA: 2000). This work is available from the IHR. See also the web site <http://www.tadp.org>. Chemist Dr. Wolfgang Lambrecht gives a detailed description of how the features of Zyklon B changed between 1925 and 1943 — leading to an increased rate of evaporation — in *VffG*, March 1997 (Vol. 1, No. 1), pp. 2-5; online in the vho.org web site. The *VffG* journal is edited and produced by Germar Rudolf (P.O. Box 118, Hastings TN34 3ZQ, England, UK).
 39. *Kremas* II and III were mirror-images of each other. Each had a *Leichenkeller* (morgue) 1 and 2, labeled as such on the original plans, first discovered and published by Robert Faurisson.
 40. In order to avoid bias one way or the other, such a procedure is scientifically (and ethically) correct. Nevertheless, the Max Planck Society for the Advancement of Science, in a press release dated May 25, 1993, implicitly criticized Rudolf for withholding such information from the Fresenius Institute; Rudolf in turn castigated the Society in an open letter for its generally unscientific approach in matters pertaining to the Holocaust. See *Der Fall Rudolf*, pp. 15ff.
 41. See the Rudolf's report, §6.6, “Gutachten Krakau,” pp.105-106 and *Vorlesungen*, §3.10, “Die Ergebnisse des Krakauer Gutachtens,” pp. 182-184. The analytical method used by the Fresenius Laboratories was that of the standard DIN (Deutsches Institut für Normung/German Institute for Standardization) 35 405/D14; the Jan Sehn Institute used a method due to J. Epstein (*Analytical Chemistry* 19(1947), pp. 272f). The 1994 article by the Jan Sehn Institute was inspired by J. Bailer's chapter “Der Leuchter-Bericht aus der Sicht eines Chemikers,” (“The Leuchter Report From the Viewpoint of a Chemist”) in the anti-revisionist anthology *Amoklauf gegen die Wirklichkeit* (“Running Amok Against Reality”), eds., Dokumentationszentrum des österreichischen Widerstandes, Bundesministerium für Unterricht und Kultur (Vienna 1991), pp. 47-52. Since Bailer found it difficult to believe that Prussian Blue could form in bricks exposed to HCN, the Jan Sehn Institute took up the cue and referred to the blue on the walls of the delousing chambers as the “controversial blue dye.” See below on the 1994 report.
 42. The later, 1994 Cracow Institute report is discussed below.
 43. Werner Wegner contributed an extensive critique of the *Leuchter Report*, “Keine Vergasung in Auschwitz? Zur Kritik des Leuchter-Gutachtens” in the anthology *Die Schatten der Vergangenheit — Impulse zur Historisierung des Nationalsozialismus*, edited by U. Backes, E. Jesse and R. Zitelmann (Ullstein, 1992), pp. 450-476. Wilhelm Stäglich, author of *Auschwitz: A Judge Looks at the Evidence* (IHR, 1985) has also written a critique of Wegner, *The Leuchter Report: Reply to a Critique* (History Buff Books, undated).
 44. In 1995 the Viennese publisher Deuticke brought out *Wahrheit und Auschwitzlüge*, edited by Brigitte Bailer-Galanda, Wolfgang Benz and Wolfgang Neugebauer. (Now out of print, it has been superseded by *Die Auschwitzleugner* [Berlin: Elefanten Press, 1996], with the same editors.) In his contribution, “Die ‘Revisionisten’ und die Chemie” (“The ‘Revisionists’ and Chemistry”), J. Bailer takes to task both F. Berg and G. Rudolf. Rudolf responded with “Zur Kritik an ‘Wahrheit und Auschwitzlüge,’” in the collection of his essays, *Kardinalfragen: Eine Sammlung kontroverser Stellungnahmen von Germar Rudolf alias Ernst Gauss zum herrschenden Zeitgeist in Wissenschaft, Politik, Justiz und Medien* (Ed. Herbert Verbeke, Stiftung Vrij Historische Onderzoek, 1996 (online in German and English at www.vho.org/D/Kardinal), pp. 91-108. In his contribution to *Die Auschwitzleugner* (pp. 130-152), Bailer continues to doubt that the presence of Prussian Blue in the delousing chambers has anything to do with the application of Zyklon B. Finally, he insists that the two phenomena are unrelated (p. 149). This contradicts the opinions of both Pressac (as we have seen), and the chemist Richard J. Green. (See the section below on the 1994 report of the Jan Sehn Forensic Institute.)
 45. G. Jagschitz gave expert evidence in the trial of Austrian Gerd Honsik. See p.106 of Rudolf's report and n. 59 for details.
 46. In his response to J. Bailer's criticism that only iron unfavorable to the formation of Prussian Blue (trivalent iron Fe^{3+} instead of divalent Fe^{2+}) exists in bricks and slaked lime, Rudolf points out that the CN-ion itself acts as a reduction agent — converting Fe^{3+} to Fe^{2+} , the CN-ion itself thereby losing its negative charge — especially in an alkaline ambience, bringing about the right conditions for the formation of stable cyanide compounds. See also *Vorlesungen*, pp. 290-299. For an elementary account of oxidation/reduction processes see K. M. Mackay and R.A. Mackay, *Introduction to Modern Inorganic Chemistry* (4th edition, Prentice Hall, 1989), especially §2.17.
 47. Rudolf refers to this “migration” as an *Anreicherung*-

- sprozess or "enrichment process".
48. See in particular the color photographs in *Dissecting the Holocaust* (Capshaw, Alabama: 2000), between pages 368 and 369. These remarkable photos are also published in *Vorlesungen*, pp. 186-188 (photos 3.3-3.5), and in *Das Rudolf Gutachten* (1993), pp. 87-90, as well as on the back cover of the English summary version, *The Rudolf Report*. Robert Faurisson has emphasized the lack of blue stains in the "homicidal gas chambers" (in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1991, pp. 38f), but it should be noted that an inner wall of the delousing chamber in building BW 5b at Birkenau shows no such stains, though it is rich in cyanide compounds. See samples 19a and 19b in *The Rudolf Report*, and in *Vorlesungen*, p. 192. In a private communication Rudolf informed me that the color blue is present only very near the surface, and is perhaps only 100 µm thick. It accumulated there due to water-diffusion, carrying with it soluble cyanide compounds. In BW 5b (sample 19a) this transport process failed because the contact between plaster and wall was poor, preventing any ground water from diffusing to the surface since it evaporated between plaster layers. The result was that the upper plaster layers fell off, as can be seen in the delousing tract of this building.
 49. See sample 25 in the *Rudolf Report*, tables 15 and 16, pp. 84f, and the discussion in § 4.3.3.4, pp. 91ff. Apparently the presence of calcium (in the form of lime/carbonates) can simulate the presence of small quantities of cyanide, so that concentrations of under 10 mg/kg detected by standard DIN methods may not be meaningful. See also *Vorlesungen*, §3.8, pp.175ff and §3.12 (Kontrollanalysen), pp.194ff. Some of Rudolf's samples were also analyzed by the Institut für Umweltanalytik, Stuttgart (IUS). The results of the two chemical analyses of sample 11 taken from an inner-wall of BW 5a differed considerably: The Fresenius institute found 2640 mg/kg of CN-content, while IUS found 1430 mg/kg, showing how careful one should be about using figures. For the "farmhouse" sample 25, both laboratories gave exactly the same concentration.
 50. In the introduction to the *Leuchter Report*, Robert Faurisson writes: "The extremely low levels of cyanide found in some crematoria was likely, in my opinion, to have resulted from disinfection of the premises during the war."
 51. "Only products such as diluted cresyl, bleach, or gaseous formaldehyde are currently used for this [disinfecting] purpose": *Truth Prevails*, p. 62.
 52. *Rudolf Report*, pp. 98-99.
 53. These "bunkers" are said to have been two farmhouses just outside Birkenau, in which people were allegedly gassed. An important "eyewitness" to a gassing was the former SS man Richard Böck, who stated that he saw a blue haze coming from the "gas chamber" after the doors were opened. The fact is that HCN gas is colorless, and so cannot be seen. At David Irving's first "Real History" meeting of September 26, 1999 (Cincinnati, Ohio), Russ Granata reported that Carlo Mattogno "affirms that so-called Bunkers 1 and 2 never existed." See R. Granata's "open letter to Yehuda Bauer" of February 16, 2000 on the Internet, as well as the video "Russ Granata Reports on Carlo Mattogno," available from Granata, P.O. Box 2145 PVP, CA 90274, USA. For a more detailed critique of Böck's testimony, see the *Rudolf Report*, pp. 63f.
 54. I have slightly paraphrased Rudolf here.
 55. The authors — Jan Markiewicz, Wojcieh Gubala, Jerzy Labedz of the Instytut Ekspertyz Sadowych im. Prof. dra Jana Sehna, PL 31-003 Krakow, ul. Westerplatte 9, Poland — published "A study of the Cyanide Compounds Content in the Walls of the Gas Chambers in the Former Auschwitz and Birkenau Concentration Camps" in *Z Zagadnien Nauk Sadowych*, z. XXX, 1994, pp. 17-27. This can be seen online at www2.ca.nizkor.org/ftp.cgi/orgs/polish/institute-for-forensic-research/post. Rudolf informs me that the deceased first author was not a chemist.
 56. The three Polish authors wrote: "J. Bailer writes in ... 'Amoklauf gegen die Wirklichkeit' [cited above] that the formation of Prussian Blue in bricks is simply improbable; however he takes into consideration the possibility that the walls of the delousing room were coated with this dye as paint. We decided therefore to determine the cyanide ions using a method that does not induce the breakdown of the composed ferum cyanide complex (this is the blue under consideration) ..."
 57. See "Leuchter-Gegengutachten: ein wissenschaftlicher Betrug?," first published in *Deutschland in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Tübingen), Vol. 43 (1995), No. 1, pp. 22-26, and is reprinted in the 1996 anthology *Kardinalfragen zur Zeitgeschichte*, pp. 81-85. Rudolf points out there that 99.9 percent of the compounds present in the walls of the delousing chambers are undetectable by the method used by the Jan Sehn Institute. See also Rudolf's exchange of letters with the Cracow Institute, "Briefwechsel mit dem Jan-Sehn-Institut Krakau," first published in *Sleipnir* (Berlin), Vol. 3, 1995, pp. 29-33, and reprinted in *Kardinalfragen*, pp. 86-90. See especially the section "Stellungnahme zur Krakauer Erwiderung," pp. 87-86. Rudolf points out that the methods used by the Jan Sehn Institute cannot be reconciled with those of Alpha Analytic Laboratories, the Institut Fresenius or the Institut für Umwelt-und Schadstoffanalytik. Unlike Leuchter and Rudolf, the Polish researchers did not give their samples to an independent laboratory for analysis, but kept the whole exercise "within the family," a most unscientific approach.
 58. On March 21, 1996, I wrote a detailed letter to the authors, querying this very point: "On p. 20 of your study you cite J. Bailer ... as stating that 'the walls of the delousing room' may have been 'coated with this dye as paint.' What does 'this dye' refer to? Is it a

paint based on Prussian Blue, as you seem to suggest on p. 20 where you write that 'this is the blue under discussion'? You state that 'it is hard to imagine the chemical reactions ... that would have led to the formation of Prussian Blue in that place', and quote Bailer who says that the 'formation of Prussian Blue in bricks is simply improbable.' Did you not write to Werner Wegner, saying *die blauen Flecken auf den äusseren Wänden des Bauwerkes 5a in Birkenau sind nicht leicht zu erklären. Vor allem müssen wir prüfen, ob es wirklich Berliner-Blau ist?* ['the blue patches on the outside walls of BW 5a are not easy to explain. First of all, we must test if it is really Prussian Blue']. Your article is very ambiguous about this. How can Rudolf have 'confirmed the high concentrations of cyanogen compounds' when at the same time you express reservations with phrases such as 'this may be so' (p. 18)? You claim that the 'blue dye' is 'controversial' while making no effort whatsoever to settle the very simple question: is it Prussian Blue or not? In my opinion this problem should have been properly settled right at the beginning of your study. If, for example, the blue in the outer walls of the delousing chambers of BW 5a and 5b is due to the presence of Prussian Blue, then there would be no need to accuse Rudolf of indulging in "*wissenschaftliche Spekulationen*." No reply to this letter has been received.

59. Rudolf found this information in a journal specializing in the study of damage to buildings. See "Leuchter-Gegengutachten: ein wissenschaftlicher Betrug?" in *Kardinalfragen zur Zeitgeschichte*, p. 82, and note 7 for the source.
60. See "Leuchter, Rudolf & the Iron Blues" as well as "The Chemistry of Auschwitz" at the vho website. Rudolf's most recent article in this matter, a refutation of an article written by the Richard E. Green, was presented at the first Australian Revisionist Conference held by the Adelaide Institute on August 9, 1998: "Some considerations about the 'Gas Chambers' of Auschwitz and Birkenau." Here Rudolf explains why he thinks the Jan Sehn Institute's analytic methods amount to fraud. This is likewise posted on the vho web site: <http://www.vho.org>.
61. "Danger in Denying Holocaust?," a front-page (p. A-1) article by veteran journalist Kim Murphy appeared in the *Los Angeles Times*, January 7, 2000. It began "A young German chemist named Germar Rudolf took crumbling bits of plaster..." and went on to state that compared with the delousing chambers "there was up to a thousand times less in the rooms described as human gas chambers." Murphy also wrote that Rudolf "could be called as a witness" at the forthcoming Irving-Lipstadt trial. For more about Kim Murphy, and her *Los Angeles Times* report on the 13th IHR Conference, see the May-June 2000 *Journal of Historical Review*, p. 2-3.
62. "Holocaust Deniers," *Los Angeles Times*, letters page, January 16, 2000.
63. In an e-mail letter to Zimmerman of January 19,

2000, Rudolf wrote: "In 1994/ 95 I proved that the 1994 Cracow expertise [report] about cyanide residues is at least biased, if not a serious attempt at fraud. As a member of www.holocaust-history.org you know this because you are aware of the exchange between R. J. Green and me. Ignoring that makes you an accomplice of these frauds. You are right regarding the principle difference in the time required to gas lice and humans (though one has to argue about the actual values). But you ignore the factors that made it much more likely that long-term stable cyanide residues would form in the cold underground morgues of Krema II and III rather than in the heated ground-floor delousing chambers (humidity, kind of material). You ignore the fact that wide parts of the under-ground morgue 1 of Krema II, the allegedly most frequently used 'gas chamber,' are fairly well intact and protected by environmental influences." Zimmerman believed he dealt revisionism a mortal blow with his article "Body Disposal at Auschwitz: The End of Holocaust Denial," at holocaust-history.org. Carlo Mattogno has tentatively answered Zimmerman with "Preliminary Observations," posted on Russ Granata's site, where Granata also announces Mattogno's two-volume work to be published by Edizioni di Ar in 2000: *I forni crematori di Auschwitz. Studio storico-tecnico, con la collaborazione del dott.ing. Franco Deana*, comprising 500 pages of text, 270 documents, and 360 photographs. An extensive reply to Zimmerman, in English (and Italian) is on Granata's website: "Supplementary Response to John C. Zimmerman on his 'Body Disposal at Auschwitz'."

64. Robert Faurisson has expressed the view that of the three reports confirming Leuchter's findings (the 1990 Cracow, Rudolf's and Lüftl's) the "most stunning" was this Cracow report. (See B. Kulaszka's *Did Six Million Really Die?*, p. V.) Leuchter has expressed a similar opinion: "It should be noted that a recent study by the Polish Forensics Institute has confirmed my findings of no gas residue at the alleged Auschwitz Gas Chamber" in *The Fourth Leuchter Report*, Fred A. Leuchter Associates, Inc., p.25. There are a number of other passages in *The Fourth Report* where, in my opinion, Leuchter comes to conclusions too hastily and without supporting his claims with references to authorities. Thus in paragraph 8.008 he accepts without expressing any reservations Arthur Butz's original interpretation of *Vergasungskeller*, as "carburetion cellar." Butz himself has clearly not been happy with this view: "The Nagging 'Gassing cellar' Problem," *The Journal of Historical Review*, July-August 1997 (Vol. 16, No. 4), pp. 20-23). In paragraph 8.010 of *The Fourth Report* Leuchter makes dogmatic assertions about the 10 *Gasprüfer* 'discovered' as a 'criminal trace' by Pressac. Again, other interpretations are possible. See Butz's "A 'Criminal Trace'? Gas Detectors in Auschwitz Crematory II," in the September-October 1997 (Vol. 16, No. 5) *Journal*,

pp. 24-30. Leuchter's suggested explanation in paragraph 8.033 of a note written by a foreman working in *Krema IV* that made reference to a gas chamber may cause some to laugh, but will contribute little to history: "Perhaps he [the foreman working in *Krema IV* who had noted *betonieren in Gaskammer* [sic] or someone in his crew was flatulent ... He may have put this in his daily report as a joke".

65. See "In der Bundesacht: Die Entrechtung unliebsamer Bürger" in the collection *Kardinalfragen*, p. 54 and n.28.. For further details see "Die Rolle der Presse im Fall Germar Rudolf," pp. 65-73 and n.16 in *Kardinalfragen*. For a rebuttal of the anti-revisionist collection *Wahrheit und Auschwitzlüge* edited by Brigitte Bailer-Galanda, Wolfgang Benz and Wolfgang Neugebauer (Deuticke, Vienna, 1991 and 1992) see Rudolf's article "Zur Kritik an "Wahrheit und Auschwitzlüge"" in *Kardinalfragen*, pp. 91-108.
66. See *Der Fall Rudolf*, pp.7-11 (interview with *Journal* contributor Fritz Berg), where one will also find interesting material on the reactions of members of the Max Planck Society, including Rudolf's doctoral supervisor. The letter from the Central Council is reproduced in facsimile on p. 14. See also "In der Bundesacht," *Kardinalfragen*, pp. 51-57.
67. "In der Bundesacht" contains details of this and other events leading up to the trial of Rudolf. An almost fair account of his dismissal from the Max Planck Institute is in "Holocaust denial research disclaimed," by Alison Abbott, in *Nature*, Vol. 368 (April 7, 1994), p. 483. In the article the Max Planck Society (MPS) "is said to be extremely upset ... particularly ... about claims from right-wing groups that the society supported the report's findings and that Rudolf's dismissal was orchestrated by the Central Council for Jews in Germany — charges which the Society vigorously denies" (and so does Rudolf: see *Der Fall Rudolf*, p. 15). "Last week it [the MPS] issued a statement saying that it supports the German Supreme Court's ruling that mass murder of Jews is a historical fact that needs no further proof. A spokesman for the Society says that even if the samples sent to the Fresenius Institute are genuine, Rudolf's interpretation of the data is invalid because there are so many unknown factors involved, such as whether or not the chosen chamber was one of those known to have been rebuilt before the allied troops entered the camp, or whether residues in the delousing chambers could have remained because much higher concentrations of cyanide were used to kill lice". Rudolf responded to each of these points in an open letter to the MPS. See *Der Fall Rudolf*, pp. 15-19.
68. *Verfahren gegen Germar Scheerer*, LG Stuttgart 17 KLS 83/94. After his marriage Rudolf officially changed his name to Scheerer, his wife's maiden name. His defense attorney was Günther Herzogenrath-Amelung. Many details of the sequence of events leading up to the conviction of Rudolf, 'denunciation', 'prosecution', 'vilification by the media', 'destruction of the private domain', 'homelessness, 'special treatment' can be found in his article "In der Bundesacht" ("Federal Banning"), which first appeared in the Munich journal *Staatsbriefe*, No. 12/ 1995 (Verlag Castel del Monte, Postfach 14 06 28, 80456 München, Germany), pp. 10-15, and subsequently in the 1996 anthology *Kardinalfragen*, pp. 51-57. Apart from *Der Fall Rudolf*, other sources used for the present article include the *Prozessprotokoll*, or court records with the *Aktenzeichen* (file numbers), the *Anklageschrift* (indictment brief, *Staatsanwaltschaft Stuttgart*, 4 Js 34417/93), the Court's 240-page *Urteil* (judgment or verdict). The collection of documents, *Der Prozess: Verfahren gegen G. Scheerer*; LG Stuttgart; 17 KLS 83/94, was privately published by Rudolf and includes the *Urteil*, the defense's *Revisionsbegründung* (basis for a review of the trial and to have the sentence set aside), compiled by attorney Ludwig Bock, Rudolf's critical notes on the *Urteil*, as well as the *Urteilschelte*, which is an analysis of the *Urteil* as a whole. *Der Prozessverlauf*, the "report of an observer" at the trial, has also been consulted, as well as *Plädoyer der Staatsanwältin* (plea of the public prosecutor), *Plädoyer des Verteidigers* (plea of the defense attorney) as well as *Schlusswort des Angeklagten* (closing speech of the accused).
69. On p. 6 of the indictment these are listed as coming under the following sections of the Penal Code (*Strafgesetzbuch*) (1)(a) and (b): Incitement of the people (*Volksverhetzung*), §130, Nos. 1, 3; (2): Denigration of the Memory of the Dead *Verunglimpfung des Andenkens Verstorbener*, §189 and §194 par. 2.2; (3): §185 and §194 par. 1.2. "Inciting racial hatred" also fell under §131. Although Rudolf was tried under the less harsh "Lex Engelhard" law of 1985 — which did not yet make questioning of the Holocaust as such an offense — it is difficult to gainsay the impression that Rudolf's judges covertly applied the more repressive law passed in December 1994. On the development of these laws see A. Weusthoff's essay "Endlich geregelt? — Zur Ahndung der Holocaust-Leugnung durch die deutsche Justiz" by in the collection *Die Auschwitzleugner* (pp. 252-272), cited in note 43 above. See *Consiliarien* 1 cited in note 187 below for a revisionist angle.
70. Indictment, pp. 3, 4f, 9-14. On p. 14 note how the qualification "partial" has been dropped.
71. The first quote is from someone who claimed that an uncle was gassed at Dachau, the second is by Britain's chief rabbi I. Jakobovits on the Holocaust industry, and the third is by Michael Wolffsohn, a professor of history at Germany's *Bundeswehr* academy, who states that Auschwitz is "the one remaining foundation for Jewish identity."
72. In an e-mail communication to me of October 28, 2000, Rudolf wrote the following:
"You might add this declaration of mine to any upcoming publication:
"Even though I frequently stressed during my trial in

Germany in 1994/95 that I was not involved in the production and distribution of General Remer's politically commented version of my Expert Report about the gas chambers of Auschwitz, this is not entirely true. The truth is, that in early 1993 I was approached by an acquaintance of General Remer. This person asked me if I would be opposed if Remer, in an act of self-defense, would send copies of my Report to representatives of Germany's High Society. In 1992, Remer, though over 80 years old and having suffered two strokes, was sentenced to 22 months imprisonment for, inter alia 'Holocaust denial.' His judges did not allow him to present any evidence to prove his innocence. Every attempt by the defense lawyers to introduce such evidence, including my Expert Report, was rejected since German jurisdiction regards the Holocaust as 'self-evident.' Remer would most likely have died in prison. Therefore, he, his lawyers and associates considered this sentence to be a death penalty. Hence, they thought they had the right to go to extremes and publish my report in order to make Germany's High society aware of how a German court hands down a death penalty against someone — whom many people considered to be an old, severely ill WWII war hero — on account of his dissenting historical views. In 1997, three years after he fled Germany, Remer died in Exile. So he most likely would indeed have died in prison.

"Though I anticipated that Remer's intended action might cause problems for me, I nevertheless did not deny him his right to self-defense, and that is what I told his acquaintance. After all, why do we do revisionism in the first place? To hide it? To refuse to help people in distress? Did I prepare a legal expertise for the defense of people and then refuse to let them defend themselves with it?

"This 'nod' was all I ever contributed to Remer's distribution of my Report. I was not involved in the production nor distribution of his version, nor did I know anything about the preface (a justification for Remer's action) or the epilogue (a report of his own trial) which Remer and his associates had added to my Report. I actually learned about these additions only after Remer's distribution had started in April 1993, and I read them for the first time in my life during my trial in 1995. For these additions, but not for my Report — which was considered to be formally scientific by the court itself, I was eventually sentenced to 14 months imprisonment.

"It was the obvious intention of the court not only to put me in prison for a 'thought crime' I did not commit, but to put all people in prison who were involved in Remer's desperate act of self-defense. It therefore agreed not to reveal the identity of any other persons involved in order to protect them. We succeeded in this. The court, on the other hand, conducted its proceedings in a vicious show trial manner, since this of course was the only way for them to either break me and make me reveal the real 'culprits' or to 'prove' an obviously innocent man guilty. A court, however, that does not try to seek truth, justice and fairness, but tries to destroy as many innocent citizens' lives as it can, did and does not deserve the truth.

"Germar Rudolf, Hastings, 27th October 2000."

It is not clear to me what Rudolf means by "formally scientific," but I understand the expression to mean that the outer form of his *Report* has all the trappings

of a scientific paper. Compare the ruling of the *Bundesverfassungsgericht* (Federal Constitutional Court) on what it means to be scientific, as cited by Rudolf in his interesting essay "Über richtige und falsche Erkenntnisse," reprinted in *Kardinalfragen*, pp. 19–47: For a text to enjoy protection of the basic law, "the only pre-requisite is that it concerns itself with science; here falls anything which according to content and form (*nach Inhalt und Form*) is to be regarded as a serious attempt to discover the truth" (p. 22). In Rudolf's case, in order to get around the "content" part, the court simply ignored it! See below, especially note 85.

See his deposition regarding the charges against him: *Stellungnahme zur Anklageschrift der Staatsanwaltschaft Stuttgart*, Az. 4 Js 34417/93, in the *Prozessprotokoll*, Section A, Paragraph 2. The official trial record (*Prozessprotokoll*) contains only a basic record of the trial proceedings, such as when a witness appeared, and that he/she made a statement to the subject (*zur Sache*), without recording anything of what was actually said. (On such procedures, see also notes 92 and 93 below). The *Prozessprotokoll* also includes written submissions by the defense and the accused.

73. Rudolf's statement of May 3, 1995, on why he used the pen name Ernst Gauss. For the book *Vorlesungen über Zeitgeschichte* he did this in order not to endanger his doctorate, while he was persuaded by his publisher to use the same name for *Grundlagen zur Zeitgeschichte* because Remer had ruined his own name and he wished to spare the revisionist cause "further immeasurable harm." He chose this particular pen name because the research topic of his Ph.D. involved the work of one of the greatest mathematicians of all time: Carl Friedrich Gauss.
74. *Urteil* (judgment), pp. 171–172.
75. *Urteil*, pp. 11f, 137 and 228f. On p. 137 we read that the aim of publishing his *Report* in the Spring of 1993 was "to initiate the long sought-for discussion on 'revisionist' themes ..."
76. *Notwehraktion*: the word used by Remer in his pirated copy.
77. *Urteil*, p. 12.
78. How could the judges possibly think they knew this?
79. *Urteil*, pp. 12–13.
80. *Urteil*, pp. 235–240. The court turned down the defense's submission (*Hilfsbeweis Antrag*) to have Rudolf's conclusions (A) and (B) tested by competent scientists, since "jurisdiction decided long ago that the mass-murder of the Jews, perpetrated in particular at Auschwitz, is a notorious (*offenkundig*) historical fact and needs no proof." (*Urteil*, pp. 231f).
81. The defense unsuccessfully objected to this procedure (*Selbstleseverfahren*). For the court's justification, see protocol exhibit 1 for November 25, 1994. The same procedure was ordered for the introductory chapter of *Grundlagen*. In this way the court avoided open reading of texts that might have favored the accused. (See

also *Der Prozeßverlauf*, p. 2). According to Rudolf, the court declared on the second day of the trial (November 23) that it was technically unqualified to judge his *Report*. See “Die Rolle der Presse im Fall Germar Rudolf,” *Kardinalfragen* p.72.

82. *Urteil*, pp. 15, 23. The statement on p. 15, on how the revisionists aim to have a public debate on “difficult to explain details of National Socialist mass-crimes [*schwer aufklärbare Details der nationalsozialistische Massenverbrechen*]” clearly looks forward to the “chemical detail” mentioned on p. 23. How much like French National Front Leader Jean Marie Le Pen’s claim that the wartime German ‘gas chambers’ are a “detail” of the Second World War! (*Liberation*, Sept. 15, 1987, p. 6). Nobody seems willing to forgive Le Pen for his silly remark, and he is seldom quoted in full. Thus the London *Sunday Times* of March 2, 1997 (p.19) writes that he referred “to the Holocaust as a ‘detail in the history of the second world war’.”
83. *Urteil*, pp. 23f. The awkward reasoning is the court’s, not mine.
84. So for example in the indictment: *angeblich wissenschaftlich fundierter Untersuchung* (p. 3); “*Revisionismus*”-*Bewegung, pseudowissenschaftlichen Methoden, “Gutachten”* (twice), “*Rudolf-Gutachten, “Leuchter-Report”* (p. 9); seiner “*Arbeit*”(p.13). Similarly, in the judgment (*Urteil*) one finds: *seine angeblich rein wissenschaftlichen Absichten* (p.12); *Scheinargument* (p.13); *sachlich erscheinen sollte, objektiv erscheinende Schriften*, “revisionistisches,” *Anschein der Objektivität, Anspruch auf Wissenschaftlichkeit, sachliche erscheinende, ging es ihm ... darum, eine lebhaft Diskussion über den Inhalt des “Gutachtens” und andere “revisionistische” Thesen nach aussen hin vorzutäuschen* (pp.18f); *Anschein seiner Objektivität, “wissenschaftlichen” Schriften* (p. 20), *Eindruck einer unbefangenen ... Wissenschaftlichkeit* (p. 23), *Aus Gründen der scheinbaren Glaubwürdigkeit* (p. 24 — in a note on this Rudolf writes: “baseless impudent imputation”), *die Strategie der Sachlichkeit* (p. 24), *in objektivem Stil* (p. 25 — referring to a summary of the Rudolf’s report in *DGG* of May, 1993), *größtmöglicher Anschein von Sachlichkeit* (“maximum possible show of objectivity,” p. 26, referring to *Grundlagen*). Compare the closing speech of the Public Prosecutor: *Es bestand Interesse an einer Form, die den Anschein einer rein wissenschaftlicher Arbeit erweckt*, which Rudolf calls *unfundierte* (unfounded) *Spekulation* (n. 7 of his edition).
85. Cited in point 7 of Rudolf’s deposition respecting the charges against him.
86. According to the *Prozeßverlauf*, p. 21, the court refused to accept into evidence the statements of 10 witnesses that the accused decisively distanced himself from National Socialist ideology. On January 9, 1995, defense witness Horst Lummert testified before the court. Deeply rooted in his Jewishness, he stated that he was especially sensitive to lies, with the result that he respected the revisionists’ approach to the Holocaust issue more than that of their opponents. Having maintained a correspondence with the accused for about a year, he understood that Rudolf had reservations about going ahead with his revisionist research because he was concerned about the detrimental consequences it might have for Jews. Because he, Lummert, had encouraged the accused to proceed further with his revisionist activities, he felt that he, and not Rudolf, should be in the dock. In a June 30, 1994, letter to Rudolf, Lummert had written that Ignatz Bubis (head of the Central Council of German Jews) could well be called Germany’s “Godfather,” adding that “behind this so-called Russian Mafia lay hidden Chechnyans, Ukrainians, Russians and above all Jews... No one would dare to speak correctly of a ‘Jewish Mafia’.” Thus, Lummert went on, misuse of the Holocaust impeded the fight against organized crime. See *Der Prozessverlauf*, pp.10f. The full text of Lummert’s letter is reproduced in n.6. Lummert has his own website, which posts articles on the Holocaust and revisionism at www.kokhavivpublications.com.
87. *Grundlagen zur Zeitgeschichte*, “Streitpunkt Judenvernichtung: Eine Einleitung,” pp. 15-39. Also, *Dissecting the Holocaust* (2000), pp. 13-14.
88. *Urteil*, p. 26f
89. *Urteil*, pp. 273f.
90. *Urteil*, p. 238ff. The quotation marks in ‘more understandable’ are in the original (“*verständlicher machen*”). The translation of *Überzeugungstäter* is taken from the South African *Citizen* of June 24, 1995, p. 18, which also cites the court’s claim that Rudolf “selectively used evidence to provide a scientific cover to a gruesome lie that feeds neo-Nazi sentiment.”
91. Although it appears in the charge sheet, at no time during the entire trial was the absurd claim raised that Rudolf identifies with National Socialist racial ideology. Nevertheless, it appears in the judgment, from where the press picked it up. See “Die Rolle der Presse im Fall Germar Rudolf” in *Kardinalfragen*, pp. 65-73 (p. 71 and footnote 34). Rudolf’s study, “Webfehler im Rechtsstaat” (*Kardinalfragen*, pp. 59-63), fills a gap in our knowledge of the trial and how this flaw in the law affected his case.
92. It is worth quoting Ruth Bettina Birn (who is Chief Historian in the War Crimes Section of the Department of Justice, Canada): “Statements in the German legal system are not *verbatim* transcriptions, but a summary prepared by the interrogator; they are not the words of the person himself, and only in some cases are direct quotations inserted,” in “Revising the Holocaust” from *A Nation on Trial: The Goldhagen Thesis and Historical Truth* by Norman G. Finkelstein and Ruth Bettina Birn (New York: An Owl Book: Henry Holt and Co., 1997), pp.106-107. Records, such as they are, are kept at the Zentralstelle der Landesjustizverwaltung in Ludwigsberg,

- and have been used (for example) by Christopher R. Browning for his *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (New York, 1992).
93. See "In der Bundesacht," *Kardinalfragen*, p. 53.
 94. About the *VffG*, see "Important New German-Language Revisionist Quarterly," *The Journal of Historical Review*, May-June 1998, pp. 26-27. Rudolf was the editor of *VffG* from its inception (private communication). Its first nominal editor had been Herbert Verbeke, who founded the *Stiftung Vrij Historisch Onderzoek* ("Foundation for Free Historical Research"), P.O. Box 60, B-2600 Berchem 2, Belgium. On the VHO foundation, with remarks on revisionism (including the "Auschwitz-Lüge") in Belgium, see "A Belgian Foundation Battles for Free Speech," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Jan.-Feb. 1996 (Vol.16, No.1), p. 46. Since the summer of 1998, Rudolf has used his own imprint: Castle Hill Publishers (PO Box 118, Hastings TN34 3ZQ, England — UK). For more on *VffG* and Castle Hill publishers, see the VHO website www.vho.org/chp.
 95. Perhaps the most important of these works is the first thorough study of the Majdanek (Lublin) concentration camp, *KL Majdanek: Eine historische und technische Studie* by Jürgen Graf and Carlo Mattogno. For the entire program of Castle Hill books, whether available for free online or for purchase, see the VHO website. The writings of Leuchter, Faurisson and Rudolf are all to some extent criticized in this book. Rather than regarding this criticism as unkindness to fellow revisionists, it may well indicate that they now feel confident enough of the essential correctness of their central theses to criticize one another openly. For the controversy surrounding this publication, see "Eine Revisionistische Monographie über Majdanek" by R. Faurisson in *VffG*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (1999), pp. 209-212; "Offener Brief an Prof. Robert Faurisson" by J. Graf in *VffG*, Vol. 3, No. 3 (1999), pp. 327-330; Faurisson's response, "Antwort an Jürgen Graf" in the same issue of *VffG*, pp. 330-332; and Carlo Mattogno's online reply (in Italian and English) at Granata's website.
 96. Rudolf e-mail statement, October 18, 1999.
 97. Rudolf e-mail statement, October 19, 1999.
 98. For a list of works restricted or banned in Germany, see Germar Rudolf's website.
 99. Proposals to introduce legislation making "Holocaust denial" a criminal offense in Britain date back at least to 1996. That year the *Electronic Telegraph* of October 4, reported under the heading "Delegates in tears over Dunblane's handgun plea" that "LEGISLATION to make it a criminal offence to deny the Holocaust was called for by delegates yesterday. They decided unanimously to make it a criminal offence to publish, broadcast, distribute or display material that denies six million Jews were killed by the Germans. Sharon McColl, of Paole Zion, the Jewish society affiliated to the Labour Party, told delegates that it was already an offence in many countries including Australia, France, Spain, Switzerland and Israel. 'Denial of the holocaust is a deliberate falsification of history for political purposes. This is deeply hurtful to survivors and victims of the Nazi regime', she said, adding that 'Making it a criminal offence is the only way to make sure this obscenity is removed.'" For further information see also "Labour plans jail for denial of Holocaust in the *Sunday Times* of September 29, 1996, p. 1.24. According to the two dissident former Labour MPs Christopher Mayhew and Michael Adams, Labour has had a formal affiliation with Paole Zion since 1920 (*Publish It Not: The Middle East Cover-Up* (Longmans, 1975), pp. 26, 33f, 38), an organization which "operates a racial test for membership" (p. 44, note). Labour seems to have temporarily abandoned the idea of legislating against Holocaust skeptics (*The Electronic Telegraph*, Friday, January 21, 2000).
 100. *Electronic Telegraph*, Issue 1619, Oct. 31, 1999.
 101. January 16, 2000.
 102. *The Hastings and St. Leonards Observer*, March 31, 2000.
 103. MP Dismore proposed "To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if he will make a statement concerning the case of Germar Rudolf." Response, May 22, 2000, by Home Secretary Mike O'Brien, <http://www.parliament.the-stationery-office.co.uk>.
 104. A letter by Paul Stocks protesting the prejudiced reporting of Hastings and Berry was published by the *Electronic Telegraph* of October 20, 1999, as was David Irving's in the *Sunday Telegraph* of October 24, 1999. Unfortunately, Irving, followed by Stocks, repeats the error that Rudolf's doctoral thesis was about "the permanence of cyanide compounds ... [and was] highly praised by his peers." My own attempts to draw the attention of *Sunday Telegraph* editor Dominic Lawson to the unreasonableness of condemning someone for his writings without having read any of it, and that anti-revisionist legislation would be "un-English" (Matthew Parrish in *The Times* of February 7, 1997) were apparently ignored. The *Electronic Telegraph* of July 29, 1999, published in all seriousness "Germans attacked for 'forgetting' Holocaust," the 'attacker' being none other than Ignatz Bubis himself!
 105. *Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory*, was first published New York 1993, and in England the following year by Penguin Books. Reviews of Lipstadt's book appeared in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Nov.-Dec. 1993 and Sept.-Oct. 1995.
 106. Royal Courts of Justice 1996-I-No. 113, Queen's Bench Division, Royal Courts of Justice Strand, London, before Mr. Justice Gray, between David John Cawdell Irving, Claimant, and (1) Penguin Books Limited (2) Deborah E. Lipstadt, Defendants. The transcripts of the trial can be found on Irving's website <http://www.fpp.co.uk/online.html>, which also con-

- tains thousands of references, including press reports on the trial. References to the transcripts will be made by day only, so that "day 1" refers to the proceedings of Tuesday, January 11, 2000. Due to the technology used for transcribing the stenographic notes of Harry Counsell & Company, the transcripts contain many misspellings of proper names. On the trial, see "Media Coverage of the Irving-Lipstadt Trial," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Jan.-Feb. 2000, pp. 40-53, and, "From the Trial Proceedings," in the same *Journal* issue, pp. 54-55.
107. Rampton was instructed by Davenport Lyons and Mishcon de Reya.
 108. Chapter 9, "The Gas Chamber Controversy," p. 181.
 109. *Denying the Holocaust*, chapter 9, p. 161.
 110. In notes 18 and 17 to chapter 9 she refers to the London *Sunday Times* of June 12 and July 10, 1977. Likewise, her claim on p. 161 that "Scholars have described Irving as a 'Hitler partisan wearing blinkers' and have accused him of distorting evidence and manipulating documents to serve his own purposes" is ascribed in note 16 to Martin Broszat, *Vierteljahrshäfte für Zeitgeschichte* (October 1977), pp. 742, 769, cited in *Patterns of Prejudice*, Nos. 3-4 (1978), p. 8.
 111. Judgment to be Handed Down on Tuesday, 11th April 2000 at 10.30 a.m. in Court 36, Royal Courts of Justice. Henceforth cited as Judgment.
 112. Judgment, §4.7.
 113. For details, see Irving's website <http://www.fpp.co.uk>.
 114. *Auschwitz: 1270 to the Present* (New York, 1996). In his expert report Van Pelt stated it was a "moral certainty" that Auschwitz was an extermination camp (pp. 8, 183). In the Morris film "Mr. Death," Van Pelt repeats this phrase, stating that the place was the "holy of holies," and that he regarded Leuchter's descent into Krema II to collect samples as unforgivable. He is described as an historian of architecture on the cover of *Auschwitz*, but during the libel trial he described himself as a "cultural historian" (day 9 of the proceedings, p. 38 of the transcript).
 115. Professor Browning testified for the prosecution in the second, 1988 Zündel trial. See B. Kulaszka's *Did Six Million Really Die?*, pp. 84-157.
 116. See Irving's opening speech on day 1 of the proceedings, particularly pp. 55-87. The text of Irving's Opening Statement in the trial is in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Sept.-Dec. 1999, pp. 16-35.
 117. Judgment, §3.6.
 118. Judgment, §3.8.
 119. In an e-mail message sent out the day after the verdict Arthur Butz wrote: "As I recall I said ... to the extent that Irving claims that Lipstadt damaged his reputation in any measurable sense, he will lose. Irving was not blackballed by the publishing industry because of Lipstadt's book. There was not the element of what American lawyers call 'but for cause.' Most of the time the trial considered other issues whose involvement in a libel suit was hard to understand ... Irving's position was hopeless from the outset." Also published in *The Journal of Historical Review*, March-April 2000, p. 71.
 120. Judgment §2.13.
 121. Chapter 3, pp. 41-102.
 122. Evans expert report, § 3.6.1
 123. Served on September 5, 1996.
 124. "I do not intend to go into the question of whether or not there were gas chambers at Birkenau" (Day 1, p. 29). Ernst Zündel, in his *Power* newsletter of January 11, 2000 (Issue No. 250), remarked on Irving's "wish to stay away from the Holocaust and make these trials strictly libel trials..." and predicts that "David is going to have a Holocaust trial whether he likes it or not."
 125. As he himself emphasized throughout the trial. See, for example, the proceedings of day 1 (p.30): "I have never claimed to be a Holocaust historian ... If I have spoken about it, it is usually because somebody has asked me a question, I have been questioned about it. On such occasions I have emphasized my lack of expertise and I have expatiated only upon those areas with which I am familiar. In doing so I have offended many of my friends who wish that history was different, but you cannot wish documents away, and it is in documents that I have always specialized as a writer." He repeated this disclaimer on day 2 (pp. 234, 242); day 5 (p. 126); day 6 (pp. 41, 81) and day 8 (p. 183). That he only talks about the Holocaust when someone asks a question is plainly untrue, as can be seen from his talk "Battleship Auschwitz," given at the Tenth (1990) IHR Conference, and published in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1990-91 (Vol. 10, No. 4), pp. 491-508.
 126. On day 14 of the proceedings (p. 131) Rampton put it to Irving that at his October 10, 1995, speech at Tampa, Florida, he had said "I find the Holocaust endlessly boring." Irving said much the same thing in his speech at the IHR meeting in Orange County, California, on March 28, 1998.
 127. Irving's closing speech on day 32 (p. 49): "This trial is about my reputation as a human being, as an historian of integrity ...". On this see also pp. 59, 61, 66, 135 of the same day as well as pp. 132, 141 of day 2.
 128. Day 1 of the proceedings, p. 2. Another aspect of the "strangeness" of the trial was Justice Gray's avowal that it was not for him to judge the facts of history, yet in his Judgment that is precisely what he did when he found Lipstadt's "experts" to be more credible than Irving. On this and other interesting aspects of the trial, see Mark Weber's article "After the Irving-Lipstadt trial: New Dangers and Challenges," in the March-April 2000 *Journal of Historical Review* (Vol. 19, No. 12), pp. 2-8.
 129. Day 8, p. 120f.
 130. Faurisson dated his piece, "David Irving en ce moment," January 19, 2000. Both the English and French versions have been posted on Irving's site: "What Revisionists Say about The Irving Trial" also includes the views of Bradley Smith, Ernst Zündel,

Robert Faurisson, Serge Thion, Ingrid A. Rimland, Germar Rudolf, A. S. Marques and Michael A. Hoffman II.

131. Focus on History No. 1: *Auschwitz: The End Of the Line: The Leuchter Report. The First Forensic Examination of Auschwitz* (London: Focal Point Publications, June 1989). It is also on Irving's website.
132. For most people it would not make sense to take "this myth" in Irving's introduction as referring only to Auschwitz. In the 1991 Focal Point edition of *Hitler's War* we read: "By late 1945 the world's newspaper's were full of unsubstantiated lurid rumours about 'factories of death' complete with lethal 'gas chambers'" (p. 466). Compare Irving's letter of May 21, 1989, to Rainer Zitellmann: "It is clear to me that no serious historian can now believe that Auschwitz, Treblinka, Majdanek were Todesfabriken [death factories]. All the expert and scientific (forensic) evidence is to the contrary," as quoted by Justice Gray in Judgment, §8.16.
133. David Irving, "The Suppressed Eichmann and Goebbels Papers" (presented at the Eleventh IHR Conference, October 1992), *The Journal of Historical Review* March-April 1993 (Vol. 13, No. 2), pp. 14-25 (p. 22).
134. Made at the Latvian Hall, Toronto, November 8, 1990, cited by Rampton on p. 25 of day 20 of the proceedings.
135. For example, on day 29. Rampton: "You frequently refer to the non-existence of any gas chambers in the plural." Irving: "I think you will have to show me the passages where I frequently say this." Justice Gray: "The point is you deny the existence of gas chambers and, when you do that, you do not talk only of the dummies such as the one that was constructed after the war at Auschwitz. That I think is the point." In his closing speech Irving corrected his error when he spoke of "the one shown to tourists" (day 32, p. 189).
136. *Hitler's War* (Hodder and Stoughton, 1977; and, New York: Viking, 1977). Irving's thesis prompted the response by Gerald Fleming, *Hitler and the Final Solution* (Berkeley: Univ. of Calif., 1984). In Germany Irving's thesis contributed to the *Historikerstreit* or "historians' dispute," involving most of the country's leading historians, including Martin Broszat, who became head of the *Institut für Zeitgeschichte* (Institute for Contemporary History) in Munich and who disagreed strongly with Irving's thesis. (On this see also the interview with Ernst Nolte in the Jan.-Feb. 1994 *Journal of Historical Review*.)
137. Among the contributions to "What Revisionists Say about The Irving Trial" is Germar Rudolf's remarks "Those who choose to be their own lawyer choose a fool." We also read there that "David Irving refused to present Germar Rudolf as an expert witness." Irving himself claims the opposite, as can be seen on his index to items on the libel case: "Max-Planck Institute scientist Germar Rudolf (who turned down Mr Irving's request to attend court as a special adviser, for security reasons) ..." This claim is rather hollow given that any expert witness had to be presented a year earlier, and an expert report had to be handed in many months before the trial actually started, neither of which was done. Rudolf informs me that early in 1999 Irving asked him if he would be willing to appear as an expert witness, and that although Rudolf agreed, he "never heard from him again." Given that this "request" was made long before the anti-Rudolf press campaign, there can be little justification for Irving's claim that he did not want to jeopardize Rudolf's security. On the same occasion Rudolf tried hard to convince Irving that the very brief summary of Rudolf's report was falsely claimed to be the report itself, but to no avail. Later that year Irving sent Rudolf a copy of van Pelt's submission, asking him to comment. Rudolf again asked if he was to appear as an expert witness and again received no reply. Only a week before van Pelt took the stand did Irving finally admit that it was far too late to use Rudolf's expertise. It seems clear that Irving never had any intention of doing this anyway. His comment to Rudolf on *Grundlagen zur Zeitgeschichte* says it all: "I don't read the books of others." Rudolf tells me that on other occasions Irving was more frank, declaring that he "didn't want to associate with a convicted criminal and neo-Nazi ... didn't want to get into the Auschwitz-affair in the first place..."
138. "Critique of Chemical Claims Made by Robert Jan van Pelt," is on Rudolf's website. Version 1 is dated January 2000 and version 2, January-February 2000.
139. <http://www.vho.org/GB/Contributions/Critique-Gray.html>
140. In "Critique of Chemical Claims Made by Robert Jan van Pelt," Rudolf has added a number of references not in his previous works. In section 6(b) he writes: "The cement plaster used in the morgues has a much higher tendency to accumulate HCN than the lime plaster used in the delousing facilities, and this tendency prevails longer as cement mortar and plaster stays alkaline for many months and years, whereas lime mortar become neutral relatively quickly (in weeks rather than months, depending on temperature, humidity, amount of CO2 available and on the consistency of the mortar," with a reference to the discussion about his report at <http://www.vho.org>.
141. For example, on day 8, p. 56: "Germar [Germar] Rudolf did a much more detailed scientific test," also on day 8, pp.76f, day 9, p. 13, day 18, pp. 94f, day 20, p. 17.
142. Consider the tragicomical scene on Day 8 (p. 187): Mr Rampton: "I have never seen the Rudolf Report because it is not in Mr. Irving[s] discovery". Irving: "Yes, it is." Rampton: "I am told it is not." Irving: "If it is not then I humbly apologise. It certainly should have been, and I will provide copies immediately." Mr. Justice Gray: "Professor van Pelt needs time particularly because he will be the one who has to deal with it. How easy would it be for you to dig it out?" Irving: "I can have it couriered around this afternoon." Mr.

- Justice Gray: "That would be helpful ..." That Rudolf's report never made an appearance at the trial is clear from Justice Gray's statement: "... I do not consider that an objective historian would have regarded the Leuchter report as a sufficient reason for dismissing, or even doubting, the convergence of evidence on which the Defendants rely for the presence of homicidal gas chambers at Auschwitz. I have not overlooked the fact that Irving claimed that Leuchter's findings have been replicated, notably in a report by Germar Rudolf. But that report was not produced at the trial so it is impossible for me to assess its evidential value." (Judgment, §13.80).
143. Day 9, p. 14.
 144. Day 9, pp. 21-35. The first report was made in 1945. Cyanide traces were found in some women's hair and metal objects found in Krema II but the results are only qualitative, not quantitative. This was touted at the trial as the first proof of homicidal gassings. See Rudolf's report, §6.1 for a brief critique.
 145. Why did Rampton show Van Pelt what was clearly the summary version of Rudolf's report and point out that the 120-page *Rudolf Report* was advertised on the inside cover? Is it possible that Irving had brought this flimsy brochure into court? (P. 23). Indeed it is, because he rarely reads the works of others, and probably had not even read this "summary."
 146. Day 9, pp. 23-26.
 147. "I have been very impressed in general by the professionalism of the historians at Auschwitz" declared Van Pelt on day 9 (p. 66).
 148. Especially chapter 6 of Rudolf's report (if only §6.6 on the 1990 Cracow report), as well as the articles cited above, "Leuchter-Gegengutachten: ein wissenschaftlicher Betrug?" and Rudolf's correspondence with the Jan Sehn Institute (*Kardinalfragen*, pp. 81-90). Expressly in connection with Irving's trial, Rudolf has placed his comments on the Cracow reports, "A Fraudulent attempt to refute 'Mr. Death'," on the Internet at vho.org/GB/contributions/, which will also shortly appear in *The Revisionist*.
 149. In an interview shown in Errol Morris' film "Mr. Death". See day 8 of the proceedings, p. 59. See Greg Raven's review of "Mr. Death," in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Sept. Dec. 1999, pp. 62-69.
 150. Not only from what Rudolf wrote, but just a little common sense tells one that Prussian Blue should not be "problematic." This was pointed out in my March 28, 1998, talk when Irving was in the audience, and later at a dinner organized by Mark Weber. Before the London libel trial Germar Rudolf pleaded with Irving not to bring this up, and also not to claim that his doctoral work dealt with cyanide compounds — all to no avail. Instead, on numerous occasions during the trial Irving explicitly cited the Cracow Institute as a confirmation of Leuchter — for example on day 8 (pp. 44, 62f, 76, 186), on day 9 (p. 13), and in his closing address (day 32, pp. 151, 155), which is also in the March-April 2000 *IHR Journal*, p. 37. It is likewise disappointing that the *IHR Update* newsletter of May 2000 would still site the Cracow Institute as failing "to substantiate evidence of mass murder."
 151. To borrow Rampton's expression (day 8, p. 178).
 152. Day 8, pp. 41-82. On day 7 Irving's press conference of 23rd June 1989 launching the Focal Point edition of Leuchter's report was raised. Irving had stated "... hydrogen cyanide is wonderful for killing lice, but not so good for killing people unless in colossal concentrations". In agreement with Rampton, he had not taken "any steps to verify the scientific and biological correctness of that statement". The lawyer was in fact correct to say that "it is complete rubbish." The whole issue is discussed in detail by Rudolf. See chapter 4, especially §4.4 of his report, or *Vorlesungen zur Zeitgeschichte*, chapter 3, especially §3.3 where "Gauss" expresses "no doubt" that higher concentrations are needed for killing insects than for killing humans. My own feeling is that this issue will become central when, one day, Rudolf's work is discussed rationally.
 153. Day 8, pp. 54f. See also p. 82.
 154. Day 8, pp. 39, 69. Rampton, referring to Leuchter's statement on "exposed porous brick and mortar" [which would allow HCN to penetrate into the wall] said "It is just logical rubbish, is it not?" and Irving conceded: "It does strike me as being unscientific, that particular sentence, yes" (p.112).
 155. Judgment, §13.83. Days 10 and 11 were spent arguing photographic evidence. If the "gas chamber" had been used for fumigating (as Irving at one stage contended), then Justice Gray thought "it would seem that ducts or some other form of aperture would have been required to introduce the pellets into the chamber, since the morgue had no windows and a single gas-tight door." (§13.82). Since this is not the standard way to fumigate, this is plain nonsense.
 156. Day 8, pp. 59-62. ("Germar" is misspelled "Gelman" in the transcript.)
 157. Day 10, p. 113.
 158. Day 9, pp. 29-33.
 159. Day 8, p. 56.
 160. Day 29, p. 32.
 161. Day 23, pp. 15f.
 162. Day 5, pp. 125f. Irving: "You asked if it was true that large numbers of people and you said hundreds of thousands" — Rampton: "I said hundreds of thousands." Irving: — "were killed at these places to which I agreed that they were killed at those places, which included Treblinka, but this does not mean to say that Treblinka was a factory of death existing solely for that purpose." (p. 133).
 163. Critical studies of the writings of Kurt Gerstein, the main "eyewitness" of gassing at Belzec, are Henri Roques' *The "Confessions" of Kurt Gerstein*, (Published in English by the IHR, 1989), and Carlo Mattogno's *Il Rapporto Gerstein: Anatomia di un Falso*, reviewed by R.A. Hall in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1986 (Vol. 7, No. 1), pp. 115-119. For the consequences suffered by Roques for writing a

doctoral dissertation about Gerstein, see "From the Gerstein Affair to the Roques Affair" in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1988 (Vol. 8, No. 1), pp. 5-23, and "How Fairs the Roques Thesis?" in the Fall 1990 *Journal* (Vol. 10, No. 3), pp.371f.

164. Day 17, p. 154.

165. Day 6, pp. 38, 51.

166. This is the odd five-page RSHA note of June 5, 1942, signed by W. Just — held in Bundesarchiv as "Koblenz Document" R 58/ 871. Ingrid Weckert provides an analysis of this issue in "Die Gaswagen — Kritische Würdigung der Beweislage," in *Grundlagen*, pp. 193-218, and "The Gas Vans: A Critical Assessment of the Evidence," in *Dissecting the Holocaust*, pp. 217-243. An extensive revisionist study of the "gas vans," which includes a study of mechanical aspects of the issue, is Pierre Marais' 325-page study *Les camions à gaz en question* (Paris: Polémiques, 1994). Irving is obviously unfamiliar with these works.

167. Day 6, pp. 49f. These are Rampton's words, answered by Irving's "No question at all ... Again, there is no reference to Hitler, I am afraid." On a later day the topic was again raised, and Irving noted "I am not interested in that aspect of the history, no. I am interested in Adolf Hitler's personal role in decisions taken during World War II." (Day 14, pp. 68-70). Another example of Irving's rearguard actions is when he subsequently pointed out that the document in question has numerous linguistic anomalies.

168. Day 32, pp. 20f.

169. On October 23, 1997, a criminal court in Paris fined Robert Faurisson more than \$20,000 because he considered "the Nazi gas chamber as an 'imposture'." See I. Rimland's Z-Gram of October 31, 1997, as well as Faurisson's articles, "Revisionism on Trial: Developments in France, 1979-1983," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1985 (Vol. 6, No. 2), pp. 133-181, and "My Life as a Revisionist (September 1983 to September 1987)" in the Spring 1989 *Journal* (Vol. 9, No. 1), pp. 5-63. *Histoire du négationnisme en France* by Valérie Igounet (Éditions du Seuil, March 2000), a work of 691 pages, purports to be a history of revisionism in France.

170. Since April 1995 the book *Grundlagen zur Zeitgeschichte* has been banned in Germany. For a brief report of its banning, see "Revisionist Books Seized in German Police Raid" in *The Journal of Historical Review*, May-June 1995 (Vol. 15, No. 3), p. 43. According to circulars dated July 1, 1996, and issued by S. Verbeke and Germar Rudolf, Judge Burkhardt Stein of the Tübingen District Court (*Amtsgericht*) decided that Rudolf had to be arrested because of *Grundlagen*. The judge also ordered the confiscation of all remaining copies of the book, which meant that they would quite literally land up in the fire. The publisher, Wigbert Grabert, was ordered to pay a fine of DM 30,000. See *Kardinalfragen*, pp. 49f: "Deutsches Gerichtsurteil: Wissenschaftliches Werk wird ver-

brannt!". In the article "Über richtige und falsche Erkenntnisse" (*Kardinalfragen*, pp.19-47), Rudolf gives a list of works that suffered a similar fate between 1993 and 1995. In the scandalous case of Günter Deckert, who had to be tried and re-tried until he was found guilty, judges who had 'only' imposed a fine and a suspended sentence were severely criticized and forced into early retirement. See "Political Leader Punished," *The Journal of Historical Review*, July-August 1993 (Vol. 13, No. 4), p. 26, and "Two-Year Prison Sentence for 'Holocaust Denial'" by Mark Weber in the May-June 1995 *Journal* (Vol. 15, No. 3), pp. 40-42, where further sources can be found. See also "How-To for Neo-Nazis" in *Time*, August 22, 1994, p. 44, and *Der Spiegel* 47/ 1994, p. 35, and 11/1995, pp. 36f, in which the question of whether charges should be brought against the judges is considered. The Deckert case was also covered by the South African press: "Judge who sparked row is reinstated," the *Citizen*, September 20, 1994 (p. 12); "Anti-Semite: 'Court was too lenient'," the *Citizen*, December 16, 1994 (p. 14); "Judge who was soft on 'Nazi' retires," the *Citizen*, May 11, 1995 (p. 20); "Ruling gives right to forget," the *Sunday Times*, March 20, 1994 (p. 17). For a more complete study of the Deckert case see Günther Anntohn, Henri Roques, *Der Fall Günter Deckert* (DAGD/Germania Verlag, Weinheim 1995), a work banned in Germany (*Kardinalfragen*, p. 45). Members of the IHR *Journal's* Editorial Advisory Committee have been prosecuted and sentenced to prison. In Germany, Udo Walendy was sentenced to 15 months imprisonment without parole on account of his series *Historische Tatsachen*. (See the July-August 1998 *Journal of Historical Review*, pp. 14-16.) In Switzerland Jürgen Graf and his publisher Gerhard Förster were sentenced to prison terms for writing or publishing allegedly anti-Jewish books that "deny the existence of Nazi gas chambers." See "Swiss Court Punishes Two Revisionists," and associated articles, in *The Journal of Historical Review*, July-August 1998, pp. 2-13. (By late 2000 Graf should already be serving his sentence.) In July 1998 Auschwitz State Museum authorities banned a British Broadcasting Company (BBC) television team and David Irving from visiting the former camp site. The BBC had invited Irving to be interviewed there. Irving was also barred from using the Museum's archives. See "Polish authorities Ban BBC Team and David Irving from Auschwitz," July-August 1998 *Journal of Historical Review*, pp. 16-17. The French organisation *aaargh* reports regularly on the persecution of revisionists in Europe. For example, the legal steps taken against the editors of *Sleipnir*: see "Nachrichten vom Tiergarten: aus der Bundeslächerlich Deutschland," a press release issued by the journal's editor in chief, Andreas Röhler (Verlag der Freunde, Postfach 350264, 10211 Berlin, Germany). *Sleipnir* regularly sends out e-mail reports and commentaries.

171. On the "moral foundation of the Federal Republic of Germany" see *Die Zeit*, December 12, 1993, cited in *Kardinalfragen*, p. 18, n. 8. "In der Bundesacht" relates how Rudolf had been a member of the Bonn branch of the Catholic Students' Union AV Tuisconia Königsberg since 1983, but when in the Spring of 1994 his revisionist activities became known he was excluded from this Union. This was primarily justified as follows: "The Holocaust and its avowal forms the normative basis of our constitution. The legitimacy — in the sense of worthiness of recognition (*Anerkennungswürdigkeit*) — of the constitution presupposes acknowledgement of National Socialist crimes to which the Jews fell victim in a massive way, having been destroyed by technical means. As Brother (Bundesbruder) Rudolf places the Holocaust, conceived of as planned mass murder, in doubt, he also casts doubt on the normative consensus which forms the basis of our constitution." To protest the introduction of the sharpened 1994 form of laws criminalizing "Holocaust denial" I wrote to all members of the Bundesrat. One answer informed me that questioning the Holocaust amounted to insulting the memory of the dead, and since the respect for human dignity (*Menschenwürde*) is the very basis of the Federal Constitution, its enforcement has to take priority over freedom of expression. Annual reports on the "protection of the constitution" are published in the official *Verfassungsschutzbericht* edited by the Bundesministerium des Innern (Grauheindorfer Straße 198, 53117 Bonn) and give a good idea of the types of activity regarded as threatening to the constitution. Thus the 1993 issue, apart from chronicling the activities of genuine political radicals of both the right and the left, refers to "Holocaust denial" under *Neonazismus* and describes it as "anti-Semitic agitation." On p. 115 a partial reproduction of the front page of the July 1993 issue of *Remer Depesche* mentioning Rudolf is shown. In his *Action Report* of July 1998 (Online fpp.co.uk/) David Irving reproduced a newsletter from the Washington Embassy's "German Information Center ... justifying Bonn's human rights abuses"
172. For a detailed study of the history and scandals surrounding the "protection of the constitution" in Germany, see Claus Nordbruch's study, *Der Verfassungsschutz* (Tübingen: Hohenrain, 1999). Claus Nordbruch has also written a critical, thoroughly researched study of the suppression of free speech in Germany, with special emphasis on the 20th century: *Sind Gedanken noch frei? Zensur in Deutschland* (Universitas, 1998). His interesting article, "Political Correctness in Germany," which first appeared in the Swiss daily *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, June 12, 1999, is published in translation in the July-August 1999 *Journal of Historical Review* (Vol. 18, No. 4), pp. 36-38.
173. One recalls Faurisson's famous statement on the "historical lie" whose "principal victims ... are the German people — but not their leaders — ..." See "Revisionism on Trial: Developments in France, 1979-1983" in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1985 (Vol. 6, No. 2), p. 162. Ziel's statement is in *Der Spiegel*, 35/1994, p. 38, col. 3.
174. On day 12 of the proceedings of the Irving-Lipstadt trial the American psychologist Professor Kevin McDonald appeared as an expert witness for Irving. On his testimony, see "An American Professor Responds to a 'Jewish Activist,'" in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Jan.-Feb. 2000, pp. 54 ff. MacDonald propounds a theory of Judaism based on a Darwinian viewpoint: How Jews as a group have developed various strategies for survival. For information on this see the review "What Causes Anti-Semitism?" by P. Harrison in the May-June 1998 *Journal of Historical Review* (Vol. 17, No. 3), pp. 28-37. Irving posed his question to an audience at Washington State University, Pullman, on April 13, 1998.
175. *Le Monde*, December 29, 1978, and January 16, 1979. Translations of these letters are in "Faurisson's Three Letters to *Le Monde* (1978-1979)," in *The Journal of Historical Review*, May-June 2000, pp. 40-46. The two books were published by La Vieille Taupe. A four-volume collection of Faurisson's revisionist writings over the years was published privately in 1999, *Écrits révisionnistes (1974-1998)*.
176. German President Roman Herzog as quoted by *Deutsche Welle* radio Sept. 9, 1996, at 7.30 GMT. Consider what Frank Furedi, author of *Mythical Past, Elusive Future: History and Society in an Anxious Age* (Pluto Press, 1992) writes on p. 42: "Whether or not this is stated, the discussion is always about how to come to terms with the experience of the Holocaust which remains a major obstacle to the reworking of a German identity. It is obvious that a past that includes such barbarism cannot be readily recruited to legitimize the present order. Various factors, more international than domestic, make it impossible to pretend that the Holocaust was a minor event or that it never happened."
177. See "Debating the Undebatable: The Weber-Shermer Clash," in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Jan.-Feb. 1996 (Vol. 16, No. 1), pp. 23-34.
178. *Die Auschwitzleugner* (Berlin: Elefant Press, 1996) cites many "deniers" who are quite clearly motivated by political or ideological considerations. Logically, disagreement with someone's politics should not automatically entail rejection of his/her arguments, but human behavior is not always governed by logic. Ernst Zündel may well ask himself if it was wise to boast that the *Leuchter Report* was introduced in court on Hitler's birthday (as can be seen in Morris's "Mr. Death").
179. See, for example, "Olocausto atto secondo" ("Holocaust, Act 2"), a "response" to Carlo Mattogno, published in the Italian magazine *L'Espresso* of March 27, 1990, and reproduced in Mattogno's *La soluzione finale: problemi e polemiche* ("The Final Solution:

- Problems and Controversies”), Edizioni di Ar, 1991.
180. Translated from a private letter of Rudolf, written on October 23, 1991, at about the time when the first drafts of the *Rudolf Report* (“Das Blau Buch”) were being completed. This information was cited on June 13, 1995 by Rudolf’s attorney Günther Herzogenrath-Amelung during his final plea before the Stuttgart court trying Rudolf: See *Plädoyer des Verteidigers*, p. 10.
 181. David Irving’s concessions during his trial will no doubt provide a new stimulus to study these “Reinhardt” camps and also the “gas vans”. His *Action Report 2000* online reported a most interesting use of special radar to investigate the alleged mass graves at Treblinka. In the article an image is shown and Irving asks of it: “What is this interesting pattern below? A psychedelic painting? The Lord Chancellor’s latest wallpaper? No, it is a Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) scan of the alleged mass grave site at Treblinka, Poland, conducted to a depth of eighteen feet by an expert in November 1999: it seems the ground has remained undisturbed for millions of years. Clever old Nazis, to have put every stone back in place where it was — and in the panic of defeat.” Although during the trial he hinted at GPR in his cross-examination of Van Pelt on day 9 (p. 82), he never took it further, let alone call as an expert witness the (unnamed) person who conducted the search, who is Richard Krege. See “‘Vernichtungslager’ Treblinka: archäologisch betrachtet” in *VffG*, June 2000 (4. Jg. Heft 1, pp. 62-64), cited in “Treblinka Ground Radar Finds No Trace of Mass Graves,” in the May-June 2000 *Journal of Historical Review*, p. 20. The only full-length IHR *Journal* article about the camp is “Treblinka,” by M. Weber and A. Allen, in the Summer 1992 issue (Vol. 12, No. 2), pp. 133-158. The one scientific study of the “diesel gas chambers” allegedly used in this and other camps set up “purely for killing” is F.P. Berg’s pioneering (and yet to be refuted) article “The Diesel Gas Chambers: Myth Within a Myth” in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1984 (Vol. 5, No. 1), pp. 15-46. According to the standard version, about half of all Holocaust deaths were by means of Diesel exhaust, nearly a million at Treblinka alone. An adaptation of Berg’s article appears, under the title “Die Diesel-Gaskammern: Mythos im Mythos,” in *Grundlagen zur Zeitgeschichte*, pp. 321-345, and under the title “The Diesel Gas Chambers” in *Dissecting the Holocaust* (2000), pp. 435-465. See also the contribution by Arnulf Neumaier, “The Treblinka Holocaust,” in *Dissecting the Holocaust*. Udo Walendy’s interesting critical analysis of the photographic evidence concerning Treblinka is in *Historische Tatsachen*, No. 44. In 1989 Samuel Willenberg’s *Surviving Treblinka* (Basil Blackwell) appeared in English. Willenberg describes meetings with Jankiel Wiernik, from whom he learned about the “gas chambers” in the so-called Upper (“Death”) Camp of Treblinka II (pp. 125-126). By his own account it is clear that Willenberg had no direct knowledge of the Upper Camp. He appears as a guest in “The Road to Treblinka,” the fifth episode of the 1997 BBC series “The Nazis — A Warning from History.” The producers hide from us that Willenberg was never in the “Death camp,” but with the full confidence of one who was on the spot, Willenberg relates details which he never witnessed. For example, that the Germans shouted “Schnell, Schnell” as the victims “were pushed into the gas chambers by the Ukrainians ... Here where I’m standing now within this small area 200 X 300 metres here lie buried about 850 000 bodies. Here they buried in enormous ditches which they dug out by a digger. Here they dumped the corpses of those who had been gassed.” (Transcribed from the English subtitles). This is pure deception.
 182. The *Ordnungspolizei* (security police battalions) are the subject of Christopher Browning’s *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (New York, 1992). British historian and official Churchill biographer Martin Gilbert concentrates much of his *The Holocaust* (Fontana Paperbacks, 1987) on shootings. Most historians, including David Irving, accept that large numbers of Jews were murdered by such methods and buried “sardine-like” in pits. In the *Hardtalk* interview conducted by Tim Sebastian and broadcast by BBC World on April 27, 2000, Irving stated unequivocally that “millions” were killed in this way. Was this (also) a tactical maneuver? And what is one to make of his statement made at the Pullman meeting on April 13, 1998: “Daniel Goldhagen has written a very good book [*Hitler’s Willing Executioners*] on the Holocaust”? Referring to the IHR during his libel action, Irving boasted: “At their conferences I regularly rubbed their noses in what actually happened in the Holocaust.” (Day 20, p.167. See also day 1, pp. 45-46, day 6, pp. 66-69, and day 28, pp. 91-96). It has been pointed out that the *Einsatzgruppen* reports on the numbers killed may be exaggerated, but by how much is a legitimate question. See Mark Weber’s article “My Role in the Zündel Trial,” *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1989-1990 (Vol. 9, No. 4), pp. 389-425: “Although the *Einsatzgruppen* reports would indicate that 2.2 million Jews were killed, every reputable historian who has written on this subject acknowledges that this figure bears little relationship to reality” (p. 402). Strong reservations concerning the trustworthiness of the *Einsatzgruppen* reports have been expressed by Hans-Heinrich Wilhelm, regarded as one of the outstanding authorities on the subject, co-author with Helmut Krausnick of the detailed work *Die Truppe des Weltanschauungskrieges: Die Einsatzgruppen der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD* (Stuttgart, 1981). See his interesting essay, “Offene Fragen der Holocaust Forschung,” pp. 403-425, in the collection *Die Schatten der Vergangenheit: Impulse zur Historisierung*

des Nationalsozialismus edited by U. Backes, E. Jesse and R. Zitellmann (Frankfurt/M + Berlin: 1992). Wilhelm's essay is based on a lecture with the same title he gave to the International History Conference held at the University of Riga, Latvia, Sept. 20-22, 1988. Here is the relevant passage from p. 11 of this lecture (which however does not appear in this form in *Die Schatten der Vergangenheit*): "Wenn auf nicht-statistischem Gebiet die Verlässlichkeit nicht grösser ist, was sich nur durch einen Vergleich mit anderen Quellen aus der gleichen Region erhärten liesse, wäre die historische Forschung gut beraten, wenn sie künftig von allen SS-Quellen viel misstrauischer Gebrauch machte als bisher." ("If, in the non-statistical sphere, the reliability [of these reports] is not greater, something which could only be confirmed by a comparison with other sources from the same region, researchers would be well-advised to make far more distrustful use of all SS sources in future than they have hitherto made.") I owe this source to R. Countess, who allowed me to make a copy of Wilhelm's Riga lecture. The essay by Margers Vestermanis, "Der lettische Anteil an der 'Endlösung'," in *Die Schatten der Vergangenheit* (pp. 426-449), examines the part played by Latvians in wartime executions of Jews. Although far from settling the issue, one source cited by Vestermanis attributes half the executions in the rural areas to a single Latvian commando unit (p. 436). On reprisals in the face of guerrilla actions, see the articles in *VffG*, June 1999, "Repressalie und Höherer Befehl," by K. Sigert (pp. 131-144), and "Partisanenkrieg und Repressaltötungen," by G. Rudolf and S. Schröder (pp. 145-153).

183. According to a top secret order of July 2, 1941, by security chief Reinhard Heydrich, the *Einsatzgruppen* were instructed "to execute" (*zu exekutieren*) Communist functionaries, "Jews in party and state positions" (*Juden in Partei- und Staatsstellungen*), and "other radical elements (saboteurs, propagandists, snipers, assassins, agitators, etc.)" They were also instructed to "promote" (*fördern*) pogroms, euphemistically dubbed "self-cleansing attempts" (*Selbstreinigungsvorhaben*), by local anti-Jewish elements but "without trace" (*spurenlos*) of German involvement." This document is clearly relevant regarding the participation of local militias in massacres of Jews. This document was cited by Prof. Browning in §4.2 ("Escalation") of his expert report for the Irving-Lipstadt case. It was published some years earlier in P. Longerich, ed., *Die Ermordung der europäischen Juden* (Piper, 1990), pp. 116-118, and in Y. Arad, et al., *Documents on the Holocaust* (Yad Vashem, 1981), pp. 377-378.
184. Years ago Robert Faurisson suggested that a principal source for solving the problem of the numbers of "Holocaust" victims would be the records archive of the International Tracing Service (ITS) in Arolsen, Germany, which has been "closed to Revisionists since 1978." See "My Life as a Revisionist," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1989 (Vol. 9, No. 1), pp. 5-63, here p. 52. See also R. Faurisson, "Impact and Future of Holocaust Revisionism," in the Jan.-Feb. 2000 *Journal*, p. 8. That the ITS withholds information was recently confirmed in "Die Zeitzeugen sterben," *Der Spiegel*, 4/2000, pp. 60, 63. Ingrid Rimland's e-mail message of Feb. 21, 2000, dealt with this *Spiegel* article, but I found no mention there of the "criminals" she cited. The major revisionist work in the demographic area remains Walter N. Sanning's *The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry* (third IHR printing, Nov. 1990). This demographic study uses almost exclusively Jewish and Soviet sources. Germar Rudolf has made a comparative study of this in the "Holocaust Victims: A Statistical Analysis — W. Benz and W.N. Sanning: A Comparison," *Dissecting the Holocaust* (2000), pp. 183-216. This essay first appeared in *Grundlagen*, pp. 141-168.
185. Arthur Butz was the first person to perceive this clearly: "Although six extermination camps are claimed, one of them, Auschwitz, is the key to the whole story," *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (IHR, 10th US printing, 1997), p. 35. Faurisson has quoted Wilhelm Stäglich: "the extermination thesis stands or falls with the allegation that Auschwitz was a 'death factory'," (*The Leuchter Report*, p. 4).
186. For more than 20 years Robert Faurisson has called for an open and public debate on the "gas chambers" and "Holocaust" issues. See, for example, "Faurisson's Three Letters to *Le Monde* (1978-1979)," *The Journal of Historical Review*, May-June 2000, pp. 40-46. The videotaped exchange between Mark Weber and Michael Shermer on July 22, 1995, comes as close as can be expected to such a free debate. (See "Debating the Undebatable: The Weber—Shermer Clash," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Jan.-Feb. 1996, pp. 23-34.) Georg Batz of the Free Democratic Party (FDP) also organized such a debate, which took place in Nuremberg on September 20-22, 1991, under the auspices of the liberal and FDP-affiliated Thomas Dehler Foundation. (See "Liberal German Political Foundation Sponsors Open Debate on Holocaust Issue," *IHR Newsletter*, July-August 1992, pp. 7-8.) Batz invited Swiss educator Arthur Vogt to present the revisionist side at the seminar, which he described as "The Holocaust as Seen by the Revisionists: a Swiss Analyzes Contemporary History." The upshot of it all was that Vogt was later arrested for having stressed the importance of Leuchter's findings, while Batz was let off scott-free! Germar Rudolf attended this seminar, and it was here that his troubles began. A certain Dr. Körber swore at Rudolf and his companion there, calling them swine because they had dared give precedence to material evidence over that of eyewitnesses. Körber subsequently denounced Rudolf to the German police. See "In der Bundesacht," *Kardinalfragen*, "Erste Schritt: Denunziation," pp. 51-52, as well as Rudolf's deposition respecting the charges against him, in which he

relates how he tried to maintain a reasoned exchange with Körber even when he knew that Körber was betraying him. For a full analysis of the seminar with its political and legal implications, see Karl Salm, "Der Justizskandal im Fall Thomas-Dehler-Stiftung: Der Rechtsverfall," in *Consiliarien* 1, 1995, pp. 13-49. This special issue of *Staatsbriefe* (Castel del Monte, Postfach 14 06 28, Munich 80456, Germany) is devoted to scholarly articles exclusively concerned with legal and other consequences of the sharpened anti-revisionist law, which was passed on October 28, 1994, and became law on December 1, 1994. With this major amendment, which sharpened the 1985 law, section §130 of the German criminal code now explicitly stipulates, in subsections 3 and 4, that anyone who in speech or writing publicly condones, denies or minimizes crimes committed under the leadership of the National Socialists, in such a way as to disturb public order, will be liable to a fine or up to five years imprisonment.

187. *Time*, April 24, 2000, p. 33. In response to a witness summons, Watt testified for Irving on day 7 in the Irving-Lipstadt trial. See also Watt's statement, from the *Evening Standard*, April 11, 2000, in the March-April 2000 *Journal of Historical Review*, pp. 52-53.
188. The prestige that David Irving enjoys (or has enjoyed) has contributed enormously to the "respectability" of revisionism. Important progress in this direction was the tribute made by former deportee Michel de Boüard to the objectivity of revisionist research. (See the interview he gave to *Ouest France*, translated in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Fall 1988, pp. 381-384.) From letters he wrote to Henri Roques shortly before his death, it is clear that he recognized the importance of the Leuchter Report. The fact that Roques obtained his doctorate on *The "Confessions" of Kurt Gerstein* from Nantes University (even though it was subsequently revoked) is highly significant. (See Roques' article, "From the Gerstein Affair to the Roques Affair," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1988, pp. 5-23.) For an appreciation of this thesis by an orthodox historian, see "British Historian Hugh Trevor-Roper on the Gerstein 'Confessions' and the Gas Chamber Question," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Sept.-Oct. 1993 (Vol. 13, No. 5), pp. 40f. The article contains a letter to Roques by Lord Dacre (Trevor-Roper). Although disagreeing with the revisionists on some essential points, he writes: "... I regard your thesis as entirely legitimate and very interesting." Another sign of progress is the tribute paid to revisionists by the respected German historian Ernst Nolte, and his uncompromising defense of their right to free speech. See "Ein Gesetz für das Aussergetzliche," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, August 23, 1994, p. 7; "Ein historisches Recht Hitlers?," *Der Spiegel*, 40/1994, pp. 83-103; "Throwing Off Germany's Imposed History: A Conversation with Professor Ernst Nolte," interview by Ian B. Warren, *The Journal of Historical Review*, Jan.-Feb. 1994

(Vol. 14, No. 1), pp. 15-22; as well as, in the same *Journal* issue, pp. 37-41, a review by M. Weber of Nolte's 1994 book *Streitpunkte* ("Points of Contention"). Nolte refers to Holocaust revisionists as "radical revisionists," and chapter 15 of *Die Schatten der Vergangenheit* (pp. 304-319) is devoted to them. It is clear that he at least takes them seriously, even if rejecting their conclusions. Joel S. A. Hayward's thesis, *The Fate of Jews in German Hands: An Historical Enquiry Into the Development and Significance of Holocaust Revisionism*, was awarded an MA with distinction by Christchurch University, New Zealand, and was a breakthrough regarding recognition by establishment institutions. Hayward recently repudiated his thesis, even requesting the university to withdraw it from its library. (See "Varsity leader defends historian," *New Zealand Herald*, April 15-16, 2000, and, "Revisionist Master's Thesis Under Fire, May-June 2000 *Journal*, pp. 21-23). The publication of Roger Garaudy's *Les Mythes fondateurs de la politique israélienne* (La Vieille Taupe, 1995, Samisdat, 1996), and the support given him by the Abbé Pierre must also be seen as signs of progress, even though Garaudy hardly acknowledges the work done by revisionist pioneers. See "French Study of Israel's 'Founding Myths' Provokes Furious Attack," *The Journal of Historical Review*, March-April 1996 (Vol. 16, No. 2), pp. 35-36, and "On the Garaudy/Abbé Pierre Affair," by R. Faurisson, in the July-August 1996 *Journal* (Vol. 16, No. 4), pp. 26-28. For the impact of Garaudy's trial on the Arab world, see the English editions of the semi-official Egyptian weekly *Al-Ahram*, Jan. 22 and 29, 1998. An expanded edition of Garaudy's book, *The Founding Myths of Modern Israel*, with an introduction by Theodore O'Keefe, was published by the IHR in the first half of 2000. Grudging acknowledgement occasionally comes from establishment circles. The prestigious French weekly *L'Express* has admitted that everything about the Auschwitz I "gas chamber" is phony. (See "Auschwitz: la mémoire du mal," by Eric Conan, Jan. 26, 1995, pp. 30-49, intl. edition; "Major French Magazine Acknowledges Auschwitz Gas Chamber Fraud," Jan.-Feb. 1995 *Journal*, pp. 23-24.) The Swiss daily paper *Le Nouveau Quotidien* had two revealing articles by the historian J. Baynac ("Comment les historiens délèguent à la justice la tâche de faire taire les révisionnistes" ("How historians leave to justice the task of putting a stop to the revisionists"), Sept. 2, 1996, p. 16, and "Faute de documents probants sur les chambres à gaz, les historiens esquivent le débat" ("Because of a lack of convincing documents for the gas chambers, historians dodge the debate"), Sept. 3, 1996, p. 16. These articles (kindly sent to me by R. Faurisson) point out that traditional historiography is seriously flawed when it concerns the "Nazi gas chambers." In the second article Baynac writes that it may be necessary "to prove" that their "non-existence is impossible"! See R. Faurisson, "An Orthodox Historian Finally Acknowl-

edges: There is No Evidence for Nazi Gas Chambers," July-August 1998 *Journal*, pp. 24-28. The Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust (CODOH), an organization headed by Bradley R. Smith, is online at <http://www.codoh.com>. It has placed numerous advertisements in college newspapers, and reaches out to many people, giving them an idea of revisionist arguments. It would be interesting to know something about the effect these advertisements are having. Have students begun to cite revisionist sources? Are some instructors now encouraging debate? Partial breakthroughs to a scholarly open debate on the Holocaust can be seen from two articles in the May-June 1994 *Journal of Historical Review* (pp. 16-20): "'60 Minutes' Takes Aim at Holocaust Revisionism" and "Smith and Cole Appear in 'Donahue' Show in Major Media Breakthrough for Revisionism."

189. "Rudolf's 'Mystery Speaker' Statement," read out at the Twelfth IHR Conference, Sept. 3-5, 1994. *The Journal of Historical Review*, Nov.-Dec. 1994 (Vol. 14, No. 6), p. 15.

Corrections

"Treblinka Ground Radar Examination Finds No Trace of Mass Graves," in the May-June 2000 *Journal*, p. 20, contains an error. Richard Kregge, whose team used a sophisticated Ground Penetration Radar (GPR) device to examine the site of the wartime Treblinka II camp, explains that he and his team scanned only the eastern corner of the camp site, and a small area near the monument there, and not, as reported, "the entire Treblinka II site." The examined areas, Kregge further relates, were the alleged "mass grave" areas, according to reminiscences of camp survivors.

In the May-June 2000 *Journal* (issue 19/3), there is a mistake in the text of the 13th IHR Conference keynote address. The federal government agency mentioned on page 13, second column, in the first sentence of the second paragraph, is the United States Holocaust Memorial Council.

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'Retail Politics'

Recently I gave a batch of copies of Roger Garaudy's *Founding Myths of Modern Israel* to a friend, who has been passing them around. He gave one to an old friend, a retired Catholic priest who, as a young man, had been deeply impressed with Garaudy's views on Marxism and Catholicism. This priest's doctoral dissertation has been based on Garaudy's writing. After reading a few chapters of *Founding Myths*, he concluded that Garaudy is right in his analysis of the Holocaust and its relationship with Zionism.

This story alone makes me feel justified in having purchased a box of Garaudy's book for distribution. Tip O'Neill, I believe, called this "retail politics."

J. S.
Seattle
[by e-mail]

Only Hard Facts Will Win

In the struggle for a truthful view of history, the only thing that will win out against the prevailing tyranny is hard facts. Revisionists are simply not in any position to win the PR war, because they don't have the media resources. We have to settle for what's doable. Facts are do-able.

In my view, the most effective strategy in the long run is to quietly carry out research work and then publish the findings, including on the Internet. There is no way revisionists can hope to prevail in battle against adversaries who have vastly greater political and media resources. So there's no point in squandering money and time in a manifestly unequal fight.

Hard facts do not come free, of course. Unearthing and publicizing them takes perseverance and a lot of time, money and effort.

And even then, it's not at all clear that most people have the ability to distinguish between facts and propaganda, or even care to.

A. E.
Santa Fe Springs, Calif.

Long-Time Stoddard Reader

I read with interest Ted O'Keefe's review of the book by Lothrop Stoddard, *Into the Darkness* (March-April 2000 *Journal*, pp. 69-70).

It was about 1931, when I was a *Gymnasium* student, that I first encountered Stoddard through a booklet of excerpts from his book *The Revolt Against Civilization*. Later, with help of friends in America, I obtained a copy of the book itself, as well as another work, *Racial Realities*, by Madison Grant, who also wrote *The Passing of the Great Race*. With these books I began my study of the race question.

Georg Franz-Willing
Überlingen, Germany
[JHR Editorial Advisory Comm.]

Courage and Intellectual Power

Congratulations on the Jan.-Feb. 2000 *Journal*, one of the best I've seen. Robert Faurisson's recap of Holocaust revisionism is really outstanding. Also, the writings by Kevin MacDonald and Joseph Sobran are invaluable. Keep on publishing their stuff! I do not cease to marvel at the utter courage and intellectual power with which revisionists face the Molochracy.

E. R.
Richmond, Virginia

History and Propaganda

In his article, "For a Balanced History of the American Indian" (March-April 1999 *Journal*), Zoltán Bruckner suggests that *The True History of the Conquest of New Spain* by Bernal Díaz del

Castillo is a biased work of only limited reliability. I disagree. In my opinion, *The True History* must be considered the most basic and authentic work for any examination of Cortes' expedition against the Aztecs. Harry Elmer Barnes did not hesitate to call del Castillo "a competent historian." *The True History*, wrote Barnes, is "not only a graphic account of the actual conquest, but rich in acute observations concerning the new world and its inhabitants." For the highly respected Mexican historian Carlos Pereyra, *The True History* "is the history book par excellence, the only history book of that period that deserves to live; it is history in an etymological sense, the testimony of the facts."

Friar Bartolomé de Las Casas, on the other hand, is a very matter. According to Lewis Hanke, Las Casas' "Brief Account of the Destruction of the Indians" marked "the beginnings of propaganda in our epoch." For Dale Van Every, it was "the most flagrant and successful propaganda feat of all time." From it came the figure of some 20 million Indians killed by the Castilians during the conquest. Las Casas accused the Spanish of killing more than three million on the island of Hispaniola alone, an area that could not have supported, with a pre-Colombian economy, any approximation of that number.

Philip Wayne Powell is right on the mark in writing — in *Tree of Hate* — that the bitter blasts of Las Casas began to spread in Europe precisely during the period of 1560-90 when the British were beginning to challenge Iberian monopolies in the New World, and the Dutch and English were embarking on long periods of conflict with Spain. "The harsh coloring of the Las Casas indict-

ment of Spaniards,” says Prof. Powell, “was made to order for propaganda designed to show that the Spaniards, because of cruelties and greed, were unfit to retain title to New World territories.”

The common belief that Spain’s conquest in America was characterized by uniquely systematic cruelty, rapaciousness, greed and general depravity is simply not borne out by the evidence. Prof. Powell puts it more bluntly: “There is nothing in all Spanish history to prove that Spaniards, then or now, are characteristically more cruel, more greedy, or more depraved than other peoples. I do not believe that any reputable scholar, free of racial and religious prejudices, would contradict that statement.”

J. K.
Overland Park, Kansas

Historical Understanding

Thank you for your web site and all the work you’ve done on your publications. Yours is by far the most interesting site I have visited in the last several years.

While we are taught that Hitler and Third Reich Germany’s ruling elite were repressive thugs and murderers, almost nothing is said about the freedom and prosperity that ordinary Germans enjoyed, nor, indeed, about the Jews who continued to live and prosper, at least for several years, after Hitler’s assumption of power.

It is clear from Germany’s conduct of the war that neither Hitler nor the German High Command had any intention of fighting a global conflict, much less any interest in global domination. The historical record clearly shows that the three major Axis powers — Germany, Italy and Japan — were regional powers with limited objectives, which, however, conflicted with the only truly global powers at the time — the United States and Great Britain. The conduct of the US and Britain also clearly shows that it was these two, and not the Axis powers, nor

indeed even the Soviet Union, that sought, at least initially, a globalization of the conflict.

It was the Allied governments that globalized the conflict, obliterated entire cities in a single night, incinerated hundreds of thousands of people in Hamburg, Dresden, Tokyo, Hiroshima and Nagasaki, sought to obliterate the Axis ideology, and today criminalize challenges to their “official” history.

In the wake of the defeat of Third Reich Germany, it was necessary to demonize National Socialism because such an ideology posed, and still poses, a danger for the prevailing powers. A true understanding of history, and notably an understanding of Hitler, Nazism and the root causes of the Second World War, threaten the existing power structure.

T. E.
[by e-mail]

Inviolate ‘Truth’

Please accept my congratulations on your website. Ever since an unfortunate personal experience while in elementary school, I have been suspicious of the “accepted history” of the victors of World War II. I am all the more so because this “truth” is presented as inviolate.

You do a great service merely by voicing reasoned dissent. I am grateful that your views and research are available to the public.

L. A. E.
[by e-mail]

An Ignored Holocaust

It was in May 1996, after reading an article in the *San Francisco Examiner* entitled “An Ignored Holocaust Killed 2 Million Germans,” that I started graduate school. The complicity of the American and British governments in the brutal expulsions of more than twelve million Germans in the aftermath of World War II is seldom talked about. The victorious powers that ran the Nuremberg trials did not permit any treatment of the subject. Nor,

by the way, has anyone ever been brought to justice for the infamous 1940 murder of thousands of Polish officers in the Katyn forest.

C. A. L.
California
[by e-mail]

Privileged Victimhood

Whenever I hear or see too many “Holocaust” stories within too short a time period, my system seems to overload, and I get hit with a rush of what I call “Holocaust anxiety.” Over the years, my threshold of tolerance for this seems to be lessening, and now I sometimes find myself feeling numb, wondering when on earth this campaign of victimological promotion will ever subside. Sometimes I even raise my hands and lament “Not again!”

Our media never seems to miss an opportunity to promote Holocaust imagery, eager to make sure that no other tragedy, past or present, is ever permitted to challenge the primacy of Jewish victimology. Jews seem determined to protect at all costs their privileged status as the champion victims, and with it the profitable sympathy of non-Jews. Jewish leaders seem anxious whenever non-Jews are inclined to show too much sympathy for other victims — above all, of course, Palestinians. Instead, they desperately want to keep our pity focused on their “unique” victimhood. They encourage concern for other genocides only to the extent that it refocuses attention on Jewish suffering.

S. D.
Canada
[by e-mail]

Public Relations Setback

David Irving’s defeat in his much-publicized London libel suit [reported in the March-April 2000 *Journal*] was not merely a disaster for him, but a severe public relations defeat for Holocaust revisionism and, indeed, for truthful history in general. He took on a huge task and, to use his

words, ended up being covered with a bucket of slime. But it's not a fatal setback, and I'm sure that revisionism will recover.

R. R.
Tyne-Wear, England

Everything Proven

You are so wrong. All the Auschwitz atrocities are well-documented and proven beyond doubt. There was no need for eye-witnesses because the Allied forces proved everything with photographs and film footage. At any rate, why would Jews or anyone lie or exaggerate? The dead cannot be brought back to life. Anyway, the Jews not only survived, but have prospered, big time, into the 21st century. The Nazi efforts did not work. May you die of jealousy.

Anna S.
Canada
[by e-mail]

Taking Note

You and your colleagues deserve thanks for your tough fight against powerful interests. People are quietly taking note. I'm an example. I first came across your organization several years ago when I was researching some related issues. Holocaust revisionism is pivotal because, in overcoming fabrication with truth, it raises important questions in the mind of the broad public.

C. D.
[by e-mail]

Skeptical Baby Boomer

Thanks for your courageous effort to present an alternative interpretation of 20th century history, in spite of the intense international pressures that face anyone who dissents from the "facts" that were supposedly established at Nuremberg.

I am a "baby boomer," born in the aftermath of World War II. For many years I accepted unquestioningly the conventional

Holocaust story. But after examining material on your site and others, and especially after noting the hysterically out-of-pro-

portion reaction by those who object to any questioning of the "Holocaust," I have come to conclude that a huge lie has been presented as truth.

N. R.
[by e-mail]

A Great Disservice

I was flabbergasted reading the short item by Oswald Spengler, "The Great Challenge Facing the West," in the July-August 2000 *Journal* (p. 49). Publishing it is a great disservice to those of us who defend our Western heritage and values against the forces of global enslavement. When Spengler wrote that [1931], the situation was very different — and seemingly not as desperate — as it is today. If, as he believed, our defeat is "already" inevitable and there is no "way out," why not simply give up? Apart from this "lapse," your work is admirable and very much appreciated.

G. L.
Bolzano, Italy

No Obsession With the Past

By attempting to present the truth regarding World War II and its aftermath, you are making a real contribution. I enjoy your *Journal*. Keep up the excellent work.

At the same time, we should not become obsessed with events that are now more than half a century in the past. Doing so keeps us from dealing with today's challenges. We must become politically involved. To do that effectively, we must truly understand the past, but not become mired in it.

C. D.
Tulsa, Okla.

A Truer Picture

Congratulations on your excellent *Journal* and the various IHR publications, which encourage freer and more informed discussion of various aspects of the so-called Holocaust. Thanks to your publications, along with such works as the recently-issued collection *Dissecting the Holocaust*, a

truer picture is managing to seep through the filters of official censorship, permitting a more accurate understanding of those years.

N. M.
Ireland
[by e-mail]

Holding the Fort

As I have for years, I'm still "holding the fort," expending much time and psychic energy sparring with people on the Internet. Why do I do it? Perhaps, even at the age of 72, there's still a bit of schoolboy in my makeup. When some pathetic twerp who thinks he's real clever hurls a "challenge," I feel I must reply lest I be accused of deserting the "field of honor." And it's always fun to feel that I've demolished an adversary's arguments. But they never seem to stay demolished.

Of all those on our side who debate on the Internet, I am surely the most hated. There is good reason for this. It is sad to have to admit that many of those on our side are enraged semi-literates who use foul language, not to occasionally salt the discourse, but as the principal currency of their discourse. The Holocaustniks have no difficulty dismissing them as losers, bigots, neo-Nazis, trailer park trash, and so forth.

But in me they find a very different proposition: a verbal opponent who expresses himself grammatically and logically, and who is Jewish in the bargain.

Sometimes I fall into a fit of despair. Why is it that, with all the facts on our side, we have failed to make a dent in the popular consciousness? Only recently have I come to realize just what an iron grip the mainstream media holds on the American mind.

R. P.
Arvada, Col.

We welcome letters from readers. We reserve the right to edit for style and space. Write: Editor, P.O. Box 2739, Newport Beach, CA 92659, USA, or e-mail us at editor@ihr.org

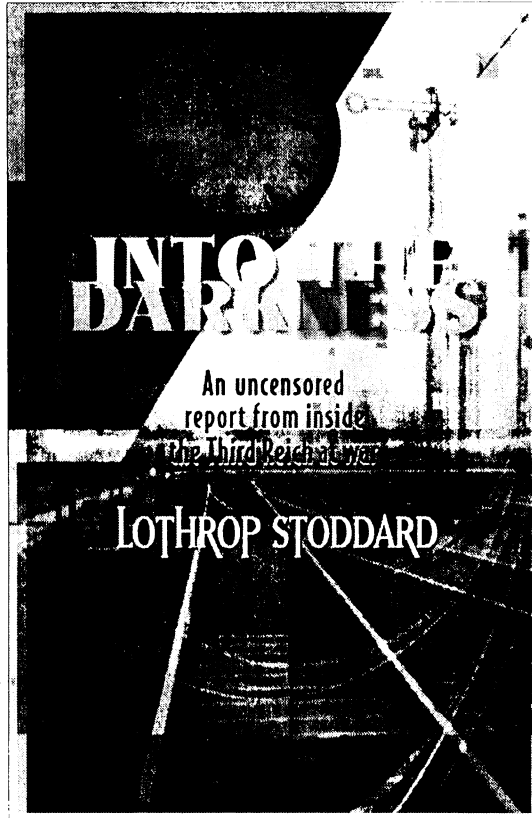
FIRST SUPPRESSED, THEN FORGOTTEN FOR SIXTY YEARS

Lothrop Stoddard's Sympathetic Report from Hitler's Wartime Reich

Twentieth-century America's most perceptive, influential, and prophetic writer on race — Lothrop Stoddard — spent four months in late 1939-early 1940 covering National Socialist Germany, as its leaders and its people girded for total war. Stoddard criss-crossed the Third Reich to observe nearly every aspect of its political, social, economic, and military life, and he talked with men and women from all walks of life, from Adolf Hitler, Heinrich Himmler, and Joseph Goebbels to taxi drivers and chambermaids.

The result — *Into the Darkness* — is not only a classic of World War II reportage, but a unique evaluation of Germany's National Socialist experiment. For Stoddard was no ordinary journalist. A Harvard Ph.D in history, the author of *The Rising Tide of Color* and other works that played a key role in the enactment of America's 1924 immigration act, fluent in German and deeply versed in European politics and culture, Stoddard brought to *Into the Darkness* a sophistication and a sympathy impossible for William Shirer and a myriad of other journalistic hacks.

To be sure, the New England Yankee Stoddard was no supporter of the Hitler dictatorship, but he was deeply interested in National Socialist policies, above all in the social and the racial sphere. Reading *Into the Darkness* brings you to hearings before



a German eugenics court, to an ancestral farm in Westphalia, to the headquarters of the National Labor Service, to German markets, factories, medical clinics, and welfare offices, as keenly observed and analyzed by Stoddard. You'll read, too, of Stoddard's conversations with German policy makers in all fields: Hans F. K. Günther and Fritz Lenz on race and eugenics; Walther Darré on agriculture; Robert Ley on labor; Gertrud Scholz-Klink on women in the Third Reich; General Alexander Löhr on the Luftwaffe's Polish campaign, as well as Hitler, Himmler, Goebbels and many other leaders. And you'll travel with Stoddard to Slovakia, where he interviews Monsignor Tiso, the national leader

later put to death by the Communists, and to Hungary, where the Magyars, still at peace, gaze apprehensively at Soviet Russia.

Into the Darkness (so named from the mandatory air-defense blackout that Stoddard found so vexing) shines a torch of sanity and truth against the vituperation of all things National Socialist that has been practically obligatory for the past sixty years. Knowledgeable, urbane, skeptical, and above all fair, Stoddard's book is a unique, an indispensable historical document, a time capsule for truth, and a stimulating page-turner for everyone interested in the Third Reich and the German people.

Into The Darkness: An Uncensored Report from Inside the Third Reich at War

Quality softcover. 311 pages. New Introduction. Index. (#0123)
\$13.95 (shipping: \$2.50 domestic, \$3.50 foreign; CA sales tax: \$1.08)

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A Horrific, Suppressed Story

**Revised, Updated
Edition**

"The events are vivid, the language is powerful, the conclusions appear just. The book should be read and become part of the all too gruesome document the world calls history."

— New York Daily News

In 1945 Poland's new Soviet-dominated government was actively recruiting Jews for its Office of State Security to carry out its own trademark brand of brutal "de-Nazification." The Office's agents raided German homes, rounding up some 200,000 men, women, children and infants – 99 percent of them non-combatant, innocent civilians. Incarcerated in cellars, prisons, and 1,255 concentration camps where typhus was rampant and torture was commonplace, the inmates subsisted on starvation rations. In this brief period, between 60,000 and 80,000 Germans perished at the hands of the Office.

An Eye for an Eye tells the little-known story of how Jewish victims of the Third Reich inflicted equally terrible suffering on innocent Germans. To unearth it, the author, a veteran journalist and war correspondent, spent seven years conducting research and interviews in Poland, Germany, Israel and the United States.

Author John Sack focuses on such figures as Shlomo Morel, a commandant who bragged: "What the Germans couldn't do in five years at Auschwitz, I've done in

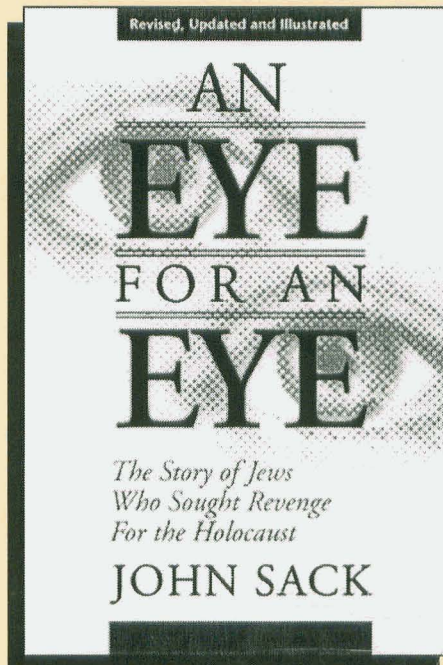
five months at Schwientochlowitz."

Not for 60 years has a book been so diligently (and, in the end, unsuccessfully) suppressed as *An Eye for an Eye*. One major newspaper, one major magazine, and three major publishers paid \$40,000 for it but were scared off. One printed 6,000 copies, then pulped them. Two dozen publishers read *An Eye for an Eye* and praised it. "Shocking," "Startling," "Astonishing," "Mesmerizing," "Extraordinary," they wrote to the author, but all two dozen rejected it.

When it was finally published by Basic Books, it "sparked a furious controversy" (*Newsweek*). And while it became a best-seller in Europe, it was so shunned in America that it also became, in the words of *New York* magazine, "The Book They Dare Not Review."

Since then, both *60 Minutes* and *The New York Times* have corroborated Sack's riveting expose of atrocities by vengeful Jews against German civilians in Communist-ruled Poland.

Completely revised and updated, this fourth edition includes 74 pages of reference citations and other source notes.



An Eye for an Eye

The Story of Jews Who Sought Revenge for the Holocaust

by John Sack

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The Diary of Anne Frank: Is it Genuine?

Robert Faurisson

Historical Past vs. Political Present

Arthur R. Butz

Foreword to the Arabic Edition of Garaudy's *Founding Myths*

Mohamed Heikal

Interest Mounts for Beirut Conference

Sack's Defective *Esquire* Article

John Schmitz, RIP

Hitler's 'Barbarossa' Proclamation

— Review —

Russian Historians Debate Origins of the 1941-1945 German-Soviet War

Daniel Michaels

— And More —

Unmasking Zionism's Most Dangerous Myths

In this headline-making work, a prominent French scholar delivers one powerful blow after another to the pernicious historical myths cited for decades to justify Zionist aggression and repression, including the Israeli legend of a "land without people for a people without land," and the most sacred of Jewish-Zionist icons, the Holocaust extermination story.

For financial gain, as an alibi for indefensible policies, and for other reasons, Jews have used what the author calls "theological myths" to arrogate for themselves a "right of theological divine chosenness." The wartime suffering of Europe's Jews, he contends, has been elevated to the status of a secular religion, and is now treated with sacrosanct historical uniqueness.

This readable, thoroughly documented study examines the brutal dispossession and mass expulsion of Palestine's Arabs, exposes the farce of the Nuremberg victors' show trial, and shows that the notorious German "final solution" term referred to a "territorial" program of resettlement, not extermination. *Founding Myths* details the secret collaboration of prominent Jews with the young Nazi regime, and the 1941 offer by some Zionists, including a future Israeli prime minister, to join Hitler's Germany in a military alliance against Britain. The author presents a frank assessment of the powerful Jewish-Zionist lobby in the United States, showing

Zionist, Soviet, American and German source references, this well-documented study is packed with hundreds of eye-opening quotations, many by prominent Jewish scholars and personalities.

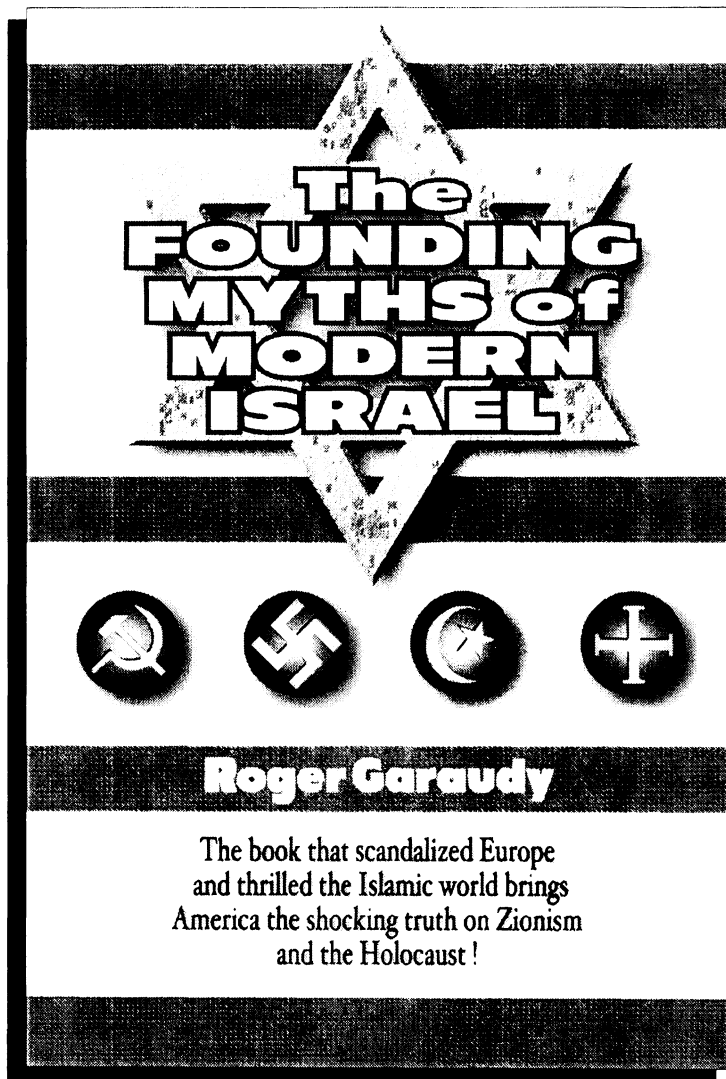
Here, at last, this important work is available in a handsome, professionally edited English-language edition, with a valuable foreword by Theodore J. O'Keefe.

how it effectively controls US policy regarding Israel, and plays a crucial role in shaping American public opinion.

For decades Roger Garaudy was prominent in the French Communist Party, making a name for himself as a Communist deputy in the French National Assembly, and as a leading Marxist intellectual and theoretician. Later he broke with Communism, eventually becoming a Muslim.

When *Founding Myths* first appeared in France, it touched off a storm of controversy among intellectuals and a furious uproar in the media. Soon Garaudy was charged with violating France's notorious Gaysot law, which makes it a crime to "contest" the "crimes against humanity" as defined by the Nuremberg Tribunal of 1945-46. A Paris court found him guilty and fined him \$40,000. His trial and conviction for Holocaust heresy prompted wide international support, above all from across the Arab and Muslim world.

Relying on a vast range of



The Founding Myths of Modern Israel by Roger Garaudy

Quality soft-cover. 230 pages. Source references. Index. (#0246) \$13.95, plus \$2 shipping.

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On the cover: German troops use artillery against well-entrenched Soviet forces in the Ukrainian city of Zhitomir, 1941.

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The Diary of Anne Frank: Is it Genuine?

ROBERT FAURISSON

This article, written in June 2000 at the request of Italian scholar Cesare Saletta, is adapted from the preface to the recently-published Italian edition of Dr. Faurisson's essay, "Is the Diary of Anne Frank Genuine?," which was originally written in 1978 for submission to a Hamburg court, and published in French, two years later, in a work by Serge Thion.¹ In the following essay, the author takes another look at the famous diary (or diaries), taking into account developments since then, including the publication in 1986 by a Netherlands government agency of a comprehensive "critical edition" of the Anne Frank diary.

— The Editor

Pierre Vidal-Naquet in 1980: 'A Doctored Text'

In 1980, the prominent French Jewish scholar Pierre Vidal-Naquet, in whose eyes I am nothing but an "assassin of memory" (Jewish memory, it is understood), nonetheless wrote:²

It sometimes happens that Faurisson is right. I have said publicly, and repeat here, that when he shows that the Anne Frank diary is a doctored text, he may not be right in all details, [but] he is certainly right overall and an expert examination made for the Hamburg court has just shown that, in effect, this text was at the very least revised after the war, since [it was written] using ballpoint pens which appeared only in 1951. That is plain, clear and precise.

Robert Faurisson is Europe's foremost Holocaust revisionist scholar. Born in 1929, he was educated at the Paris Sorbonne, and served as a professor at the University of Lyon in France from 1974 until 1990. He was a specialist of text and document analysis. After years of private research and study, Dr. Faurisson first made public his skeptical views about the Holocaust extermination story in articles published in 1978 and 1979 in the French daily *Le Monde*. His writings on the Holocaust issue have appeared in several books and numerous scholarly articles, many of which have been published in this *Journal*. A four-volume collection of many of his revisionist writings, *Écrits Révisionnistes* (1974-1998), was published in 1999.

This essay is adapted from a piece written in June 2000 as the preface to a recent Italian edition of "Is the Diary of Anne Frank Genuine?"



Anne Frank in 1942. She died of typhus in the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp in March 1945, shortly before her 16th birthday. On March 16, 1945, a revisionist researcher has found, 102 women, girls and babies named "Anne" or "Anna" were killed in the Bavarian city of Würzburg, victims of an incendiary bomb attack by Allied war planes.

Those familiar with Vidal-Naquet, and his penchant for chopping and changing, will not be surprised to learn that, a few years afterwards, the professor repudiated this statement.

The 1986 'Critical Edition' of the Anne Frank Diary

In 1986 there appeared in Amsterdam, under the direction of the Netherlands State Institute for War Documentation — Rijksinstituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie (RIOD) — a big volume with "scholarly" pretensions.³ (The dust jacket of the US edition calls this "the most fascinating, comprehensive study of that diary in existence," while the dust

jacket blurb of the French edition similarly calls this the “complete edition of the diary’s three versions.”) Those words communicated, not that Anne Frank’s “diary” was genuine, but rather — and what a surprise, this plural! — that her “diaries” were. With much circumspect wording, this book accused the young girl’s father, Otto Heinrich Frank, of having carried out manipulations of the original texts, and of having lied. Of the abusive “corrections” and “cuts” imputed to the latter, the Netherlands Institute stated straightforwardly:⁴

All this may seem natural and understandable in one who aspired merely to publish the essence (“das Wesentliche”) of the literary bequest, the document humain, of his daughter, in what appeared to him a fit and proper manner. However, the sentence inserted on his authority at the conclusion of the Dutch edition of the Diary: “With the exception of a few sections of little interest to the reader, the original text has been retained,” must be seen as something more than an obvious understatement.

Otto Frank stuck to this conviction to his death: “the essence” had been published and that was the end of the matter. No amount of argument could make him change his mind.

As a result, over the long years during which the diary went on to play an increasingly important role in the view of millions of people who came to look on it as a historical document rather than as a work of literature, he did not make it easier to ward off attacks on the book.

The Netherlands Institute thus conceded to me a point of capital importance: I had been right in reproaching Otto Frank and in attacking his stubbornness in hiding the truth about his manipulations. But the “critical edition” held that there had nevertheless existed a whole series of Anne Frank diaries, all genuine, and that thus I had been wrong on the other, essential question, of the diary’s authenticity. I had, therefore, the right to expect both a rebuttal of my arguments on that point, and a demonstration of the authenticity of the diaries. Yet, in this purportedly scholarly Netherlands Institute edition, I found nothing of the kind.

A Diversionary Tactic

This 720-page work resembles the sort of deception whereby an attempt is made, through a show of learning on a given subject, to draw attention away from the matter at hand. In this case, the demonstration is essentially nothing more than a handwriting analysis. Accompanied with a generous array of photographs and tables, stress is laid in this “scholarly” book on the similarities between handwriting samples, while differences — glaring



Robert Faurisson in his home town of Vichy, France, September 2000.

even to a layman — are handled with great discretion.

A crucial point: We are not shown the two handwriting samples that I had reproduced in my analysis (page 297 of Thion’s 1980 book), and no analysis of them is offered by the Netherlands Institute. I refer here to two extraordinarily divergent samples: the “adult” cursive script dated June 12, 1942, and the “childish” printed script dated four months later, October 10, 1942; the two “Anne Frank” signatures alone differ peculiarly. It was in this regard that I most wanted an answer, for this goes to the heart of the matter.⁵

There is no sample of Isa Cauvern’s *handwriting*, about whose involvement I had voiced suspicions. She had been Otto Frank’s secretary. She

A Comparison of Handwriting Samples, Each Attributed to Anne Frank

Dear Grandma, I answered you 29
April Monday.
I did receive your letter and want
to answer you as quick as pos-
sible. Margot and myself are the
only children in our house. Our
grandma is living with us. My
father has an office and mother
is busy at home. I have not far
school and I am sitting in
the hall now.
Hoping to hear from you
I remain
your Dutch friend
Annelies Marie Frank.

April 29, 1940, from a letter written when Anne was nearly eleven years old. Source: *The New York Times*, July 22, 1988, front page.

10. 7. 1911

Leve Dins,

Ik ben nu in Beekbergen, het is hier erg fijn,
offen jaumer dat het nuh slecht was. Hoe is
het met jou? Is het fijn in de skivale?
Je terug schrijft dat het dan naar duurdzaam
want ik blijf hier met zo lang en vreesd worden.
De post brengen naar huren, en dat is onnodig
want hier is een klein huise, hij heet Raymont.
Jaune en ik zijn de hele dag met dan aan het
spelen. Hij is 1/2 jaar ouder dan de langste die den jul-
the weg en in de los nog altijd zo mooi. Hier
is het een erg ondermild. Het maar toe te gesel-
te. Jaune en ik hebben een eigen kaperde. Ik
lees veel jaumer, dat we niet naar huren kunnen
gaan. De nachts slapen wij hier met ons kaper dan in
duurdzaam wij worden helemaal met het fort.
De ja is met met Ray spelen want hij speelt al
Bij ik gaauw berucht van futen, en niet met kaper
van
Dins.

July 30, 1941. Source: *The Diary of Anne Frank: The Critical Edition* (New York: Doubleday, 1989), p. 107.

Ik zal hoop ik den ja aller-kunnen
halvertrauwen, zoals ik het nog een
niemand gekunt heb, en ik hoop dat
je het grote vlees aan me wilt zjgn.
Anne Frank. 12 Juni 1942.

June 12, 1942, when Anne was exactly 13 years old. Source: *The Diary of a Young Girl: The Definitive Edition* (New York: Doubleday, 1995), p. ix.



Dit is een
foto, zoals
ik me zou
wensen,
altijd zo
te zijn.
Dan had

ik nog wet een kans
om naar Hollywood te
komen. Maar tegen-
woordig zie ik er
jammer genoeg meer-
tal anders uit.

Branchbank.

13 Oct. 1946

Monday.

October 10, 1942. The text reads: “This is a photograph of me as I wish I looked all the time. Then I might still have a chance of getting to Hollywood. But at present, I’m afraid, I usually look quite different. Anne Frank. 10 Oct. 1942 Sunday” Source: *The Diary of Anne Frank: The Critical Edition* (New York: Doubleday, 1989), p. 282.

Dit is een foto, zoals
ik me zou wensen,
altijd zo te zijn.

Dan had ik nog wel
een kans om naar
Hollywood te komen.

Amesbury.

10 Oct. 1942

October 10, 1942. The original text has apparently been both altered and cut. Source: Richard Amdur, *Anne Frank* (New York: Chelsea House, 1992/1993), p. 61.

married Albert Cauvern, a dramatist working for a Dutch radio station. Isa and Albert Cauvern worked on the “diary” manuscript and on the various typescripts. In 1947, the year that the first edition of the “diary” was published in the Netherlands under the title *Het Achterhuis*, she committed suicide, a fact that the Netherlands Institute’s “critical edition” does not mention.⁶

Nor is there any analysis, or even a sample, of the manuscript of the short stories attributed to Anne Frank, published as “Tales from the Secret Annex.” I had been struck by the appearance of this manuscript: the “Tales” handwriting resembles that of a meticulous elderly accountant. Why, of all the manuscripts attributed to the girl, had this one not been made available to the experts?

Above all, however, the authors of this “scholarly” edition, by insisting so much on the study of handwritings, have abdicated what ought to have been their main task: the examination of the content. They should have made it their first task to provide the reader with evidence that, contrary to what I had written, the “diary” account actually does mirror a physical or material reality. Moreover, they should have shown that this account, in all the forms of it that we know, is coherent and comprehensible — which is far from the case. But there is no such demonstration. At the beginning of this detailed work, there is indeed an attempt to grapple with the physical or material impossibilities I had pointed out, but this attempt comes to a sudden end. A response is made to a single point: that of the noises, at times quite loud, made by eight persons over a period of more than two years in a small space, presumed to be uninhabited; noises even at night, while “the enemies” are absent, the slightest noise must be avoided and, if someone has a cough, he or she takes codeine. Yet, in the attic, in the middle of the day, Peter cuts wood in front of an open window! My argument on this point is derided: my adversaries dare to respond, in the face of conclusive textual proof to the contrary, that “the enemies” were not there, at this or that precise moment, to hear anything.⁷ All of my other arguments are passed over in silence. For his part, Otto Frank, during my meeting with him in 1977, after I had put him in an awkward position with my utterly down-to-earth questions, found no better reply than:

Mr. Faurisson, you are theoretically and scientifically right. I agree with you one hundred percent ... What you point out to me was, in fact, impossible. But, in practice, it was never-



Otto Frank

theless in that way that things happened.

To which I answered that, if he would be so good as to agree with me that a door could not be both open and shut at the same time, it followed that he, in practice, could not have seen a door in such a state. Yet, if I may put it thus, such physical or material impossibilities as simultaneously open and shut doors were already legion in the Anne Frank diary as we knew it at the time. What can one say of the likely growth in number of those impossibilities in the “diaries” (plural)?

A Financial Swindler?

Here is nonetheless a part of this “scholarly” edition that I cannot recommend enough to readers. It is that in which the rather unsettling prewar past of Otto Frank and his brother Herbert is revealed. In a preventive step against a possible revisionist inquiry into the matter, the authors inform us that in 1923 Otto Frank founded, in Frankfurt, a bank called “M. Frank and Sons.” The three men who headed this firm were Herbert and Otto Frank and — this detail is of some importance for the story of the Anne Frank diary — one Johannes Kleiman, a man who appears in the diary under the name of Jo Koophuis and who, after the war, was to act as an informer against “collaborators” for the Dutch “Political Criminal Investigation Department.”⁸ Even before Hitler came to power in January 1933, the bank was implicated in various shady dealings. A trial was held, but Herbert, the principal, chose not to appear. He fled the country, finding refuge in France. As for Otto Frank, the Netherlands Institute authors do not tell us anything clear about what happened to him. They go only so far as to inform us that the relevant court records are missing, and that this is “in any case regrettable,”⁹ an observation which lends a somewhat dubious aspect to the documents’ disappearance. In any event, Otto Frank may have fled to the Netherlands in 1933 to evade German justice.

Before engaging in a kind of literary swindle, had Frank been involved in financial swindling? During the war, thanks to various subterfuges and to the support of his three main partners (all “Aryans”), he had the satisfaction of seeing his two firms make money in their dealings with, among other concerns, a Dutch mainstay of the Dresdner Bank, one of Germany’s largest banking firms. It can be stated that, even during his time in hospital at Auschwitz, his Amsterdam business carried on under the supervision of his associate Jan Gies. Back in Amsterdam after the war, he had a brush

with the Dutch legal authorities, who were very attentive to matters of economic collaboration with Germany during the occupation. But an arrangement, we are told, was found.¹⁰

Worthless Evidence and Doubtful Witnesses?

The authors of this Netherlands Institute “critical edition” deal severely with the evidence and witnesses advanced by Otto Frank.

To begin with, they consider that the three expert analyses on which Frank based his claim of the diary’s authenticity are devoid of any value.¹¹ Let us recall that those analyses, the absurdity of which I had pointed out, nevertheless received, in the 1960s, the endorsement of German judges, who used them in convicting those who, before me, had cast doubt on the diary’s alleged authenticity.

Similarly severe is the appraisal of the Netherlands Institute of Ernst Schnabel’s book *Spur eines Kindes* (published in the United States under the title *Anne Frank: A Portrait in Courage*), which Otto Frank had enthusiastically advised me to read, and which also served to defend his argument. According to the Institute’s “critical edition” authors: “Since it [Schnabel’s book] contains various errors, all quotations from it should be treated with reservation.”¹² As for Frank’s star witness, the all-too-famous Miep Gies, it is an understatement to say that, on certain vital points of her testimony, she inspires no great confidence at the Netherlands Institute. The same goes for Victor Kugler (“Victor Kraler”).¹³

The Netherlands Institute ‘Critical Edition’ Fiasco

All things considered, the Netherlands Institute’s “critical edition” of the Anne Frank diary is a disaster for the late Otto Frank and for his experts, friends, and those who have vouched for him. Clearly, Frank’s cause has been deemed indefensible. But, by cutting away the deadwood in an attempt to preserve the tree, that is, by sacrificing Frank’s reputation in order to save that of his daughter’s alleged diary, the pruners at the Netherlands State Institute have found themselves confronting a kind of nothingness. Only a questionable “handwriting analysis” emerges from it all, which is all the more laughable given that, a few years after the publication of their “critical edition” in 1986, other samples of the girl’s writing in various personal letters and postcards appeared on the open market. These samples, which seem genuine to me, have rendered worthless the Netherlands Institute’s laborious analyses. In any case, the experts’ work must now be reviewed from beginning to end.

Finally, I shall add that this big book contains no plan of the house in which, for more than two years, the eight persons allegedly lived in hiding.¹⁴ Previ-

ous editions of the diary did carry such a plan, on which I have commented and which I compared with the house as I found it. This examination provided an argumentation with which to prove the fictitious nature of the whole account. The authors of the “scholarly” edition chose not to include a plan of the house. This is both an admission and an evasion.

In short, behind its show of erudition, this “comprehensive” Netherlands Institute edition is a fiasco.

The 1991 ‘Definitive’ Edition

In the wake of the publication of the Netherlands Institute’s study, it was only fitting to issue, for the general readership, a new “standard” edition of the diary to replace the one that Otto Frank had brought out in 1947. There was a real need to repair the damage wrought by the father, damage denounced by the Netherlands Institute. A certain Mirjam Pressler was entrusted with the job and, in 1991, there appeared a revised (*herziene*) and enlarged (*vermeerderde*) Dutch-language edition, which was presented as conforming fundamentally with what Anne Frank had written. This edition was described as “definitive.” In 1995 there appeared an English translation — similarly presented as “definitive.”¹⁵

An anomalous note, if not deceptive advertising, appeared on the title page, where the editor had the audacity to write: “The definitive edition... established by Otto H. Frank and Mirjam Pressler.” Dead since 1980, Frank could hardly have collaborated with Pressler on this 1991 work — one that, moreover, is for him a posthumous snub. I venture to say that never has a French paperback book been so laden with confused explanations on its title page and introductory page, in its foreword, in the pages of the “note on the present edition” and, finally, in its afterword. One is barely able to make head or tail of it all. The editor’s unease is obvious. Clearly he did not know just how to convey to the reader that this new Anne Frank diary is — this time for sure, and once and for all — *the* genuine diary.

We are told that Mirjam Pressler is “a popular, prize-winning writer of books for young readers and a well-known translator,” and that she lives in Germany. But we are not told what method she might have employed to establish this text, based on the three texts of the “critical edition.” How did she make her choices? What was her reason for keeping one fragment and discarding another? These questions remain unanswered.

I am not alone in noticing these irregularities. Even among aficionados of the legendary figure of Anne Frank, this odd Pressler edition is sometimes criticized, and in forceful terms. Writing in the British monthly *Prospect*, Nicolas Walter devotes three

columns to the English edition. His article bears a title with a double meaning: "Not completely Frank."¹⁶ He observes that the amalgamation of the three versions (the old translation and the two new ones) leaves us "with the result that all sorts of distortions and discrepancies remain." He adds: "The English version is said to be 'basically... as she wrote it,' which is not true, and it is described as the 'definitive edition,' which is nonsense." Walter goes on to write that this "standard" version is indeed "about one third longer" than the old "standard" version, but notes:

...it is still an eclectic conflation of A and B [that is, the first two versions of the "critical edition"], and it is marred by errors and omissions; many passages are in the wrong places and several passages are missing.

Walter concludes by asking whether Anne Frank's memory "should not ... be properly served by a satisfactory reading edition of her diary after half a century."

The Afterword by Rosselin-Bobulesco

The 1992 French edition of this new "standard" version includes an afterword by Isabelle Rosselin-Bobulesco that, unhappily, is absent from the English-language edition. The author defends, of course, the argument according to which the "scholarly" edition settled the controversy about the authenticity of Anne Frank's diary — a claim that, as can be seen, amounts to wishful thinking. Still, I recommend reading the section devoted to "The authenticity of the Diary" and, in particular, pages 348-349, where my own position is outlined almost forthrightly, and where reasons for doubting that authenticity, which were inspired by Otto Frank's behavior, are mentioned. I regret only that, at least in the passage that I will quote here, these reasons are presented as if it were a matter of obvious things on which everyone agreed. In reality it was, for the most part, my 1978 analysis that brought to light all that follows in the passage, and which evoked, at the time, all of the attacks on me — attacks that, as can be seen today, were in fact slanders.

Here I yield the floor to Rosselin-Bobulesco, highlighting some of her words:

At his death, Otto Frank bequeathed all of Anne's writings to the Netherlands State Institute of War Documentation, the RIOD. In the face of the assaults calling the authenticity of the diary into question, the RIOD considered that, in view of the Diary's quasi-symbolic aspect and historical interest, it had become indispensable to allay the doubts. We know that *inaccuracies were not lacking*. The diary

was written in several notebooks and on loose-leaf. Anne Frank herself had drafted two versions. There had been *several typed versions that did not entirely follow the original text. Modifications, additions, or removals had been effected by her father. Besides, corrections had been introduced by persons whom Otto Frank had asked to reread the diary, lest his own insufficient knowledge of Dutch prevent a proper weeding out of his daughter's mistakes in spelling and grammar. Furthermore, the Dutch editor himself had also modified the text by removing certain passages of a sexual character, deemed at the time to be too shocking, those in which Anne speaks of her menstrual periods, for example. As for the different translations, they evinced disparities. There were inaccuracies in the German translation, certain passages had been suppressed so as not to offend the German reader. The translation had been made from a typewritten text that was not the definitive text that had served as the basis for [the original book in Dutch]. In the American edition, certain passages that had been removed from the Dutch version had, on the contrary, been reinserted. Several expert analyses of the handwritten text were carried out, several lawsuits had been filed, in response to the attacks against the diary. Never had there emerged a clear picture of the situation, even if the outcome of the court cases and of the inquiries upheld Otto Frank.*

Isabelle Rosselin-Bobulesco may minimize the actual facts as she wishes, and she may present things in the colors of her choice: all the same, this passage makes clear that I was perfectly well founded in believing neither the text of the alleged Anne Frank diary nor the replies to my questions by Otto Frank.

The December 1998 Amsterdam Judgement Against Me

Nevertheless, on December 9, 1998, a court in Amsterdam found a way to rule against me for my analysis of the diary of Anne Frank. This study, which I drafted 20 years earlier for a German court, had been published since 1980 in France and in a number of other countries without ever prompting legal action. In the Netherlands, however, it will not do to lay an impious hand on the icon of Saint Anne Frank.

The intrepid Siegfried Verbeke had translated my 1978 study into Dutch-Flemish, publishing it in a 1991 brochure entitled "The 'Diary' of Anne Frank: A Critical Approach" (*Het 'Dagboek' van Anne Frank: een kritische benadering*).¹⁷ Verbeke intro-

duced my text with a foreword that was certainly revisionist in character but altogether moderate in tone. Two associations then filed a lawsuit against us: the Anne Frank Foundation in Amsterdam, and the Anne Frank Fund in Basel. These organizations are known for the ruthless war they wage against each other over the corpse of Anne Frank and the remains of her late father, but in this case, faced with danger to their identical financial interests, they decided to make common cause. It must be said that an enormous business has grown up around Anne Frank's name, a veritable "industry," as Nicolas Walter calls it.

The plaintiffs claimed, in particular, that my analysis gave "negative publicity" to their associations, with unpleasant financial results. For example, the Anne Frank Foundation, which runs the Anne Frank House in Amsterdam as a popular tourist center, revealed that it had to spend time and money combatting the booklet's harmful effect. Indeed, my own information leads me to believe that the personnel of the Anne Frank House receive special training enabling them to respond effectively to queries or arguments from visitors who have been influenced by reading Verbeke or Faurisson. The Foundation added:

Moreover, the statements in the booklet may in the long term cause the number of visitors to Anne Frank House to diminish, with Anne Frank House's management finding itself in difficulties as a result.

In its decision, the court did not fail to adopt, as its own, the plaintiffs' views on "the symbolic function that Anne Frank has acquired," and on the decidedly perverse nature of the revisionists Verbeke and Faurisson. Relying solely on the handwriting analysis requested by the Netherlands State Institute, the Amsterdam court declared that it was impossible to call into question the authenticity of the work attributed to Anne Frank. The court added:

Toward the victims of the Holocaust and their surviving relatives, the remarks [of Verbeke and Faurisson] are hurtful and needlessly offensive. It follows inescapably that they cause [the survivors] psychological or emotional injury.

Copyright Infringement?!

The most staggering part of the ruling was the court's finding that I had personally breached the law on copyright by quoting numerous extracts from the Anne Frank diary. The court ruled, without citing evidence, that "the quotations [on pages 36-39 of the booklet] are removed from their context in an

unwarranted manner." This referred to the beginning of my analysis, that is, the parts I had numbered from four to ten, in which, with a salvo of very brief quotations, I listed the manifold physical or material impossibilities in the "diary." Quite obviously, neither Otto Frank nor anyone else has ever found a reply to this. But that court in Amsterdam found, if not an answer, then at least a way out: in the court's view, my quotations are simply not to be considered because, apparently, they infringe copyright.

In my long experience with law courts, in France and abroad, I have had occasion to witness a good deal of baseness, of sophistry, of warping and twisting the truth, as well as every sort of judicial ploy. Nonetheless, I believe that this Amsterdam court, in its decision of December 9, 1998, overstepped the bounds of decency in rebuking me for having, in a textual analysis, repeatedly quoted from the text. Not one of those quotations, incidentally, had been removed from its context. On the contrary, with painstaking diligence, I had, I believe, demonstrated great care in looking over, as closely as possible, all the words of the text proper, then putting those same words back into their most direct context. But it is likely that the court understood the word "context" in a broad and flexible sense, as too often happens, that is, of a context that is historical, sociological, psychological, and so forth. In doing so, the court, of course, gave its own subjective view of the history or psychology of an Anne Frank whom it conceived in line with its own imagination, without paying the slightest heed to the words that, one by one, constitute a work called the diary of Anne Frank.

A Judgment With the Help of the French Police and Justice System

Verbeke and I were ordered to pay heavy court costs, and the sale of our book was banned in the Netherlands on pain of a fine of 25,000 Dutch guilders per day per copy displayed in public.

Let us add, for the record, that the plaintiffs had the long arm of the law on their side. From Amsterdam, they had gotten the French police to call on me at home in Vichy, had me summoned to the station for questioning, and had bailiffs drop by bearing court orders and formal demands. The French justice ministry's *Service civil de l'entraide judiciaire internationale*, with the French taxpayer footing the bill, worked very well in tandem with the Dutch police.

A Field of Research for Computer Specialists

In 1978 I was not able to take advantage of the opportunities offered by the computer. With pen in hand, I sedulously studied the Anne Frank diary,

searching for certain words that, at times, were far removed from one another, “cutting and pasting” them with scissors and glue, and counting them on my fingers. As a result, there occurred errors of detail on my part that I have sometimes managed to correct. I am aware of the imperfection of the final result as it stands today. It is my hope that, in the future, researchers who are adept with computers will take up my analysis and revise it on those points.

The four editions of the Netherlands Institute (RIOD) diary — one each in Dutch, German, French and English — open up a superb field of research for such people. Working from the old versions in Dutch, German (two German versions!) and French, I was able to demonstrate the existence, as it were, of different Anne Franks, irreconcilable with one another, as well as the existence of contradictory accounts. Today, with the more recent versions from the Netherlands Institute and Mirjam Pressler, persons skilled in the use of computers should find it possible to take apart, bit by bit — and better than I had done — this literary forgery.

For the same can be said of the “diary” of Anne Frank as of any imposture: the more someone strives to defend it, the more he provides, in spite of himself, arguments that discredit it. In other words, by shielding a lie, one becomes ensnared in one’s own lies. To take but one example dear to revisionists, the fallacious character of Kurt Gerstein’s so-called testimony is exposed just as well by analyzing a single version of it as by comparing it with other, contradictory versions.

But let us be practical: to begin at the beginning of this new job of analyzing the Anne Frank “diary,” I suggest that a team of researchers with good computer skills, all possessing a good knowledge of Dutch and German, undertake a comparative study of the following:

1. In Dutch, first the 1947 version (published by Otto Frank under the title *Het Achterhuis*), then the 1986 Netherlands Institute (RIOD) versions, and finally, Mirjam Pressler’s 1991 edition.
2. The corresponding German versions, it being understood that, as I discovered in 1978, there appeared, after the version published in 1950 by Lambert Schneider, a slightly different one in 1955, published by Fischer Verlag.

At a later stage, it will still be permissible to carry out an analysis of the different French and English versions and then, to settle the matter for good, there can be a comparison of the ten or so Anne Franks who emerge from all the Dutch versions and various translations.

Only then, and regardless of what the profiteers who have exploited her memory for so long may

have to say about it, will justice finally be done to the one, the genuine Anne Frank, who never wrote this “cock-and-bull story,” first published in Dutch in 1947 and then published (in its US editions), in 1953 as *The Diary of a Young Girl*, re-christened, in 1986-1989, after renovation and makeshift repairs, *The Diary of Anne Frank: The Critical Edition*, before ending up being called, in 1995 (for English readers), after much patching and façade work, *The Diary of a Young Girl: The Definitive Edition*, by “Anne Frank.”

Post scriptum

On pages 94-96 of the US edition of the Netherlands Institute’s “Critical Edition,” David Barnouw proclaims that he has summarized what he is willing to call my analysis, but not without insinuating that I am a trickster.

Of all my material or physical arguments, he responds to only one, that of the loud noises made by those hiding in the “Annex.” Then, of all the instances of noises I cite, he deals with only three. He claims that, in these three cases, I concealed the fact that Anne Frank specified that, because the “enemies” were not nearby, there was no risk of the noises being heard. My reply is that perhaps the nearby “enemies” (for example, the two shop assistants) weren’t there, but that the other “enemies,” indefinite in number, could have heard those noises: that of the vacuum cleaner, every day at 12:30 p.m., as well as the “endless peals of laughter” or “a doomsday racket.” Barnouw is much distressed at having to explain these noises and others, sometimes dreadfully loud, in a dwelling where the stillness of the grave should have prevailed. Additionally, he resorts to ruminations as diffuse as they are murky, to spare himself effort as well as to mislead. He writes:¹⁸

From the diary it appears that the inhabitants of the Annexe, too, had to brave many dangers, not least the chance that they might make too much noise and be overheard. Faurisson, however, did not examine the overall picture of life in hiding in any depth, or concern himself greatly in this context with the fact that the Frank family and their fellow fugitives were in the end arrested.

Here Barnouw evinces a pathos that allows him to conclude shamelessly: “Given the above extract [of Faurisson’s analysis of the question of noise], we have no need to subject all the examples mentioned by Faurisson to review.” In my opinion, this last remark is proof that the Netherlands Institute authorities, by their own admission, have not wished to “submit to review” an essential part of my

analysis, that which concerns the physical or material impossibilities of the account.

On another point Barnouw insinuates that I am dishonest. On page 261 of Serge Thion's book, I had mentioned my discovery, during my investigation into the circumstances of the arrest of the eight fugitives in Amsterdam on August 4, 1944, of an especially interesting witness. I wrote:

This witness [in 1978] made us promise, myself and the person accompanying me, not to divulge her name. I gave her my word to keep it secret. I shall only half keep my promise. The importance of her testimony is such that it seems to me to be impossible to pass over it in silence. This witness's name and address, together with the name and address of the person accompanying me, are recorded [on a paper] in a sealed envelope contained in my "Appendix no. 2: Confidential" [for submission to the court in Hamburg].

Barnouw begins by quoting these lines, but not without excising the sentence which revealed the reason for my discretion: the witness had made us promise — that was the word — not to name her. Then Barnouw adds deceitfully:

A photograph of this sealed envelope is printed as an appendix to Faurisson's "investigation," albeit only in the French version of 1980; the publisher of the Dutch version had the sense to leave out this piece of evidence.

In other words, Barnouw suggests, I had fooled my readers, leading them to believe, by means of this alleged trick, that the envelope in reality contained no names. Barnouw suggests that this envelope, if it ever even existed, was empty. The truth is that I had indeed submitted to the court in Hamburg an envelope containing the names and addresses of the two persons in question. Today, 22 years later, I believe myself justified in divulging these names, which have long been known to the court: Mrs. Karl Silberbauer and Mr. Ernst Wilmersdorf, both of whom lived in Vienna.

On this occasion I will also reveal the names of three French academics of whom it is stated, on page 299 of the Thion book, *Vérité historique ou vérité politique?*, that they concurred with my findings on the alleged diary of Anne Frank. The first is Michel Le Guern, a professor of literature who at the time was lecturing at the University of Lyon-2 and who has recently published, in the prestigious "Bibliothèque de la Pléiade" series, a scholarly edition of Blaise Pascal's *Pensées*. It would be difficult to think of a more proficient authority on literary analysis.

The closing sentence of Le Guern's written testi-

mony of 1978 reads as follows:

It is certain that the conventions of literary exchange authorize Mr. Frank, or anyone else, to put together as many fictitious personae of Anne Frank as he may wish, but on condition that he not identify any of these fictional beings as the real Anne Frank.

Two other academics were about to come to a similar conclusion when suddenly, in November 1978, the "affaire Faurisson" exploded in the press. They are Frédéric Deloffre and Jacques Rougeot, both professors at the University of Paris IV-Sorbonne.

Today these three men are all retired. That is why I have decided to reveal their names. I had not, in any case, given them any pledge of confidentiality.

Notes

1. Serge Thion, *Vérité historique ou vérité politique?* (Paris: La Vieille Taupe, 1980), pp. 213-300. This essay, "Is the Diary of Anne Frank Genuine?," was published in English in the Summer 1982 *Journal* (vol. 3, no. 2), pp. 147-209. See also: R. Faurisson, "Anne Frank's Handwriting," Spring 1989 *Journal* (vol. 9, no. 1), pp. 97-101; M. Weber, "Anne Frank," May-June 1995 *Journal* (vol. 15, no. 3), p. 31.
In 1989, 1993 and 1995, respectively, I wrote three items dealing with a work that claimed to disprove my findings. These three items may be found in my *Ecrits révisionnistes 1974-1998*, a four-volume collection of my revisionist writings, privately published by me in 1999 for restricted distribution: pp. 856-859, 1551-1552, 1655-1656.
2. Interview in *Regards*, weekly of the Centre communautaire juif of Brussels, November 7, 1980, p. 11. Among his many publications, Pierre Vidal-Naquet is author of the anti-revisionist book *Assassins of Memory: Essays on the Denial of the Holocaust*, which is reviewed by M. Weber in the Nov.-Dec. 1993 *Journal*, pp. 36-39.
3. *The Diary of Anne Frank: The Critical Edition* (New York: Doubleday, 1989). David Barnouw and Gerrold van der Stroom, eds. "Prepared by the Netherlands State Institute for War Documentation."
4. *The Diary of Anne Frank: The Critical Edition* (New York: 1989), cited above, p. 166 ("Afterword"). The German and French editions were published in 1988 and 1989 respectively. I have in my possession these four bulky volumes, that is, the Dutch original and the three translations. Comparisons between them reveal some odd differences.
5. These can be seen in *The Journal of Historical Review*, along with articles by Faurisson: Summer 1982 *Journal*, p. 209, and Spring 1989 *Journal*, pp. 99-100.
6. *The Diary of Anne Frank: The Critical Edition* (1989),

cited above, pp. 63-64.

7. *The Diary of Anne Frank: The Critical Edition* (1989), cited above, pp. 95-96.
8. *The Diary of Anne Frank: The Critical Edition* (1989), cited above, pp. 30-31. This agency is not to be confused with the "Supervisory Board for Political Offenders," mentioned on p. 34.
9. *The Diary of Anne Frank: The Critical Edition* (1989), cited above, p. 4.
10. *The Diary of Anne Frank: The Critical Edition* (1989), cited above, pp. 15, 55-56.
11. *The Diary of Anne Frank: The Critical Edition* (1989), cited above, pp. 88-90.
12. *The Diary of Anne Frank: The Critical Edition* (1989), cited above, p. 19, n. 41.
13. *The Diary of Anne Frank: The Critical Edition* (1989), cited above, pp. 36-45.
14. Of the various language editions of the "critical edition," there is a partial plan of the "Annex" house only in the English-language edition. See: *The Diary of Anne Frank: The Critical Edition* (1989), cited above, p. 213. This plan is only for three floors, whereas the house actually had five (as I have shown in the photographs I published, for example, in S. Thion's book, *Vérité historique ou vérité politique?*).
15. Anne Frank, *The Diary of a Young Girl: The Definitive Edition*, (New York: Doubleday, 1995.) "Edited by Otto H. Frank and Mirjam Pressler." Translated by Susan Massotty.
16. *Prospect*, August-September 1997, p. 75. *Prospect* is aimed at an intellectual and academic readership.
17. See "A Belgian Foundation Battles for Free Speech," Jan.-Feb. 1996 *Journal*, p. 46.
18. This and the following quotes or citations in this "Post scriptum" section are from *The Diary of Anne Frank: The Critical Edition* (1989), cited above, pp. 94-96.

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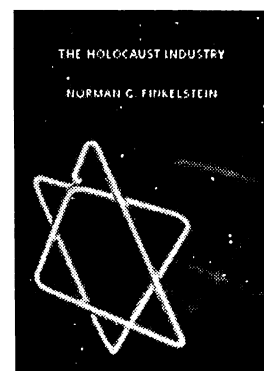
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Historical Past vs. Political Present

ARTHUR R. BUTZ

"A Holocaust museum is built in Washington. Sixty-five million people watch 'Schindler's List.' The German president apologizes to Israel. Then what can you say about these guys who say the Holocaust never happened? They're a fringe movement of charlatans."

— Michael Berenbaum, identified as "a distinguished professor of Holocaust studies at Clark University," quoted in *Forward*, April 14, 2000, p. 20. Berenbaum has also served as director of the US Holocaust Memorial Museum and director of Steven Spielberg's *Survivors of the Shoah Visual History Foundation*.

"The Pope deposes and crowns emperors and excommunicates kings to bend them to his will. England, Denmark, Hungary, Poland, Portugal and other lands are papal vassals. The schism with Constantinople has ended. The Pope's Lateran Council has not only acted to clarify the practice of the Faith and moved against heresy, but has also established rules for education and instituted long overdue reforms in the civil law. Then what can you say about these guys who say the Donation of Constantine is a forgery? They're a fringe movement of charlatans."

— A non-existent commentator in 1216 A.D., in a statement concocted by this author in 2000 A.D.

In this paper I wish to focus on three broad subjects, making remarks of general interest.

1. My attempt to use the archives of the Berlin Document Center.
2. Some writings of mine that have been objects of ridicule. There are things to learn by taking another look, and I won't apologize.
3. Some things that came out of the Wilkomirski

Arthur R. Butz was born and raised in New York City. In 1965 he received his doctorate in Control Sciences from the University of Minnesota. In 1966 he joined the faculty of Northwestern University (Evanston, Illinois), where he is now Associate Professor of Electrical and Computer Engineering. In addition to numerous technical papers, Dr. Butz is the author of *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, first published in 1976.

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affair that deserve more stress than they have been given till now, and which raise basic questions on the nature of our disagreements with our adversaries, and we should have no illusions that that is the right word.

1. The Berlin Document Center

From 1945 to 1953 the western Allies gathered the surviving records of the Nazi Party, and affiliated organizations such as the SS, into a collection that was housed at the "Berlin Document Center" (BDC) under the jurisdiction of the US Army. In 1953 jurisdiction was transferred to the US Department of State. The expenses of operating the BDC were borne by the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG or West Germany).¹

Most of the records at the BDC were biographical files, such as Nazi Party membership records and SS personnel files. Some non-biographical records were transferred to the FRG in 1959-1962, many after being microfilmed by the American Historical Association or the Hoover Institution for the use of scholars.

In 1989 the Bundestag of the FRG unanimously requested the transfer of the BDC files to German control. An agreement to do this, effective July 1, 1994, was reached in October 1993, subject to the condition that all records would first be microfilmed, at German expense, the microfilms being turned over to the US National Archives and Records Administration (NARA). In the process the BDC system of "finding aids" was to be reproduced, and a computer data base of the files was to be created, for the use of NARA.²

I was happy to hear of this development, but I became alarmed when I read in a September 1994 publication of the Anti-Defamation League (ADL):³

The League is working with Members of Congress and non-governmental representatives to establish a group to monitor access to Nazi documents and records which were recently transferred to the control of the German government. The records, the largest and most valuable collection of materials documenting the Third Reich, are stored in the Berlin Document Center.

The correct interpretation of "monitor access"



Arthur Butz speaking at the 13th IHR Conference, May 27, 2000.

was not clear. The most obvious interpretation, and the one that alarmed me, was that access to the NARA microfilm files would be effectively blocked to revisionists and other unapproved prying eyes.

The ADL and other Jewish representatives had testified in the congressional hearings on the transfer in April 1994. However in these hearings the only concern relevant to monitoring was a concern that the Germans may not permit free access to their original files while the microfilming was in progress, following warnings by Gerald Posner in a *New Yorker* article.⁴ My worry did not appear to be confirmed by these hearings.

Recently I sought to use the NARA BDC collection for a specific purpose. The famous internal SS investigation of Konrad Morgen netted Karl Koch, commandant of Buchenwald, Amon Goeth, commandant of Plaszow, of "Schindler's List" notoriety, and a number of smaller fry, one of them being the head of the Gestapo office at the Auschwitz concentration camp, SS-*Untersturmführer* (Second Lieutenant) Maximilian Grabner. All the SS personnel arrested were charged with corruption, and it is said that Grabner was charged in addition with murdering either 40 or 2,000 prisoners, receiving a death sentence later commuted to twelve years in prison.⁵ In some versions of the Grabner story, his trial was postponed and never concluded.⁶ Grabner was executed by the Poles in 1947.⁷

Since it is obvious that prosecution by the SS, for murder, of the head of the Gestapo office at Auschwitz does not harmonize with the claim that thousands were killed daily at that camp, I wanted to clarify just what the charges against Grabner were and how they were disposed of. The BDC collection was the obvious source to consult. I wanted his service record.

The BDC archives are vast. There is a published hard copy index for 177 of the 40,000 rolls of microfilm, this index covering mainly non-biographical records.⁸ I found no help on the Grabner problem there. The really attractive possibility seemed to be the computerized index, which had been promised in the congressional hearings by Dr. Lewis Bellardo of NARA, who assured the hearings that⁹

we will make records available to all categories of non-government researchers on an equal basis. There will be no "scholarly research" requirement for access ... A final note relating to access is that this microfilm is accompanied by a computerized index. The index in conjunction with the microfilm allows the researcher to search much more quickly for a selected file than if the search had to be conducted using manual indexes and paper records.

In these days of e-everything I thought I was entitled to assume that the computerized index was accessible through the NARA web site (www.nara.gov) but I could not find it there. An e-mail address for inquiry was given, however, so I inquired about access to the computerized index. I was told that

Unfortunately, the computerized index worked fine in Berlin, but not here in the US. So it is not available. We do have rolls lists for all the microfilm, however, showing first and last names on each roll. But there are many separate collections comprising the BDC microfilm, so multiple searches of microfilm are usually necessary. How can we help you further?

I then inquired whether the computerized index is available on a web server in Berlin, and the answer was: "No, it was never meant to be online for the public, just for in-house use."

Having exhausted all possibilities of searching the BDC files myself, I told the NARA staffer that I was looking for the service record of Grabner. He could not find it, explaining that "Not all the SS records survived the war," but he found one document that at least mentioned Grabner as head of the Gestapo office at Auschwitz. He sent it to me but it shed no light on the problem of interest.

The NARA staffer seemed to be as helpful as he reasonably could be. The impediments I encoun-

tered were not put there by him, but they are there nevertheless. I noticed no mechanism for keeping revisionists out, but I was disappointed. The promises in Lewis Bellardo's congressional hearings testimony have not been kept, and it is very difficult for US-based individual researchers to search the BDC files without spending a prohibitive amount of time examining rolls of microfilm.

As for the computerized index that works in Berlin but not elsewhere, the situation seems ludicrous. If the data exists in electronic form, it can be set up to be accessed and searched on the Internet with appropriate software design requiring an effort only a fraction of what was required to compile the index in the first place. It is not clear to me whether the Germans use the computerized index. If they do, I doubt they would be cooperative with requests from abroad for searches, since NARA does not seem to have access to the index itself. As for the option of a revisionist going to Germany to use the computerized index, the Leuchter, Irving and Töben cases make that a bad joke.

In summary, it may be just an accident that the situation is bad for revisionists, but in any case it is bad.

It was taken for granted in the preceding that computer and Internet usage is now a commonplace in the gathering of information. Despite the lack of a Berlin Documents Center online search function, a development of recent years has been the availability of much information on the web. The information can be computer searched, with or without downloading. Some good archives that I have downloaded for that purpose have been the Adelaide Institute newsletters (www.adelaideinstitute.org), the English translation of *Grundlagen zur Zeitgeschichte* (www.vho.org), *Dissecting the Holocaust*,¹⁰ and the Irving-Lipstadt trial transcripts (www.fpp.co.uk/online.html). Searching these sources may not bring up exactly the information you want, but even then you may get pointed in the right direction.

There are many other documents at these sites and also the CODOH (www.codoh.com) and IHR (www.ihr.org) web sites, but you have to be selective in downloading specific articles. I look forward to Robert Faurisson's four volume *Écrits Révisionnistes* becoming available in electronic form. Dare I also hope for an English translation?

One can also search the web without downloading. In this connection I should mention the search engines available on Germar Rudolf's web site, at www.vho.org/Search/searchRev.html, and on the IHR site at www.ihr.org. These search the main revisionist web sites for search terms supplied by the user. However in most cases when research is being done then a limitation in a web search to only

revisionist web sites does not seem wise to me. The well known search engines such as Altavista have a general scope. One of the big problems with such general searches is that they often return thousands of unhelpful and/or irrelevant sites, but careful choice of search terms can mitigate this problem.

2. Some Ridicule of Butz

During his recent trial David Irving made available on his web site the "expert opinion" that Robert Jan Van Pelt prepared for Irving's adversaries in the trial. This raises historiographic issues in the sense of how conclusions should be drawn from historical data. I read some of this and I was surprised, as others have been, to see Van Pelt claim that the roles of Auschwitz, Belzec, Sobibor and Treblinka as extermination camps were "moral certainties." In his report he appears to define "moral certainty" as something between "beyond reasonable doubt" and "unqualified certainty," but then he applies it to the claims of the legend in connection with Belzec, Sobibor and Treblinka, while admitting that the evidence is scant for those places. Thus I am not sure how to interpret the phrase as he uses it, and he probably isn't either.¹¹

In any case I read part of Van Pelt's report, including the part dealing with my book *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, and the reading confirmed the inference, that has been made before by me and others, that the Auschwitz legend rests entirely on alleged eye witness accounts. The "extermination" cannot be deduced, or even suspected, from the documents, from the ordinary historical record of how the principals behaved, or from physical evidence at the site. All of the material means that play a role in the legend (for example, Zyklon, crematories) have in fact non-homicidal interpretations, with dual homicidal interpretations being supplied by the alleged eye witnesses. Van Pelt's report also confirms the opinion I expressed many years ago, that in these debates¹² we must maintain context and perspective and above all be on our guard against being tricked into quarreling so much over details that we lose sight of simple observations, as I shall explain.¹³

I think it is fair to say that today the defenders of the legend argue, with an exception to be noted, not that available forensic evidence shows that the gassings took place, but that it was possible that they took place. This is something that must be inferred from their writings, because they don't put it that way and maintain an air of dogmatic certainty. A good example is their defense against the Leuchter and later investigations relating to cyanide residues in the crematoria at Auschwitz.¹⁴ In the most honest versions of their defense they concede the main point, namely that the residues are

very scarce in the alleged homicidal gas chamber in the crematory structures, but exist in abundance in the walls of a nearby delousing gas chamber, in the form of iron-cyanide compounds. Then they argue in effect, employing largely unsupported technical assertions and making adjustments in “eye witness” testimonies, that the results do not exclude that people were gassed in the structures in question.¹⁵

In my 1992 IHR conference paper I said that the procedure is like sawing off a tree limb that one is sitting on.¹⁶ The logic is circuitous. We are told to believe the gassing stories, not because the documents and physical evidence say so, but because the witnesses say so. Then we are told that we should make some adjustments in the accounts of the witnesses, because features of their testimonies are inconsistent with the alleged fact of the gasings.

A dishonest version of their defense is to ignore the delousing gas chamber issue entirely, as is done in the Errol Morris film on Fred Leuchter entitled “Mr. Death”; at least, that was how it was handled in the version I saw last February. Another instance of this dishonesty, which could perhaps be dismissed as blazingly stupid rather than dishonest, was taken in that 1994 report of the Institute of Forensic Research in Cracow.¹⁷ The argument, to the extent that it was intelligible enough to be summarized at all, was that they did not understand how the iron-cyanide compounds got to be there, so they decided to ignore them in reaching their conclusions. I don’t understand how the moon got there, so I will ignore all effects associated with it, such as tides. I hope I don’t drown.

Revisionists have carried this point as far as necessary. The legend’s defenders are claiming “events continental in geographic scope, of three years in temporal scope, and of several million in scope of victims,”¹⁸ and they must provide commensurate evidence. They are claiming events that by their nature and scale would leave emphatic commensurate evidence, physical and otherwise. A few witnesses won’t do, just as they wouldn’t do if the claim were that New York City burned down. When we dissect such witness testimony we play a game in which larger issues are not at stake. Never forget that. If I can’t offhand find internal contradictions in the testimony of a man who claims that New York City burned down, you would not conclude that it did burn down.

Van Pelt’s report resurrected the defense of the legend offered in Michael Shermer’s article a few years ago in his *Skeptic* magazine.¹⁹ In his critique of revisionism Shermer chose to give prominence to the unusual word “consilience,” apparently coined in 1840 by the English philosopher William Whewell. The word has been used more recently as the title of a book by Edward O. Wilson to mean “a



Michael Shermer, editor-publisher of *Skeptic* magazine.

‘jumping together’ of knowledge by the linking of facts and fact based theory across disciplines to create a common groundwork of explanation,” or in Whewell’s words what “takes place when an Induction, obtained from one class of facts, coincides with an Induction, obtained from another different class. This consilience is a test of the Theory in which it occurs.” Wilson’s book argues for the application of the methods of the natural sciences to the social sciences and the humanities, to achieve a grand synthesis.²⁰

Shermer also proposes to apply a test of a “convergence of evidence” as “a less cumbersome phrase.” I think that is also a more acceptable phrase than “consilience,” because the various classes of evidence that Shermer considers are not from diverse fields of study. They are the usual sources that have been assembled by those who have been specifically interested in pressing the genocide claim.

If a true “convergence of evidence” is sought then we must of course consider the behavior of the Allies at the time, the behavior of the Red Cross, the behavior of the Vatican, the behavior of the German opposition to Hitler, the behavior of the Jewish organizations, the vast numbers of Jews in Europe immediately after the war, many in camps and bound for Palestine, the USA, and other destina-

tions (often employing concealment and deception in regard to their numbers and identities), the contemporaneous German documents, the aerial photos, the lack of physical evidence for “extermination,” and the lack of evidence for engineering design projects to create equipment for the extermination of large numbers of human beings in gas chambers (remember it hadn’t been done before – they say the Germans silently adapted other means to the novel and gigantic undertaking). That is a real test of convergence. Long ago, I wrote an article presenting this convergence of evidence, though I didn’t call it that. The article was entitled “Context and Perspective in the Holocaust Controversy,” and was given in lecture form at the IHR conference in 1982.²¹

Though he says the test of historical truth is a “convergence of evidence,” Shermer presents first only “A Case Study in Convergence” and then explains that “it is not possible in a magazine-length article to adequately cover all of the points made above” (that is, the general case for convergence). How is it, then, that I say that I wrote an article presenting a convergence of evidence, but Shermer could not? It is very simple. I could refer to other works on how the Allies acted, how the Vatican acted, how the Jewish organizations acted, and so forth. Books had been written about massive Jewish movements after World War II, and virtually all books on the subject acknowledge that an extermination program is not to be found in the German documents. All studies of the German concentration camps acknowledge the high death rates due to disease, the use of Zyklon for hygienic purposes, and the cremation of the victims. Other investigators, virtually all of whom would have rejected my conclusions, had done the work for me. Shermer said he could not present the convergence because he was only writing an article. I say he couldn’t present it because it wasn’t there.

Shermer avoided considering how the various principals acted; that perspective is missing. He could not find any scholarship to correspond to the massive scholarship that supports the revisionist observations, such as “nobody acted as if it was happening,” or “at the end of the war, the Jews were still there,” or “the German documents speak of a program of expulsion and resettlement,” or “catastrophic death scenes in the camps in 1945 were fraudulently represented as evidence of intentional extermination.” On our adversaries’ side, there are only such things as “leading Nazis said...,” or “all historians say...,” or “survivors say,” or “Höss confessed that,” or “this inmate testified that.”

Having been unable to argue “convergence,” Shermer examines two special subjects: Nazi statements about exterminating or annihilating Jews

and the gas chamber/crematoria issue. Thus he ends up arguing special points rather than convergence.

He begins with the occasional Nazi use of the German word “*Ausrottung*” (extermination) in application to the Jews. He is right in saying that the standard translation is “extermination”; moreover the standard translation of “*Vernichtung*,” also sometimes used by Nazis, is “annihilation.” However in actual practice in English both words can be used in contexts where they are not taken to mean killing, and a further complication is that the Nazis were notorious for hyperbole or rhetorical inflation; for example, everything they did had to be the “greatest,” or “most glorious,” and so forth.

Without realizing it Shermer demolishes his case on this matter with a February 18, 1937, quote from Himmler, addressing a meeting of his *Gruppenführers*:²²

I have the conviction that the Roman emperors, who exterminated (*ausrotteten*) the first Christians, did precisely what we are doing with the Communists. These Christians were at that time the vilest scum, which the city accommodated, the vilest Jewish people, the vilest Bolsheviks there were.

Shermer’s problem is that it does indeed seem that Himmler is claiming that he is physically exterminating Communists and/or Jews, and there were many of both in Germany then. It would be very difficult to argue, on the basis of internal analysis, against such an interpretation. However Germany was not doing such things in 1937. Communist leaders and other political enemies had only been put into concentration camps.

If Himmler can seem to claim mass killings that did not actually exist, where does that place later occasional comparable statements by him and other Nazi leaders? In a discussion of this problem in my book *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* I remarked that in connection with comparable statements Hitler “could have chosen his words more carefully.”²³ I have been a butt of ridicule for that passage, but I stand by the statement and the analysis.

The second special subject that Shermer takes up is the gas chamber/crematory issue, which has given rise to a second basis for ridicule of my work, as I shall explain. However the general issue has been well worked over in other revisionist writings and I shall not take it up here. I only remark in this connection that Shermer misrepresented the results of the forensic investigations discussed above, by claiming that “forensic tests have now been conducted demonstrating the homicidal use of both the gas chambers and the crematoria for the express purpose of exterminating large numbers of

prisoners." That is an amazing lie that the other defenders of the legend are not guilty of, as far as I know.²⁴

It is common for promoters and defenders of the legend to focus only on Germany, an elementary historiographic error. Alas, revisionists also commit it. When there is a focus elsewhere, the scope of the exposition is similarly limited. For example a treatise excoriating the wartime Pope, for not acting as though a "Holocaust" were in progress, will not properly take into account that nobody else so acted.

A focus distributed on all principals can throw light on what may seem mysterious or enigmatic if considered out of its historical context. In another phase of his discourse on the use of the word "*Ausrottung*," Shermer reproduces and discusses a memo from Rudolf Brandt, a member of *Reichsführer SS* Himmler's personal staff, to the chief of the security police and SD in Berlin, Ernst Kaltenbrunner, dated February 22, 1943.²⁵ It says "On the instructions of the Reichsführer-SS, I am transmitting herewith to you a press dispatch on the accelerated extermination (*Ausrottung*) of the Jews in occupied Europe." Shermer did not point out, though his source did, that the press report involved was the story that appeared eight days earlier, on February 14, 1943, in both the London *Times* and the *New York Times*, headed in the latter case "Execution 'Speed-Up' Seen," and on which the *New York Times* commented editorially on February 18.²⁶ Both Shermer and his source consider the document incriminating, but I can't see why mere transmission of a story implies acceptance of it as truth. I often send a revisionist some piece of Holocaust propaganda without insulting the other's intelligence by explaining to him that I think its claims are false. In the case of the Brandt letter, the press report referred to there figured in a clash later in 1943 between the US State Department and Henry Morgenthau's Treasury Department, because the former considered the story, received from Jewish sources in Switzerland, bunk, and sat on it, as I discussed long ago in *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*.²⁷ There is no reason to assume Himmler thought otherwise of it.

History should be written in cognizance of all principals, and in the case of the "Holocaust" legend the conclusion such evidence converges to is obvious. The legend's defenders got jolted in the early 80s. For example Walter Laqueur used ordinary historical methods in his study focused on Auschwitz, entitled *The Terrible Secret*, and the result was a book that, with just a little bit of tweaking, would be a revisionist book. Laqueur merely applied ordinary historical methods and common sense to observe that mass exterminations at Auschwitz were a "terrible secret," that is, not generally known, and that

mass exterminations at Auschwitz could not have been kept secret. While Laqueur did not draw the obvious conclusion, the fact remains that he had simply taken the sort of historical and logical perspective that otherwise proves to us that New York City did not burn down, and excuses us from considering the claims of alleged eye witnesses who might say otherwise.

Ordinary historical analysis can't find a "Holocaust." They pretend to find it with the methods of funny history. Don't forget that either.

Nevertheless we should not ignore their narrow selection of evidence, especially because final comprehension of it can elucidate unpredictable matters. A special emphasis in Van Pelt's critique of my work is on the difficulties I have had, over the years, with one document. I am speaking of the "*Vergasungskeller*" document that I have spoken and written of before, so I will not repeat myself unnecessarily.²⁸ Suffice it to say that my 1976 book offered an interpretation that was linguistically and technically sound, but turned out to be wrong, my 1992 IHR conference paper speculated on various interpretations that made technical sense but did not fix on any one, and my 1996-1997 paper proposed that the "*Vergasungskeller*" was a reference to a basement morgue in crematory structure (*Krema*) II in Auschwitz-Birkenau, in its secondary role as a gas shelter. Van Pelt tries to present my fluctuating interpretations on this one document as ridiculous.

The point I want to make right now is not the right interpretation of the document in question. In reading Van Pelt a contrast occurred to me. I could not imagine Van Pelt or any of the other defenders of the legend giving such an extended treatment, over many years, to the interpretation of a single document. Why the difference? I think it is because for us problematic documents are exceptions or aberrations. We let documents mean what they say so that for us, for example, the countless German documents speaking of the Jewish policy as one of emigration mean what they say. "Sonderbehandlung," special treatment, has no necessary homicidal interpretation. A shower is just that, as is a morgue.

On their side, one of the hermeneutic principles (to use a more charitable term than "methods of funny history") is that documents are to be interpreted under the *a priori* constraint that the policy was one of extermination. Another arbitrary constraint that I have inferred is that the number of Jews killed must have been at least four million, though no scientifically acceptable evidence supports such a figure, or even half that.

That being the case, the only sorts of problems they can have with document interpretation are which of the several fixes to apply in specific cases.

They are playing with a deck of Jokers. The document may have been in code language, or it may have been written by a person in ignorance of real policies, or, as in the case of crematory construction, the hygienic purposes expressed in the documents may have been genuine at the time the documents were written, but an undocumented decision was later made to apply the equipment otherwise. All these fixes are reasoned in terms of the *a priori* constraints, and apply to the corpus of records of several governments. They accuse us of dismissing any document that does not fit our preconceptions. They dismiss more than 99 percent of the written historical record.

If they run into a document with a single word they like, then they pounce on that word, ignoring what the document says, as they do with the *Ver-gasungskeller* document, whose natural meaning is that the Germans were in a rush to get the crematory into operation as a normal crematory. They claim that the appearance of the allegedly incriminating word was an "enormous gaff" (sic) or a "leak."²⁹

"...The idea that the Germans did not consign the extermination program to writing because it would be incriminating ... [is] silly."

That is also done in the case of a document that refers to hydrocyanic acid (HCN) gas detectors for an Auschwitz crematory that are supposed to be supplied by the furnace maker Topf. They like the reference to HCN, the lethal ingredient in Zyklon. However they do not observe that the Topf role challenges the assumption that the HCN in this case had anything to do with Zyklon, because there already existed a special department at Auschwitz with the relevant expertise and equipment for the use of Zyklon.³⁰

I wish that somebody would make an objective evaluation only of the hermeneutics of the defense of the legend. I do not mean an evaluation of the merits of its conclusions. I mean only an evaluation of the historiographic logic and methods that are employed. I prefer that such an evaluation be carried out by somebody in no camp on "Holocaust" controversy. I have already indicated what I think of their methods and logic, and this is what I meant earlier when I said that "we must maintain context



Benjamin Wilkomirski

and perspective and above all be on our guard against being tricked into quarreling so much over details that we lose sight of simple observations." It is permissible, or at least I hope it is, to become enthralled with the problems of interpreting a single document, but we must not lose sight of the reasons why the defenders of the legend do not have such problems.

As for the idea that the Germans did not consign the extermination program to writing because it would be incriminating, I have on other occasions tried to express how silly that idea is.³¹ More-

over this claim clashes with the claim (by Shermer, for example) that leading Nazis publicly admitted physical extermination, because such public admissions would obviate the need for code language in confidential government documents. At a 1989 conference at Northwestern University on the "Holocaust," those who wished to ask questions were required to identify themselves before asking. I was recognized by the chairman, rose and identified myself, and asked speaker Saul Friedländer the following: "I want you to clarify something you said earlier. Do you believe that the German leaders calculated that the European Jews could be exterminated in secrecy?" After listening to my question he refused to answer, claiming that I have no respect for the norms of intellectual discourse, or words to that effect.³²

3. Wilkomirski and What it Means

Here it will be seen that the Wilkomirski affair relates directly to the issues of interpretation I have just discussed.

The story of the impostor "Benjamin Wilkomirski" has been generally well known for almost two years, but new revelations were coming out as late as last fall. I think there are some aspects of it that deserve added stress and contemplation. There is more here than the tale of a con man being nabbed.

In 1996 a book appeared, authored by Benjamin Wilkomirski, entitled *Fragments: Memories of a Childhood 1939-1948*. It had been published the previous year, in its original German. In this book the author related that he was born a Jew in Latvia and was separated from his parents at age three, was sent to German concentration camps, to Majdanek, then Auschwitz, where he endured a living hell. Liberated at the end of the war, he was adopted by a Swiss family named Dössekker, from which he took the name Bruno Dössekker. His memoirs, which immediately won wide acclaim, were promoted by the US Holocaust Memorial Museum and won the National Jewish Book Award for 1996.

In France his book won the Prix Mémoire de la Shoah, and in Britain the *Jewish Quarterly* literary prize.

Eventually his tale was supported by a woman named Laura Grabowski, who said she was also a Jewish survivor of Auschwitz and remembered Wilkomirski: "He's my Binji, that's all I know," she said.³³ She had her own tale of suffering at Auschwitz at the hands of Josef Mengele and other Germans, and the scars to prove it. Wilkomirski and Grabowski went on lecture and concert tours individually and together.

Raul Hilberg appears to have been an early skeptic. Swiss Jewish journalist Daniel Ganzfried heard rumors that Wilkomirski's story was not true. He investigated and determined that the Latvian Jew "Benjamin Wilkomirski" was actually a Swiss gentile, born on February 12, 1941, to an unwed Swiss mother named Yvonne Berthe Grosjean, and later adopted by the Dössekker family. He was never incarcerated at Auschwitz. Ganzfried's expose was published in the Swiss weekly *Weltwoche* during August and September 1998. Wilkomirski subsequently refused to submit to a DNA comparison with Max Grosjean, Yvonne's brother.³⁴

Laura Grabowski was exposed as a fraud in October 1999 by the Christian magazine *Cornerstone*. Her real name was Laurel Rose Willson, born to Christian parents on August 14, 1941, in Washington state, and of course she was never incarcerated at Auschwitz. She had earlier written books under the name Lauren Stratford, claiming she had suffered ritual satanic abuse, citing the same scars which she later claimed were inflicted by Mengele. (The scars were apparently self-inflicted.) As such she appeared on talk shows such as Oprah to relate her ordeals. When she decided that she would also be Laura Grabowski, she transposed the stories of ritual satanic abuse to the new setting Auschwitz.³⁵

An important observation is that the downfalls of Dössekker and Willson did not come about because their claimed experiences were determined to be phony. Though Ganzfried and others thought there was something fishy about Wilkomirski's story in itself, for example, his claim that as a lone Jewish child, four years old, he was able to survive the "Holocaust," they were nailed on the issue of identity. They are gentiles who were not in a German concentration camp during World War II; they only visited them years later.

They are contrasted for example to Elie Wiesel, who cannot be discredited on the basis of identity, since he is a Jew who was actually interned at Auschwitz. Against Wiesel's concoctions society has yet to develop an effective defense, by listening to revisionists instead of its current leaders. Wilkomirski's *Fragments* is no more or less plausible, in itself,



Elie Wiesel

than Wiesel's *Night*. For example, Wiesel admitted in Chapter 5 that, when the Germans evacuated Auschwitz, he had the option of staying at the hospital, with his father registered as a patient, to await the Soviets. He chose rather to join the evacuation, taking his father with him, on a predictably difficult journey to another German concentration camp. That is as implausible as anything in Wilkomirski's book if one is to believe Wiesel's tale of the horrors inflicted by the Germans at Auschwitz. His story also has the claim, common among the "eye witnesses," that the crematories at Auschwitz belched flames from the chimneys (Ch. 3). Crematories do not operate that way, and such flames are not seen on any of the aerial photos of the camp. His claim to have seen piles of children being burned by the Germans at Auschwitz is lifted from the Talmud, with the Romans replaced by the Germans.³⁶ I could go on and on about Wiesel's absurdities, but I won't. I recommend reading Faurisson's 1993 leaflet about him.³⁷ My point right now is that Wilkomirski was discredited only on the basis of identity. We can also observe that the Wilkomirski book shows that the filthy imagination that was required to create Elie Wiesel's *Night* is not unique to Jews.

What I now want to focus on is the amazing obstinacy of many people in supporting these two, especially Wilkomirski, long after they had been exposed. After Ganzfried published his expose "he received several complaints from Jews who said that, even if Mr. Wilkomirski turns out not to be a survivor, Mr. Ganzfried is feeding the fires of those

who deny the Holocaust.” Deborah Lipstadt, who used Wilkomirski’s book in her course at Emory University, said that if Wilkomirski is a phony it “might complicate matters somewhat. But [the book] is still powerful” as a novel.³⁸

There was no attempt to rescind his National Jewish Book Award. Norman Finkelstein has discussed this phenomenon recently, recalling Elie Wiesel’s earlier obstinate loyalty to Jerzy Kosinski long after his 1965 “basic Holocaust text,” *The Painted Bird*, was exposed as a fraud. (Kosinski committed suicide in 1991, perhaps because his fraud had been exposed a few years before by Polish journalist Johanna Siedlecka.) Finkelstein noted that Yisrael Gutman, a director of the Yad Vashem center in Jerusalem, has said it isn’t important that the Wilkomirski yarn is a fraud: “Wilkomirski has written a story which he has experienced deeply; that’s for sure... He is not a fake. He is someone who lives this story very deeply in his soul. The pain is authentic.”³⁹ Another Yad Vashem official who defended the Wilkomirski book when the controversy erupted was Lea Balint.⁴⁰ Bear in mind that Yad Vashem holds itself to be the central and official repository of “survivor” accounts.

Willson had her devoted friend and supporter in Jennifer Rosenberg, who ran the Holocaust web site www.holocaust.about.com as a counterweight to revisionist web sites. Grabowski-Willson befriended Rosenberg and helped her run the site. On her site Rosenberg related that, before she visited Auschwitz, Laura Grabowski gave her a pair of pink sandals to leave at the crematorium in memory of her childhood friend, Anna, who Laura said died there.

Rosenberg maintained her friendship with Laura for at least five months after Laura was exposed as a fraud, claiming that the imposture was unimportant and not being sure what to do about the posted story of the pink shoes:⁴¹

“Whether I can say this is true or not true, I would have to do my own research.” Ms. Rosenberg says, and adds that she is too busy to do so. Of Laura, whom she still considers a friend, she says, “She’s a very sincere and sweet person.”

“If it isn’t real, and if Anna isn’t real, there are so many young children and babies who went through that... It really was a metaphor for the children. For Laura, it was for Anna. I did it for the children. When I did it I was obviously doing it for Anna, but seeing it there, it was also for all the children, the loss of life, what they should have had, could have had.”

“I don’t want to be involved in this... My main goal is to educate people on the Holo-

caust.” Ms. Rosenberg says she expends significant energy deleting messages with links to the sites of Holocaust deniers such as Mr. Irving and otherwise blocking correspondents who undermine the historical record. Postings to the bulletin board are not pre-screened, so sometimes a denier’s comments show up before she can remove them. To keep them away entirely, Ms. Rosenberg says, “I would have to have a 24-hour shift.”

Laura Grabowski knew that censoring the discussion would amount to more than a full time job (so) she said she volunteered to help Ms. Rosenberg monitor the discussion late at night, since she had insomnia. Ms. Rosenberg taught her how.

I think Rosenberg’s position is that “to educate people on the Holocaust” consists in suppressing revisionist views, and not being concerned about those views and stories that sound more or less like the usual yarns. Impostors and con-artists such as Wilkomirski and Grabowski are thus not seen as people “who undermine the historical record,” even after exposure. As for the web site, its url has been changed to <http://history1900s.about.com>. On 21 April I took the “Holocaust” link there and used the site’s search function to try to find mention of the pink shoes or Laura Grabowski but I couldn’t. I assume that mention of them has been deleted, and Rosenberg has finally lost her friend.

The most significant of all these obstinate friends is, I believe, the American Orthopsychiatric Association (the “Ortho”), an organization of psychiatrists who specialize in various forms of abuse and persecution, especially of children. In March 1999, about six months after Ganzfried’s expose, the Ortho announced that at its April 10 meeting it would honor Benjamin Wilkomirski with its Max A. Hayman award “to celebrate work done to increase our understanding of genocide and the Holocaust.” Naturally there was great controversy on the appropriateness of this award, both inside and outside the Ortho. Wilkomirski had the support of psychiatry professor Dori Laub, a scholar long associated with Yale’s Holocaust-testimony video archive. Laub argued that the award “re-establishes the priority of human experience and memory” over the written documentation preferred by historians, though the award leaves open the question of the authenticity of Wilkomirski’s account. There is no doubt that Wilkomirski’s work was “being taken seriously among therapists who treat Holocaust survivors,” and in fact Wilkomirski has worked “with Israeli psychiatrist Elitsur Bernstein in developing ‘an interdisciplinary therapy’ to treat such child survivors”; a paper by Wilkomirski and Bernstein was

well received at a 1998 Holocaust conference at the University of Notre Dame in South Bend, Indiana. Ortho member Harvey Peskin, identified as “a Holocaust scholar and psychotherapist,” argued that Wilkomirski’s account can be accepted as true because it is “consistent with the memories of other child survivors and with the historical record.” Though Peskin conceded that Wilkomirski could be a phony he argued, and I think I am summarizing him right on this, that denunciation or rejection of Wilkomirski could discourage real Holocaust survivors from coming forward, and would be hurtful to them in any case. He wrote “such disparagement of witness gives comfort to a new revisionism that no longer attacks the truth of the Holocaust itself but only individual claims of survival” and “Wilkomirski [is] then not only disbelieved, but [his] cause cannot be left standing: ... to urge the child survivor’s recovery of forfeited personal identity through raveling a daunting trail of unforfeited Holocaust memory.”⁴²

Wilkomirski accepted the award at the April 10 meeting, to the standing applause of the attendees, the gist of whose reactions being that his memoirs are essentially true. Lea Balint of the Yad Vashem, an enthusiastic supporter from the beginning and faithful to the end, e-mailed Wilkomirski that “You deserve this award.”⁴³ I apologize for repeating that Yad Vashem holds itself to be the central and official repository of “survivor” accounts, but the point is important, in view of the crucial role such testimonies play in supporting the legend. This was not the first time Yad Vashem got mud in its eye for publicly backing a phony, as it vouched for the witnesses who in 1987 testified in Israel to John Demjanjuk operating a gas chamber at Treblinka. Demjanjuk was later proved to have not been at Treblinka, and released in 1993.⁴⁴

Cynthia Ozick, a New York writer who has authored an anti-revisionist Holocaust play, *The Shawl*, which was not well received by critics,⁴⁵ reacted to the award by declaring “If Mr. Wilkomirski is indeed a fabricator, then to laud him is to take a stand — politically — on the side of those who insist that the Holocaust is a fabrication.”⁴⁶ There is a partial truth in this. I accept the core of the analysis of the psychiatrists who supported the award, in the sense of agreeing that Wilkomirski’s account does indeed sound a lot like those of the “survivors” who have testified to atrocious German cruelties in the camps, though I would prefer to turn that around: the accounts of those survivors sound a lot like Wilkomirski’s. Because of the Ortho award, you now have that evaluation from a group of professional psychiatrists. Where that leaves the Holocaust peddlers, whose foundation is the accounts of “eye witnesses,” is obvious.

That is the first lesson to draw from the Wilkomirski episode that goes beyond a “tale of a con man being nabbed.” The second lesson relates to a question that I raised at the Adelaide conference in 1998. The immediate occasion was some remarks about Deborah Lipstadt that had been made earlier:⁴⁷

Earlier today we heard of a concern from their camp that I have heard many times before. This time it was expressed by Deborah Lipstadt: the “survivors” are now dying off at such an alarming rate that it will soon be difficult to confound the revisionists. Such a view can only be advanced in hysteria, because of what it tacitly admits. No sane person would fear that, because all those alive at the time of the US Civil War are now dead, it will be difficult to confound those who might deny it happened. The defenders of the hoax have quite lost their grip on historical reality, and on what it means for something to “happen” in real time and real space.

Lipstadt has many times expressed the view of which I spoke.⁴⁸ There have been others, an example being Deborah Dwork, co-author with Van Pelt of a book on the history of Auschwitz and head of the Holocaust studies program at Clark University in Massachusetts.⁴⁹ A related view is expressed in the Berenbaum remark that heads this paper; his argument, that the Holocaust obviously happened, appeals only to well known events of the 90s. I classify these as related views because they imagine the “Holocaust” as something that exists more substantially in the present rather than the past. The Wilkomirski episode forces my thoughts to return to this point. Does our dispute with the defenders of the entrenched legend arise not over what happened, but over what it means for something to “happen”? Is the dispute metaphysical rather than historical? Or is it neither?

My question is urgently practical. If I must try to express in comprehensible terms the metaphysical principle suggested by Lipstadt and many of the defenders of Wilkomirski and Grabowski, I would say it is the idea that “happen” means something like “said, with emotion and apparent conviction, to happen,” or perhaps “believed fervently to have happened,” though both of these descriptions necessarily fall short, as I cannot empathize with the mentality involved. This interpretation is reinforced by the religious function played by the “Holocaust,” which many have observed. Religious faith is self-validating, impervious to reason, and regards proposals to scientifically validate its claims as profane in all senses of the word.

In the recent film about Fred Leuchter, the Jew Van Pelt expresses offense that, by entering the

ruins of a crematorium at Auschwitz, Leuchter had transgressed on "the holy of holies." That expression has a specific historical and liturgical meaning in Judaism as the "Kodesh Kadashim," being the most sacred chamber housing the Ark of the Covenant in, while the Jews were wandering, the Tabernacle, and later in the Temple, and which only the high priest could enter.⁵⁰ It is in that sense that one must interpret Elie Wiesel's remark "Let the gas chambers remain closed to prying eyes, and to imagination."⁵¹ The Temple and the Ark no longer exist; some act as though the ruins at Auschwitz can substitute. In any case, no revisionist would qualify as the high priest.

That might be considered a neat explanation of our differences with the promoters of the legend, but after some consideration I can't accept it, at least not in its simplicity. For one thing, it is not simple. That I have given an interpretation in terms of religious myth may only seem to make the matter more familiar, but I think it has really made it more elusive. It is understood, of course, that I am not speaking here of the historical problems; I am only trying to understand our adversaries.

The complication is that we think of religion as universal and other worldly. Judaism, by contrast, is a tribal religion of this world, in which contention with gentiles is a major ingredient, both in practice and in myth (for example, their "cheerfully reported genocidal wars", as Wilson puts it⁵²). As Kevin MacDonald writes, Judaism is among other things "a group evolutionary (and) reproductive strategy that facilitates resource competition by Jews with the gentile host society."⁵³ We have nothing in our religious experiences that begins to resemble those of a Jew in relation to Judaism. I believe that, excluding from consideration some idiots, their idea of what it means for something to happen is about the same as ours, but there is a paucity of evidence for what they want to claim happened. As shown by the Laqueur book, the facts of the past do not support them, and they will avoid Laqueur's path henceforth. However they do possess the present, politically. That is emphatically expressed in the Berenbaum outburst that opened this paper. A cold calculation shows that a strong weapon in promoting the legend is bawling "survivors" who will not be challenged because to do so would only increase the hurt to them.⁵⁴ Kosinski and Wilkomirski may be frauds but, hey, we don't want people to develop a habit of reading such writings critically. That concern simmered, not very well hidden, in the defense of the "Ortho" award to Wilkomirski. People may even start wondering about Elie Wiesel, as did Alfred Kazin, who accused Wiesel, Primo Levi and Jerzy Kosinski "of 'making a fortune off the Holocaust' and inventing atrocities."⁵⁵ They may even start

wondering about those Auschwitz alleged eye witness testimonies, and the Auschwitz legend doesn't have much else.

A variation on the "survivor" is the person who claims to have lost relatives. Usually the right answer to their challenge "What happened to them?" is "I don't know." That should end the exchange. In rare cases it may be possible, over time, to nail a liar. The case of Leo Laufer in Dallas comes to mind, but even in that case the nailing could not have been accomplished in a verbal exchange between strangers.⁵⁶

In many circumstances it is better to possess the present than the past, but the whole point of history is the past. That is what revisionists talk about.

"... We think of religion as universal and other worldly. Judaism, by contrast, is a tribal religion of this world, in which contention with gentiles is a major ingredient, both in practice and in myth ..."

Now I will close by rendering my simple opinion on the Wilkomirski controversy: both sides were right, and the revisionists are right as well. To see how this can be possible, consider in analogy the revisionist assessment of a not very hypothetical debate on whether or not Hitler knew of an extermination program, a controversy that David Irving started in 1977 with his *Hitler's War*. One side says the evidence shows that Hitler did not know. The other side argues that events on the scale of the "Holocaust" would have to have become known by Hitler. The two sides can't possibly agree because they are both right and know it. Only the revisionist can explain why there is no contradiction in saying both are right, but only provided it is understood that the revisionist is right.

If I may return to Laqueur, a similar seeming contradiction arose as a paradox, because the same man held what appeared to him to be two contradictory opinions: mass exterminations at Auschwitz were a "terrible secret," and mass exterminations at Auschwitz could not have been kept secret. Only the revisionist sees that there is no contradiction. Laqueur is right on both counts, but of course given his preconceptions he was unable to resolve the contradiction and left the subject. Again, the revisionist resolves the seeming contradiction.

Consider the dispute over the wartime role of Pope Pius XII. One side says he did nothing against the "Holocaust." The other side says he gave as

much help as reasonably possible to the Jews. The dispute is illusory. Both sides are right, as is the revisionist, but only the revisionist has the key. There was no Holocaust for the Pope to act against.

Holocaust revisionism hovered constantly, usually in the background but there nevertheless, in the Wilkomirski controversy. Both sides were right, and of course the revisionists are right, with the new twist that the accusations hurled by the two sides explicitly accuse the other of helping the revisionists. One side says Wilkomirski is a phony; the other says his account emphatically sounds like those that have been accepted as authentic. The dispute is illusory. Both sides are right and so is the revisionist. All accounts comparable to Wilkomirski's are phony. One side says Wilkomirski is an impostor, and defense of him helps the revisionists. The other side says that, even if Wilkomirski is an impostor, rejection of him stains and discourages survivor testimony generally, giving rise "to a new revisionism"; for reasons I have explained that also helps the old revisionism. Both sides are right; the revisionist case is advanced however one reacts to Wilkomirski's fall after his brief dance in the ghoul-ish spotlight of Holocaustomania adulation.

Notes

- Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, "U.S.-German Agreement on the Transfer to German Control of Nazi Party Records in the Berlin Document Center," Hearing before the subcommittee on international security, international organizations and human affairs, April 28, 1994 (US Government Printing Office, 1994, ISBN 0-16-044867-0), p. 41.
- Comm. on Foreign Affairs, "U.S.-German Agreement ...," same source, pp. 42, 89.
- ADL on the Frontline*, Sept. 1994, p. 15.
- Committee on Foreign Affairs, "U.S.-German Agreement ...," cited above.
- Danuta Czech, *Auschwitz Chronicle 1939-1945* (New York: Henry Holt, 1990), pp. 537, 542, 544, 723f, 812, 819.
- A. Strzelecki, "The Plunder of Victims and Their Corpses," in Yisrael Gutman and Michael Berenbaum, eds., *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp* (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1994), pp. 257f.
- D. Czech, *Auschwitz Chronicle*, cited above, p. 812.
- Irving Horn, ed., *Berlin Document Center Library microfilms; annotated finding aid*, (Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Administration, 1998).
- Committee on Foreign Affairs, "U.S.-German Agreement ...," cited above, pp. 88f.
- "Ernst Gauss" (Germar Rudolf), ed., *Dissecting the Holocaust: The Growing Critique of "Truth" and Memory* (P.O. Box 64; Capshaw, Alabama 35742; USA; Theses and Dissertations Press, 2000; www.tadp.org) [Also available from the IHR.]
- Van Pelt dealt with the concept of "moral certainty" on pp. 8, 14, 183 and 218 of the pdf version of his report as posted on David Irving's web site at one time. I assume that the report will eventually be published as a book. The reports of Van Pelt and other Lipstadt witnesses are now posted on her web site. Take the "Evidence" link at <http://www.HolocaustDenialOnTrial.org>.
- There are rarely literal "debates" in the sense of direct encounters; an exception is the Mark Weber - Michael Shermer debate in 1995. I am speaking of the implicit debates that occur when the two sides comment on the other's writings.
- Arthur R. Butz, "Context and Perspective in the 'Holocaust Controversy,'" *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1982 (vol. 3, no. 4), pp. 371-405. Posted on the IHR web site at www.ihr.org/jhr/v03/v03p371_Butz.html. This paper was originally delivered at the IHR conference in 1982. It has been subsequently reproduced as a supplement in recent printings of my book *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*. It has appeared recently in German (translated by the Swiss revisionist Jürgen Graf), in *Vierteljahreshefte für freie Geschichtsforschung*, Dec. 1999 (vol. 3, no. 4), pp. 393-410 (Castle Hill Publishers; PO Box 118; Hastings TN34 3ZQ; England); this German translation has been posted on Germar Rudolf's web site at <http://vho.org/VffG/1999/4/Butz391-410.html>. A French translation is also to be found there at <http://www.vho.org/F/j/RHR/2/Butz87-137.html>. An Italian translation, "Contesto storico e prospettiva d'insieme nella controversia dell'Olocausto," was published in 1999 by Graphos; Campetto 4; 16123 Genoa, Italy.
- See Germar Rudolf's recent comments at www.vho.org/GB/Contributions/RudolfOnVanPelt.html.
- Jean-Claude Pressac, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1989), pp. 16, 53.
- A. R. Butz, "Some Thoughts on Pressac's Opus," *The Journal of Historical Review*, May-June 1993, pp. 23-37.
- J. Markiewicz, W. Gubala and J. Labedz, "A study of the cyanide compounds content in the walls of the gas chambers in the former Auschwitz and Birkenau concentration camps," *Z. Zagadnien Nauk Sadowych*, vol. 30, 1994, pp. 17-27. I assume the report is still available from the Dept. of Forensic Toxicology, Institute of Forensic Research in Cracow; Westerplatte St. 9; 31-033 Cracow; Poland. See Germar Rudolf's discussion at www.vho.org/GB/Contributions/Fraudulent.html. Rudolf considers the Polish report "one of the big scientific frauds of the twentieth century." I wouldn't grant it even that much dignity.
- A. R. Butz, "Context and Perspective in the 'Holocaust Controversy,'" *Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1982, cited above.
- Michael Shermer, "Proving the Holocaust," *Skeptic*, vol. 2, no. 4, 1994, pp. 32-57. See also: Michael

- Shermer and Alex Grobman, *Denying History* (Berkeley: Univ. of Calif. Press, 2000).
20. Edward O. Wilson, *Consilience: The Unity of Knowledge* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1998), esp. pp. 8-12, 266+.
 21. A. R. Butz, "Context and Perspective ...," *Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1982, cited above.
 22. M. Shermer, "Proving the Holocaust," *Skeptic*, vol. 2, no. 4, 1994, cited above, p. 48. Shermer gives the slightly erroneous date January 1937. His source is Peter Padfield, *Himmler: Reichsführer-SS*, (New York: Henry Holt, 1991), pp. 185, 188. Padfield gives as source US National Archives microfilm class T-175, Roll 89, frames 1869ff.
 23. A. R. Butz, *The Hoax*, cited above, p. 73.
 24. M. Shermer, "Proving the Holocaust," *Skeptic*, 1994, cited above, pp. 51f.
 25. M. Shermer, "Proving the Holocaust," *Skeptic*, 1994, cited above, pp. 44ff.
 26. David Irving, *Hitler's War* (New York: Viking, 1977), p. 867.
 27. A. R. Butz, *The Hoax*, cited above, pp. 62-66, 78.
 28. A. R. Butz, "The Nagging 'Gassing Cellar' Problem," *The Journal of Historical Review*, July-August 1997 (vol. 1, no. 4), pp. 20-23. A more recent version is to be found at my web site <http://pubweb.northwestern.edu/~abutz/di/dau/vk.html>. The paper first appeared on the web on August 6, 1996.
 29. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989), cited above, p. 217. J.-C. Pressac and R.-J. Van Pelt, "The Machinery of Mass Murder at Auschwitz," in Yisrael Gutman and Michael Berenbaum, eds., *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp* (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1994), p. 227.
 30. My views on this problem, also discussed by Van Pelt, were first expressed on my web site (<http://pubweb.nwu.edu/~abutz/di/dau/detect.html>) on March 4, 1997, and published in revised form in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Sept.-Oct. 1997, pp. 24-30. See Carlo Mattogno's related article at www.codoh.com/gcgv/gcgvpruf.html. Mattogno does a rather more thorough job than I did in showing that the desired gas detectors could not have had anything to do with Zyklon, but his conclusion, that the document in question is a forgery, is not mine.
 31. A. R. Butz, "Context and Perspective ...," *Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1982, cited above.
 32. *Daily Northwestern*, November 17, 1989, pp. 1, 6. In the *Daily Northwestern*, Nov. 28, 1989, p. 6, campus Hillel Rabbi Michael Balinsky claimed that the "poor acoustics ... prevented the speaker, Saul Friedländer, and others from realizing who had asked the question. I immediately called out in a loud voice that it was Butz, and Friedländer responded that he would not answer the question." That was a lie. The acoustics were excellent and indeed after I identified myself there was a general gasping by the audience, shocked that I was there. The gasping had died down however when I asked my question, which Friedländer heard in its entirety. However Balinsky was correct in saying that Friedländer refused to answer after Balinsky interrupted, rising without recognition to tell Friedländer, not that it was Butz, but that there was no need to answer Butz. There was an unusually long time interval between the publication of Balinsky's letter on Nov. 28, and the Nov. 17 editorial he was responding to. This may be explained by the fact that the Tuesday, Nov. 28 issue of the student newspaper was nearly the last for the calendar year, as final examinations and the Christmas break loomed. I wrote a letter in reply, but of course by the time publication was resumed in early January the matter was passé, so the letter was not published and Balinsky's lie went unchallenged. That probably explains the "unusually long time interval."
 33. *The New York Times*, Dec. 29, 1999, p. E5. [See also: "Holocaust Survivor Memoir Exposed as Fraud," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Sept.-Oct. 1998, pp. 15-16.]
 34. E. Lappin, "The Man With Two Heads," *Granta*, no. 66, Summer 1999, pp. 7-65.
 35. See the Christian magazine *Cornerstone* (ISSN 0275-2743), vol. 28, no. 117 (1999), pp. 12-16, 18. It was posted at *Cornerstone Magazine Online* (www.cornerstonemag.com/home.htm) on Oct. 13, 1999, and reported in the Jewish weekly *Forward*, Oct. 15, 1999, p. 1.
 36. I discussed the Talmudic features of the Holocaust yarns in *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, pp. 246f. Wiesel has been immersed in Talmud, as discussed in *The New York Times*, Nov. 10, 1989, in a review of a PBS-TV interview of Wiesel, and as discussed in the *Chicago Tribune*, Dec. 31, 1995, book review section, pp. 1f.
 37. Robert Faurisson, "A Prominent False Witness: Elie Wiesel," Oct. 1993, reproduced at <http://ihr.org/leaflets/wiesel.html>.
 38. *Forward* (New York), Sept. 18, 1998, p. 1.
 39. N. Finkelstein, "The Holocaust Industry," *Index on Censorship* (London), April 2000, Issue 2/2000, pp. 120+. See also his recent book, *The Holocaust Industry: Reflections on the Exploitation of Jewish Suffering* (London and New York: Verso, 2000), esp. pp. 55-58.
 40. *Forward*, Sept. 18, 1998, p. 1.
 41. The quoted material about Rosenberg was in *Forward*, March 17, 2000, p. 1.
 42. *Forward*, March 19, 1999, p. 1; April 9, 1999, p. 2; *The Nation*, April 19, 1999, pp. 34-38. Peskin's article entitled "Memory and Media," in *Readings: A Journal of Reviews and Commentary in Mental Health* (a publication of the Ortho), Dec. 1999, pp. 18-23, is remarkable in attempting to discredit the motives of Wilkomirski's detractors, and the effects of their actions. This article places him unambiguously in the camp of those who say that Wilkomirski's real identity is unimportant, because he has contributed greatly to increase awareness where it is needed.

43. *Forward*, April 16, 1999, p. 20.
44. I discuss this at <http://pubweb.nwu.edu/~abutz/di/dj/jpwar.html> and jkrak.html.
45. *The New York Times*, June 16, 1996, sec. 2, p. 6; June 21, 1996, p. C1; July 5, 1997, p. 11. I have not seen this play but I can't resist passing along some information from the review of June 21, 1996. The revisionist in the play is a certain Garner Globalis who "belongs to a Midwestern think tank that exists to disprove that the Holocaust ever took place." In one scene Globalis, confronting camp survivor Stella, "kisses the number tattooed on Stella's arm, promising a sensual erasure of all that number signifies."
46. *Commentary*, June 1999, p. 7.
47. *Adelaide Institute* (newsletter, ISSN 1440-9828), no. 82, Nov. 1998, p. 1. Reproduced in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Nov.-Dec. 1998 (vol. 17, no. 6), pp. 2f.
48. She expressed the view in a January 16, 2000, CNN program on the Irving trial. Tom Segev, in an article in the English edition of *Ha'aretz*, February 4, 2000, reported her belief that when "there will be no more survivors left ... the influence of the Holocaust deniers is liable to increase." The same view was attributed to her in an article by Elli Wohlgelehrter in the *Jerusalem Post*, Sept. 24, 1999, "Friday" section, p. B5; my book *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* is described as "the turning point" in the development of Holocaust revisionism ("Holocaust denial" to Lipsadt).
49. *Newsday* (Long Island), Dec. 6, 1999, p. A13. Dwork's argument is self-promoting. She thinks that academic programs such as hers must get more support to compensate for gradually disappearing survivors: "the actuarial tables are an extra strong argument for the establishment of serious scholarship in academia."
50. Dagobert D. Runes, *Concise Dictionary of Judaism* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1966), pp. 65, 114.
51. Elie Wiesel, *All Rivers Run to the Sea. Memoirs* (New York: Random House, 1995), p. 74.
52. E. O. Wilson, *Consilience* (1998), cited above, p. 6.
53. Kevin MacDonald, *A People That Shall Dwell Alone: Judaism as a Group Evolutionary Strategy*, (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1994), pp. ix-x. Related books by MacDonald are *The Culture of Critique: An Evolutionary Analysis of Jewish Involvement in Twentieth-Century Intellectual and Political Movements* (Praeger, 1998), and *Separation and Its Discontents: Toward an Evolutionary Theory of Anti-Semitism* (Praeger, 1998) [Reviewed in the May-June 1998 *Journal of Historical Review*, pp. 28-27.]
54. I once used this strategy myself. Among the many lies I told when I was a child, there was one I told a teacher once. I don't remember the specific circumstances or the teacher, but my problem had to do with a failure to do something. My excuse was "death in the family." I got away with it, as the teacher did not want to risk increasing my hurt. I had probably picked up the tactic from a radio program or movie. I plead that I am sure I used the trick only once, and was ashamed of it. Our enemies use it over and over in promoting their extermination legend. The existence of such protestations of hurt is also used to argue that revisionists should not be heard or published. For example Northwestern University history professor Peter Hayes assumed a gutter posture when he told a meeting of students that "he sympathizes with students who might show up to heckle" me if I were to give a lecture on Holocaust revisionism, since "We're talking about something that people who live around here have relatives and loved ones involved in." *Daily Northwestern*, May 1, 1991, p. 5.
55. *Chicago Tribune*, Dec. 31, 1995, book review section, pp. 1f.
56. Leo Laufer, a Dallas man, read a column in 1977 about my book *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* and wrote a letter to the editor (*Dallas Times-Herald*, Feb. 10, 1977, p. B3. This newspaper is now defunct.). He said he spent two years as an inmate at Auschwitz, and repeated the long discredited yarn that the Germans made soap out of Jews, claiming even that he was still in possession of samples of this soap. He also made a claim that would normally be impossible to discredit. He said he "lost (his) entire family of two brothers, three sisters, (his) father and mother, and aunts and uncles." Such a claim can carry some weight in public controversy, because of course nobody wants to contradict a stranger about the history of his own family. However that was not the end of the matter. In 1994 Laufer wrote another letter (*Dallas Morning News*, April 20, 1994, p. 18A.). There he described himself as "a Holocaust survivor who lost the entire family — father, mother, three brothers, four sisters and not counting hundreds of family members." His story gained two dead siblings in the interim.

Thanks

We've stirred up things a lot since the first issue of *The Journal of Historical Review* came out in the spring of 1980 — 21 years ago. Without the staunch support of you, our subscribers, it couldn't have survived. So please keep sending those clippings, the helpful and critical comments on our work, the informative articles, and the extra boost over and above the subscription price. It's our life blood. To everyone who has helped keep the *Journal* alive, our sincerest thanks.

"In general the art of government consists in taking as much money as possible from one class of citizens to give to the other."

— Voltaire

John Sack's Defective *Esquire* Article

An important sign that Holocaust revisionism is having a greater impact on society at large is the seemingly more respectful coverage that revisionists are receiving in the mainstream media. One example is the detailed, objectively written report on the May 2000 Institute for Historical Review Conference that appeared in the *Los Angeles Times* (May 30), one of America's most influential daily papers. Written by a veteran journalist who attended the entire three-day gathering, the 40-column-inch article enraged Jewish community figures. (See the detailed report, "Thirteenth IHR Conference: A Resounding Success," in the May-June 2000 *Journal*.)

A more recent example of such coverage is an eleven-page article in the February 2001 issue of *Esquire*, a slick, literate and prestigious monthly magazine with a national circulation of some 600,000. Written by seasoned journalist and author John Sack, "Inside the Bunker" is based largely on the Jewish author's observations and role as a speaker at the May 2000 IHR Conference in Irvine, California.

Opinion within the revisionist community about this first-person article has ranged from joyful approval to disgust. Among its positive features, Sack contrasts the open-mindedness of revisionists with the bigotry and hatred he's found at Jewish gatherings, deftly deflating such sanctimonious icons as Elie Wiesel and Edgar Bronfman:

Despite their take on the Holocaust, they [revisionists] were affable, open-minded, intelligent, intellectual. Their eyes weren't fires of unapproachable certitude and their lips weren't lemon twists of astringent hate. Nazis and neo-Nazis they didn't seem to be. Nor did they seem anti-Semites ...

... I wanted to say something therapeutic [at the IHR Conference], to say something about hate. At the hotel [where the Conference took place], I'd seen none of it, certainly less than I'd seen when Jews were speaking of Germans. No one had ever said anything remotely like Elie Wiesel, "Every Jew, somewhere in his being, should set aside a zone of hate — healthy, virile hate — for what persists in the Germans," and no one had said anything like Edgar Bronfman, the president of the World Jewish Congress. A shocked professor told Bronfman once, "You're teaching a whole generation to hate thousands of Germans," and Bronfman replied, "No, I'm teaching a whole generation to hate *millions* of Germans." Jew hatred like that German hatred, or like the German hatred I

saw on every page of [Daniel Goldhagen's] *Hitler's Willing Executioners*, I saw absolutely none of...

Sack also acknowledges that many specific points made over the years by revisionists ("deniers") are, indeed, true:

... The Holocaust deniers say — and they're right — that one Auschwitz commandant [Rudolf Höss] confessed after he was tortured and that the other [Holocaust] reports are full of bias, rumors, exaggerations and other preposterous matters, to quote the editor of a Jewish magazine five years after the war. The deniers say, and again they're right, that the commandants, doctors, SS, and Jews at Bergen-Belsen, Buchenwald, and whole alphabet of camps testified after the war that there were cyanide chambers at those camps that all historians today refute.

Sack takes note of the way in which the Holocaust campaign has skewed our historical perspective:

Americans who don't know if one hundred thousand, two hundred thousand or one million of our own soldiers died (and certainly don't know that fifty million people died in China) know exactly how many Jews died in World War II. Once, said Michael Berenbaum, the former research director of the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, "the Holocaust was a side story of World War II. Now one thinks of World War II as a background story [to] the Holocaust." Among many ways Jewish leaders accomplished this was to tap out an SOS, an all-points alarm, whenever in any dark corner they spotted a knavish denier.

Also here, perhaps for the first time ever, a nationally-circulated American magazine disapprovingly informs readers that in a number of countries individuals are routinely fined, jailed, and driven into exile for expressing views on Second World War history that, in at least some cases, are demonstrably true. Writes Sack:

Sixteen ... [revisionist] speakers spoke ... [at the IHR Conference] and I'd counted six who'd run afoul of the law because of their disbelief in the Holocaust and the death apparatus in Auschwitz. To profess this in anyone's earshot is illegal not just in Germany but in Holland, Belgium, France, Spain, Switzerland, Austria, Poland and Israel, where denying the Holo-

caust can get you five years, while denying God can get you just one. One speaker, David Irving, had been fined \$18,000 for saying aloud in Germany that one of the cyanide chambers at Auschwitz is a replica built by the Poles after the war. A replica it truly is, but truth in these matters is no defense in Germany. Another speaker, a Frenchman, had been fined in France, and another speaker, a German, had been sentenced to fourteen months in Germany ... but had fled to England. Another speaker, an Australian, had come from seven months in a German jail for writing in Australia (alas, on the Internet, which Germans in Germany can read) that there were no cyanide chambers in Auschwitz... The fifth speaker was a Swiss, a man ... who'll go to jail for three months in Switzerland for questioning the Auschwitz cyanide chambers.

On the debit side, Sack's *Esquire* article contains such errors or distortions of reality that it amounts to deceit. Already in the opening sentences, which set the tone of the entire piece, he takes a gratuitous and untrue swipe at the IHR, calling it "the central asylum for the delusion that the Germans didn't kill any Jews and that the Holocaust is, quote unquote, the Hoax of the Twentieth Century..." Throughout his patronizing piece, Sack uses the epithet "deniers" to refer to Holocaust revisionists or skeptics.

Sack's half-humorously mentions the IHR's conference security measures as if they were an expression of groundless paranoia. In fact, Jewish thugs — most notably, the band of Zionist misfits who call themselves the Jewish Defense League — have threatened, harassed, and intimidated several hotels into canceling IHR meetings. Similarly unmentioned by Sack is the July 4, 1984, arson attack that devastated the IHR's offices and warehouse.

Sack refers to several revisionist scholars who addressed the IHR Conference — Robert Faurisson, Germar Rudolf, Jürgen Graf and Fredrick Töben — but *without mentioning their names*. Similarly, none of the three IHR staff members who addressed the Conference is mentioned by name. Also ignored is former Congressman Pete McCloskey, who in his banquet address spoke in detail about Jewish-Zionist censorship, lies and underhanded manipulations.

Instead, Sack devotes considerable attention to Charles Provan, a forthright and diligent part-time historical researcher who runs a printing business in a small town in western Pennsylvania. Contrary to the impression given by Sack, Provan is actually a peripheral figure in the Holocaust debate.



John Sack

Misleading Photographs

For many people, perhaps most, the first and strongest impression of any magazine article is made by the accompanying pictures. In this case the four large color photographs that illustrate Sack's article are about as misleading as pictures can be. While Sack describes revisionists as "affable, open-minded, intelligent, intellectual," the photographs portray them as odd, unfriendly and vaguely sinister. Everyone looks grim. No one is smiling.

Leading off the article is a full-page photograph of Charles Provan with his wife and seven of their ten children. They look like a poverty-stricken, intellectually challenged clan from the "Deliverance" backwoods of Georgia. Even the youngsters are frowning, and two are barefoot.

Whereas Sack describes Ernst Zündel, accurately, as "eternally jolly," a large photograph shows him scowling and hostile, seated in a sinisterly lighted car next to an equally unsmiling Ingrid Rimland. This may well be the most unrepresentative picture of Zündel ever to appear in print.

Probably the greatest failing of Sack's article is to portray Holocaust revisionism as a semi-cultic fellowship of *belief*. Even though, as already noted, he grants that many specific revisionist arguments or points are valid, Sack simply ignores the impressive body of well-researched *scholarship* that girds revisionist skepticism. He compares reasoned, well-grounded skepticism of fantastic Holocaust claims to his own frivolous belief that living dinosaurs today roam hidden valleys somewhere in central Africa.

In the years to come, there will doubtless be more articles and books similar to Sack's *Esquire* contribution — a piece that, in spite of its errors and defects, is another basically positive landmark in a protracted struggle.

— M. W.

John Schmitz, RIP

A good friend of the Institute for Historical Review, John Schmitz, has died. The former US Congressman, Marine Corps officer and political science teacher is remembered with respect by both friend and foe alike as an articulate, witty and fervent champion of his conservative principles.

He died of cancer on January 10, 2001, at the National Naval Medical Center in Bethesda, Maryland, surrounded by his family. He was 70. His body was laid to rest with military honors at Arlington National Cemetery.

Schmitz attended at least two IHR Conferences, and was a subscriber for many years to the IHR's *Journal of Historical Review*. From time to time bought extra copies to give away to friends.

He provided crucial help to the Institute during the difficult Ninth IHR Conference in February 1989. A day before the meeting was set to begin, the southern California hotel where it was to be held cancelled the contract, caving in to threats and intimidation by the Jewish Defense League (JDL). Another hotel was quickly found, but it too succumbed to JDL intimidation. Following the two cancellations, and with no alternative hotel willing to stand up to JDL threats, the speakers and attendees who were arriving from across the country and abroad had no place to meet. It seemed that the Conference might be cancelled just as it was to begin. In this emergency, Schmitz contacted Joe Bischof, a friend who owned the Old World shopping center in nearby Huntington Beach. Bischof graciously offered his facilities, and the Ninth IHR Conference — one of the most spirited ever — was held in a packed basement meeting room, in spite of continued harassment by JDL thugs.

Also in 1989, when the IHR suddenly needed a lawyer to replace one who had abruptly quit, it was Schmitz who recommended his friend, Bill Hulsy, who ever since has served as the IHR's main corporate attorney. (Bill Hulsy and his wife, Karen, had been long-time friends of the Schmitz's, who were god-parents of the Hulsys' daughter.)

John George Schmitz was born in August 1930 in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. He was commissioned a second lieutenant in the US Marine Corps in 1952. After earning his pilot wings in 1954, he was assigned to a base in North Carolina, flying F2H4 Banshees and F9F8 Cougars in the first operational



John Schmitz

Marine Corps jet fighter squadron. He subsequently qualified as a helicopter pilot, served as officer in charge of a unit in Mt. Fuji, Japan. For a time he lectured on Communism at the Fleet Marine Force Pacific Leadership School at the El Toro Marine Corps base in southern California. In the Reserves, he rose to the rank of Colonel, and served as commanding officer of a unit at the El Toro base.

He first made headlines in 1962 while stationed in southern California as a Marine officer. With nothing more than the sheer authority of his voice, he disarmed an attacker who was stabbing a woman near the El Toro base.

His career in public service — which would eventually span 18 years — began in 1964 when, at the age of 34, he was elected as the Republican state senator from Orange County, then nationally known as a conservative bastion. He was reelected two years later.

In 1970 he easily won election as Orange County's US Congressional representative. In Washington, DC, where he served on the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee and on the House Internal Security Committee, he quickly established himself as one of the country's most articulate and outspokenly right-wing political figures. A writer for a San Diego newspaper remarked: "Schmitz has developed a reputation as a respected adversary, even though still the greenest of freshmen under House seniority rules. And even some liberal opponents begrudgingly give him credit for providing light moments in a city that has too few of them."

Throughout his political career, Schmitz was a steadfast supporter of such causes as limited government, states' rights, and a strong national defense, and a staunch opponent of abortion and Communism. When asked about his principled conservatism, Schmitz explained that the "middle of the road" is determined by how far either side, left or right, is willing to push.

Political supporters and opponents alike respected and even admired John Schmitz the man. A close friend and colleague summed up:

Schmitz is not a man to make enemies easily. Unlike many with firm and unyielding principles, he can disagree without being disagreeable. He has won the grudging respect even of political foes. With all who share his deep and

abiding concern about the future of individual liberty in America, he accentuates common interests while stirring admiration for his refusal to compromise on fundamentals... A constant imp of humor leavens his earnestness and dogged sense of purpose. Few who meet him can dislike him.

On the occasion of his death, the Chairman of the Orange County Republican Party said: "His sense of humor, intelligence and enthusiasm will long be remembered by his Orange County friends."

Schmitz is perhaps best remembered for his colorful 1972 bid for the US presidency as the candidate of the American Party. After a boisterous campaign, he received 1.1 million votes in 32 states. Political commentator Michael Barone observed that he distinguished himself with his direct talk and "puckishly humorous" wit. For example, commenting on Richard Nixon's famous 1972 visit to China, he quipped: "I have no objection to President Nixon going to China. I just object to his coming back." When asked about Nixon's Defense Secretary, Melvin Laird, Schmitz said that he had no complaint, adding: "Of course, Otto von Bismarck was my first choice."

During the 1972 campaign, he often repeated his simple, three-point platform: One, in foreign affairs, we should always treat our friends better than our enemies; Two, never go to war unless you plan on winning; Three, domestically, those who work ought to live better than those who won't.

In 1978 he returned to the California state senate after election as a Republican representing Newport Beach.

Schmitz' sometimes tragic personal and family life also made headlines. His political career came to sudden end in 1982 after it was revealed that he had a pregnant mistress and 15-month old son by the woman, who had been his student in a political science class he taught at Santa Ana College. In 1997 one of his daughters, Mary Kay LeToureau, a married teacher in Washington state at the time, was convicted of carrying on a sexual relationship with a 13-year-old pupil, by whom she eventually had two children.

Schmitz received a Bachelor's degree from Marquette University in 1952 with a major in philosophy and a minor in history, and, after attending night classes, a Master's degree in 1960 from California State University at Long Beach. He was a Ph.D. candidate in Political Philosophy at Claremont Graduate School, and did a sabbatical at Georgetown University. Following his active duty in the Marine Corps and throughout his years of elected public service, he taught political science and philosophy at Santa Ana College in southern California,



John Schmitz, right, at the Tenth IHR Conference in Washington, DC (October 13-15, 1999) with Hiroshima survivor Albert Kawachi, who is autographing a copy of his book, *Why I Survived the A-Bomb*.

nia, retiring as a professor in 1990.

Among his publications are two books: *The Viet Cong Front in the United States* (1971); and *Stranger in the Arena: The Anatomy of an Amoral Decade 1964-1974* (1974). He also wrote the Introduction to Gary Allen's best-seller, *None Dare Call It Conspiracy* (1971).

Schmitz also played the violin, was an able political cartoonist, and painter of Orange County seascapes. He was a devout Roman Catholic. In recent years he devoted much time to the family-owned vineyard, "Chapelle Charlemagne," in Rappahannock County, Virginia.

John and his wife of 17 years, Mary, had seven children. Two of their sons are lawyers in the Washington, DC, area. In addition to his wife and children, Schmitz is survived by numerous grandchildren, as well as five brothers and sisters in the Milwaukee, Wisconsin, area.

He will be missed by his many friends and admirers.

— M. W.

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Foreword to the Arabic Edition of Garaudy's *The Founding Myths of Modern Israel*

MOHAMED HASANEIN HEIKAL

Whereas "Holocaust denial" is a crime in France, Germany and some other European countries, skepticism of the familiar Six Million story is widespread in Arab and Muslim countries. Gamal Abdel Nasser, the charismatic Egyptian president and pan-Arab leader, said in a 1964 interview: "No one, not even the simplest man in our country, takes seriously the lie about six million murdered Jews." More recently this skepticism was manifest in an outpouring of support from across the Muslim world for French scholar Roger Garaudy when he was brought before a Paris court for daring to challenge Holocaust claims in his book on Israel's "Founding Myths." (See T. O'Keefe, "Origin and Enduring Impact of the 'Garaudy Affair'," July-August 1999 Journal.)

Mohamed Heikal has for decades been widely acknowledged as the most influential journalist in the Arab world. Under his editorship, the Cairo daily *Al Ahram* became one of the world's most often quoted newspapers. His weekly column in the influential paper was eagerly read as a reliable reflection of informed and official opinion in Egypt.

Born in Cairo in 1923, he was for years a personal friend of Gamel Nasser, and served as a cabinet minister in President Nasser's government. A skillful writer and leading Arab authority on contemporary Middle East politics, Heikal is the author of numerous books, several of which have been published in English.

Because of his international stature, it is significant that he not only agreed to contribute a foreword to the Arabic edition of Garaudy's controversial book, but that in doing so he endorsed the revisionist view of the Holocaust issue. (*The Arabic-language edition of Garaudy's Founding Myths, translated from French by Mohammad Hisham, was published in Cairo in 1998 by Dar Al-Shurooq. The Founding Myths of Modern Israel is published in the US by the Institute for Historical Review.*)

Here is the complete text of Mohamed Heikal's foreword, translated for The Journal of Historical Review by Dr. Abdullah M. Sindi, an author (*The Arabs and the West: The Contributions and the Inflections*) and Journal contributor ("How the Jewish-Zionist Grip on American Film and Television Promotes Bias Against Arabs and Muslims," in the Sept.-Oct. 1998 Journal), and by E. G. Mueller, an

Arab studies specialist who translated "Foiling Espionage in Berlin Radio's Arabic Service," in the Jan.-Feb. 2000 Journal.

— The Editor

I don't exactly know how to present this book to Arabic readers. I want to recommend it. Yet I don't want to get involved in a discussion of its contents – something that writing a foreword usually entails.

I would have preferred that this book in particular not include a foreword written by someone other than the author. Some manuscripts – including this book – can do very well without them. In fact, it is possible that a foreword can become a burden on a book rather than a support for it.

In such cases the forewords, directly or indirectly, offer an interpretation of the book according to the bias of the person writing the foreword. Such a slanted interpretation can sometimes distort a work's message. This is a sensitive matter in the case of a book such as this: *The Founding Myths of*

Modern Israel by Mr. Roger Garaudy. This is a collection of Zionist myths summarized by Garaudy as follows:

1. The "Promised Land" for Jews in Palestine
2. The Jews as God's Chosen People
3. A "Land Without People for a People Without a Land"
4. The Nazi Holocaust
5. The Jewish faith and political Zionism, and the distinction between the two

In his presentation of these founding myths of Israeli policy and the state of Israel, Garaudy did not author a book in the traditional sense, but rather was careful to weave events into a fabric of facts. The author's task in such a case is to act like a loom, stretching the threads horizontally and vertically to create an expanse of material that can be looked at, studied, and examined for its cohesiveness and tenacity.

In relating each of these founding myths of Israeli policy, Garaudy did not want to discuss or contradict them himself. Instead he drew the facts out of the primary sources and the original documents and let them speak for themselves, and follow their logical courses to reach their own natural

conclusions by themselves.

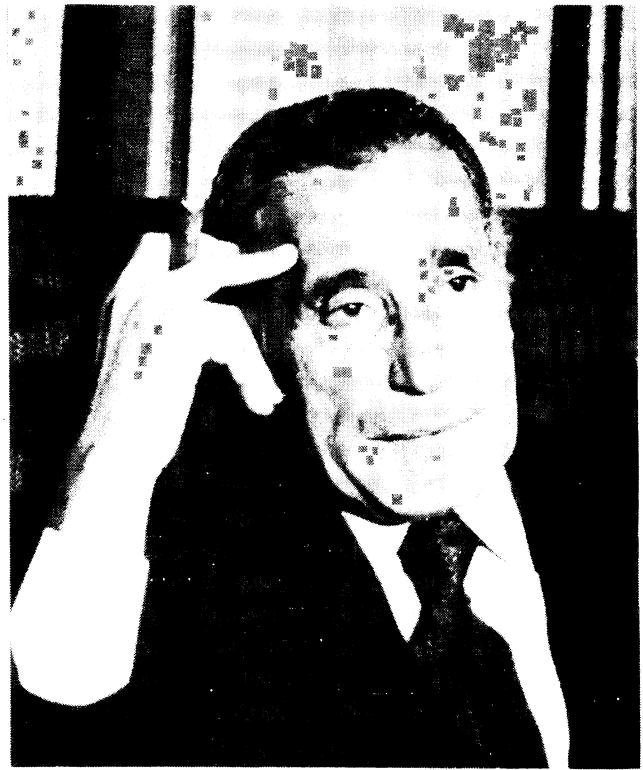
There were others, in fact, before Mr. Garaudy, who tried to approach this subject. Yet he surpasses them in the comprehensive way by which he deals with all the Israeli myths. All Garaudy's predecessors, at least so far as I know, concentrated on a single myth. Most of the focus was on the Nazi holocaust, which according to Israeli myth claimed six million Jewish victims alone. Perhaps the furor that has surrounded this myth in particular stems from the struggle between the European conscience or feeling of guilt, on the one hand, and on the other, the attempt by Zionists to put pressure on that conscience and torture it for the benefit of their own project.

It was natural for the European conscience to try to seek the truth and to put this period in its proper place in the context of human history. On the other hand, it was also natural for the Zionist movement to do its utmost in order to put Israel where it wanted it to be on the map of the Middle East!

I have been following these battles ever since I read *Far and Wide*, a book by Douglas Reed that was published in the United States in 1947 [1951]. Reed was one of the most prominent British journalists who covered World War II. After the war, the legend of the Nazi Holocaust and its promotion, particularly in the US, attracted Reed's attention. Reed's approach in discussing this myth in practice was based primarily on demographic data and what they pointed to. Such data, Reed felt, do not lie. He cited the statistics of the League of Nations on the number of Jews in the world in 1938, the last annual report of this global organization before World War II. Then he compared those data with the figures found in the first post-war population statistics published in 1947 by the United Nations – the organization that replaced the League of Nations. The comparison revealed that the number of Jews in the world after the war of 1939-1945 was the same as it had been before the war – just under eleven million persons.

Douglas Reed estimated that the number of the victims of the Nazi holocaust – which had indeed occurred – did not exceed 300,000 or 400,000 – the range of natural growth of the Jewish population over a period of seven or eight years.

This is, in any case, a dreadful figure – enough not only to torture the European conscience, but that of all humanity. Nevertheless the Jews were not the ones who sacrificed the most victims in the Nazi inferno; more were Germans themselves, and Russians, Poles, and Gypsies. (And then there were the Palestinians, who were blameless, but who were forced by the Zionist movement to atone for the guilt that weighed on German and European consciences. It fell on them to pay that debt with com-



Mohamed Heikal

pound interest many times over, and to pay with their native homeland of Palestine itself, their history, land, people, and future!)

Douglas Reed was subjected to a vicious campaign. His book disappeared from libraries and bookstores. He himself vanished from journalistic life and from public life as a whole, buried in oblivion!

Later I was able to see for myself – and not just by reading – what happened to the meticulous British historian David Irving. By chance I witnessed the vicious physical beating he received [on July 12, 1992] while eating breakfast at the Richoux restaurant in South Audley Street in London, near the Egyptian Embassy. The reason for this beating was not that David Irving wrote about the Nazi holocaust, but that he spent time investigating and researching it. It became widely known in many circles that he was on the verge of finding the truth, because he had obtained access before everyone else to the Soviet archives, whose vaults held the real secrets of the Nazi holocaust due to the circumstances surrounding the end of the war.

For it was the Soviet army that marched into Poland to pursue and chase out the Nazi army in 1944. Since more than 80 percent of pre-World War II Jewry had been living in Poland, the most important and famous of all Nazi camps for Jews, such as Dachau [sic], Auschwitz and Treblinka, were on Pol-



Roger Garaudy

ish territory. Accordingly, it was the Soviet military that entered them, and were the first to uncover and observe their secret contents. Later, all of the documents of the camps with all their secrets came to rest in the vaults of the Soviet state archives, which the state then closed and locked, just as it closed and locked everything else. Finally the doors to these archives were opened to Irving, when the grip of that state loosened and its power collapsed due to the decay and collapse of the Soviet state itself.

David Irving knew where and how to dig out the secrets of the Nazi holocaust. His feet trod the damp corridors and his hands reached for the shelves and into the drawers!

An angry storm erupted against Irving and escalated so far that he was harassed and physically assaulted in the street. There was incitement against him that went so far as a boycott. All of this occurred before he had written up his findings in a book. It was enough that he had come the closest of all researchers to the truth by using sources that were more precise and more accurate.

Apparently the evidence David Irving turned up led one to conclusions similar to those reached by Douglas Reed. In other words, the comparison of the figures published by the old League of Nations with those of the post-war United Nations – and also the figures that could be extracted from the Soviet archive material were all notably similar. Thus it is

probable – perhaps certain – that between 300,000 and 400,000 Jews paid with their lives as a result of the insane notion of racial purity that led to the Nazi madness.

Still, it is evident that even within the limits of these figures it is humanely and even politically possible for the Arab mind to realize two facts:

First, that there was indeed a tragedy inflicted on the Jews in Europe under Nazi rule (and also before it). It is not acceptable fundamentally to deny the tragedy just because Israel uses it to camouflage and cover up another, even more catastrophic tragedy: that perpetrated by Israel on the Arabs of Palestine, whose people were killed and whose homeland was stolen.

Second, that the “myth” of the holocaust plays a real role in the existence and subconscious of contemporary Jews. It is therefore a dangerous mistake to leave the true part of the holocaust story to the scheming of the Zionist movement, so that it can be exploited as myths have usually been exploited throughout history.

All through history – and this is the difference between myth and general tall tales and fairy stories – the raw material of myth has been extracted from the convolutions of the distant or recent past to be remade and reconstructed for the purpose of carrying out its assigned task. The task of myth has always been to mobilize people. Mobilization is a preparation for confrontation, while confrontation is preparation for struggle, and the struggle that follows is simply a ready description of war. Hence, myth is often haunted by the specter of a fighter, and in some circumstances this spectral fighter is better able to kill than a real cavalier is able to fight.

Perhaps it was the desire to distinguish between history and its facts, on the one hand, and the myths and their specters, on the other, that moved an Arab intellectual of the stature of Edward Said to demand that the Arabs acknowledge the holocaust. He believes that this is the only way to “banish the specter,” allowing the facts of history to remain as much as possible, while the effects of myth could be removed from it – at least as much as possible.

There have been other writers and historians who have tackled other founding myths of the Israeli policy, particularly the myth of “a land without a people for a people without land.” Their writings, however, did not set off as many battles as have been sparked by the subject of the holocaust. The reasons for this could be understood in the fact that these writings were part of political or moral debates that lacked the heat of the tragedy or the flame of the holocaust. In addition, none of these writings evoked that confrontation between a tortured European conscience, trying to place facts in their proper places, on the one hand, and a Zionist

movement that exploits the pains of the whole of humanity in order to put Israel on the map of the Middle East!

Professor Garaudy's attempt has finally come, all the same. And he has made it a much more difficult battle because he did not tackle just one myth, but all the myths at once.

He did not publish a book, but rather wove a complete tapestry out of the fabric of events.

The most distinguishing feature of Garaudy's attempt, though, is that it comes from a man who knows what awaits him and is well prepared for it in advance. In addition, with his notoriety and stature, he is not a man who could be easily buried in oblivion, as happened to Douglas Reed, for example, or be beaten and boycotted, as happened to David Irving.

Even so, it has been proved that when confronting Zionist power no one is impregnable and there are no guarantees. Yet, to judge from the long discussion I had with him in Cairo recently, Garaudy knows the danger that faces him and I saw that he was ready for it. It was strange for me to see this man who has passed the 85th year of his life, not only ready for danger, but even relishing it. That is one of the traits of courage. To choose a course where danger is known to be waiting is different from accidentally leaping into its path. The first situation is a case of bravery, while the second is a sign of foolishness, and there is a great distance between the two!

Douglas Reed

As Egyptian journalist Mohamed Heikal notes in his foreword to the Arabic edition of Garaudy's *Founding Myths*, Douglas Reed was a very influential writer who was later consigned to public oblivion for writing frankly about Zionist power.

Born in Britain in 1895, Reed began working at the age of 13 as an office boy. At age 19 he worked as a bank clerk until enlisting in the British army at the outbreak of the First World War. At the age of 26, and "relatively unschooled" (as he once described himself), he began working for the London *Times* as a telephonist and clerk. He reached journalism at the age of 30 as a sub-editor. Three years later he



Douglas Reed

was the venerable paper's assistant correspondent in Berlin, before transferring to Vienna as its chief central European correspondent. He went on to report, as a *Times* correspondent, from Warsaw, Moscow, Prague, Athens, Sofia, Bucharest, Budapest and other European centers.

He left *The Times* in 1938, almost simultaneously with the publication of his book *Insanity Fair*, which sold very well (including its US edition), and brought him world fame. He later wrote: "I let off all this pent-up steam and said just what I thought about the coming war and the folks who were letting it happen in a book, *Insanity Fair*." A year later came another bestseller, *Disgrace*

Abounding, and then others, including *Prophet at Home*, *All Our Tomorrows*, *Lest We Regret*, and *Somewhere South of Suez*. Reed also found time to write four novels and a play.

He provided readers with elegantly-crafted reporting and analysis based on seasoned but common-sense observations of the international scene. Although he addressed all the major issues of the day, it was his forthright writing on the machinations and impact of the Zionist movement that got him into trouble. In *Somewhere South of Suez* (London: 1950), for example, he wrote:

... During all that period and to the present time, it was not possible freely to report or discuss a third vital matter: Zionist Nationalism. In this case the freedom of the press has become a fallacy during the past two decades ... When I came to America I found that this ban, for such it is in practice, prevailed even more rigidly than in my own country... In daily usage, no American or British newspaper, apparently, now dares to print a line of news or comment unfavorable to the Zionist ambition ... The inference to me is plain: the Zionist Nationalists are powerful enough to govern governments in the great countries of the remaining West!

In his next book *Far and Wide* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1951), Reed took a skeptical look at the much-hyped Jewish-Zionist claims of six million Jewish wartime deaths. He wrote:

During the Second World War I noticed that the figures of Jewish losses, in places where war made verification impossible, were being irre-

sponsibly inflated, and said so in a book. The process continued until the war's end when the figure of six millions was produced (and the Arabs were immediately chastised). A transparently worthless estimate was not only being used for mass-delusion through newspapers, but even given official status!

... No proof can be given that six million Jews 'perished'; proof can be adduced that so many could not have perished ... Certain mathematical rules govern destruction on such a scale; you need pursuers, jailers, prisons, camps, transport, executioners in numbers inconceivable ...

In a matter where nothing is verifiable, one thing seems sure: that six million Jews were never even contained in German-occupied territories ... Yet this massive assertion about the six millions was used by politicians in the highest places, by prosecutors at Nuremberg, and habitually by mass-newspapers which in lesser matters would print no statement unverified!

The familiar six million figure, Reed went on, is "one which not bear any scrutiny by independent investigators." Citing publicly available sources, he suggested that total Jewish wartime losses may have been between two and a half million and something more than three and a half million.

After the publication of *Far and Wide*, Reed was all but banned by establishment publishers. Still, he remained undaunted. His final book, *The Controversy of Zion* (Veritas [Australia] and Noontide [USA], 1985), provides a detailed and literate dissection of the origins and international impact of the Zionist movement, including its corrupting influence in Britain and the United States. Once again devoting several pages to the issue of Jewish wartime deaths, he concluded:

The starting point for consideration of this question [of Jewish wartime losses] is the fact that six million Jews, or anything approaching that number, cannot possibly have been 'done to death' or caused to 'perish' ... The very assertion, made before the Nuremberg court, was an affront to their 815,000 fighting-men, sailors and civilians, killed in all theatres of war, of which only the Western politicians of this century would have been capable.

However little known Douglas Reed may be today, his work — as Mohamed Heikal's foreword to the Arabic edition of Roger Garaudy's book attests — has not gone entirely unappreciated.

— M. W.

Zionist Groups Denounce Beirut Meeting

Interest Mounts for 'Revisionism and Zionism' Conference

Preparations are continuing according to plan for the landmark international conference on "Revisionism and Zionism" in Beirut, Lebanon, March 31-April 3, 2001. The event's importance is reflected in the eager inquiries from journalists in several countries, in the steady stream of guest registrations, and in the anxious denunciations recently issued by leading Jewish-Zionist groups.

The Anti-Defamation League, one of the world's most powerful Zionist organizations, issued a special news release, February 11, bitterly complaining about the Beirut conference. It specifically denounced the Institute for Historical Review, which is helping to organize the event. Apart from numerous errors of fact, blatant bias, and childish accusations of the allegedly evil motives of the "deniers," nearly all the factual information in the ADL release is simply taken from the IHR web site. The Simon Wiesenthal Center, another ardent apologist for Israel, the next day issued its own strident condemnation of the Beirut conference. It similarly took a swipe at the "so-called Institute for Historical Review."

Prominent revisionist scholars, researchers and activists from a range of countries are scheduled to address the Beirut conference, which will both reflect and further strengthen the growing cooperation between independent scholars in Europe, the United States and Middle East countries. Conference addresses will be given in Arabic, French and English.

The four-day event is being organized by the Swiss revisionist organization *Verité et Justice*, in cooperation with the IHR. *Verité et Justice* director Jürgen Graf, who was sentenced by a Swiss court in July 1998 to 15 months imprisonment for "Holocaust denial," has fled his homeland to live in political exile rather than serve the politically-motivated sentence. The 49-year-old educator is currently in Tehran as a guest of Iranian scholars.

Guests are welcome to attend the Beirut conference, but they must cover their own travel and hotel expenses. There is no registration or attendance fee. United States citizens traveling to Lebanon require a valid US passport and a visa issued by the Lebanese embassy or a Lebanese consulate.

Further details about the Beirut conference are posted on the "Beirut 2001" section of the IHR web site: <http://ihr.org>

God Yes, Holocaust No

Doug Collins

This is a review of a book which, as far as I am aware, has never been reviewed in the mainstream North American press, even though it caused a sensation in Europe when it was published in France. Its title is *The Founding Myths of Modern Israel*, and it was written by the French scholar Roger Garaudy.

The only reason we can read it now is that it has been put out in English by the Institute for Historical Review in California (assuming, that it isn't seized by the Canadian censors as "hate literature"). It is of course a myth that we have a free press. Certain subjects are taboo, and in many "democracies" punishable if they cross the line of approved opinion. That includes questioning the six million figure of Jewish deaths in the Holocaust. Any German who does so soon sees the inside of a jail. And the unceasing flood of propaganda from Hollywood and the liberal media ensures that "Holocaust deniers" are seen as "racists," "neo-Nazis," and knaves, even though they may not deny that the Jews were persecuted and died in their thousands under the Nazis.

As Garaudy states: "The only arguments that have been used against the [Holocaust] revisionists have been refusal to debate, physical attack, censorship, and repression." He should know. In 1998 a French court fined him \$40,000 for having written *Founding Myths*, which he calls a "heresy history."

An Egyptian Nobel Laureate in literature wondered at the time why it is that you can deny the existence of God, but not the Holocaust as described by the ax-grinders. That applies also here in Wimp-land, where you can find yourself up before a "human rights commission" for doing so.

Garaudy shows that it is not Judaism that is at fault but Zionism, and he expresses no hostility to Jews as such. Judaism is a humanitarian religion, he says, while Zionism can be, and has been, ruthless nationalism. That is what explains the brutal expulsion of Palestinians from what used to be their country, plus the outrageous attacks on Lebanon involving thousands of deaths, not to mention murderous actions like the one in 1948 on Deir Yassin,

Doug Collins, an award-winning Canadian journalist and author of several books, served with the British army during the Second World War. For 14 years, he wrote a popular column for the *North Shore News* of North Vancouver, British Columbia. He addressed the Tenth IHR Conference (1990). This column, distributed on-line, is dated September 26, 2000.

designed by Menachem Begin to terrify Palestinians into fleeing.

Begin became a prime minister of Israel, yet was described by the first prime minister, Ben Gurion, as "clearly a Hitlerian type. He is a racist willing to destroy all the Arabs for the sake of the completeness of the country, sanctifying all means for the sake of the sacred end ..."

Interestingly, too, Garaudy compares the view that the Jews are "God's chosen people" with Hitler's view of the superiority of the German race.

Yitzhak Shamir, another terrorist who became a prime minister, tried to collaborate with the Nazis. The persecution of the Jews took second place to the creation of Israel. "The [Zionist] preoccupation with building a strong Jewish state made them much more anti-British than anti-Nazi," states Garaudy. It was in 1941 that the British arrested Shamir "for terrorism and collaboration with the Nazi enemy." He is at pains to point out, however, that the great majority of Jews were active in the fight against Hitler. Still, Shamir's early antics were not something we heard much about once Israel became a state.

Garaudy also deals with "myths on the Holocaust" that are put out daily by the propaganda machine, the main purpose of which is to make it dangerous to challenge Zionist policies.

There was, he states emphatically, no Hitler order for the extermination of the Jews (which is not to say that he thought that Hitler was some kind of Teutonic Boy Scout); Rudolf Höss, the commandant at Auschwitz, was beaten to a pulp in order to make him say that he had overseen the killing of over two-and-a-half million Jews; and no "final solution" was decided at the Wannsee Conference.

Others have been convincing on the same points. Robert Faurisson, Europe's leading revisionist, was run out of his university. He was also hauled before the French courts and nearly killed by Jewish thugs. Deny God, yes, deny the six million of the Holocaust, no.

Unfortunately for his critics, Garaudy's whole background is anti-Nazi. He fought in the French Army in 1940, joined the Resistance after the defeat of France, became a prominent Communist deputy in the French National Assembly, rejected Communism in 1968 and converted to Islam, but, it is stated in the Foreword, "has never ceased to proclaim his anti-racist, internationalist, and socialist beliefs".

Founding Myths has been denounced by the Zionist Organization of America and other Jewish groups as "the number one threat to Israel." Which is a confession that what Garaudy has to say must have some substance to it. It is also a proclamation that revisionists must be silenced and ruined.

Report of Israeli Eavesdropping on White House Telephones Gets Varying Media Treatment

RICHARD H. CURTISS

In its May 29, 2000, issue *Insight* magazine published an in-depth report headlined "FBI Probes Espionage at Clinton White House." [The full text can be found on the *Insight* web site <<http://www.insightmag.com/archive/200005306.shtml>>] The article, actually released on May 5, was the result of a one-year investigation by editors J. Michael Waller and Paul M. Rodriguez into reports that the FBI was probing allegations that the government of Israel had penetrated four White House telephone lines and was able to relay real-time conversations on those lines from a remote site outside the White House directly to Israel for listening and recording.

The article also charged that the FBI was investigating whether similar penetrations had been made into State Department lines, possibly Pentagon lines and, most interesting, into unlisted, secret lines used by the FBI in its counterintelligence work, including its probe into the Israeli penetration already being investigated. The two reporters said the FBI investigation had been launched in late 1996 or early 1997 when a local telephone company manager became suspicious of an Israeli employee of Amdocs, an Israeli company that sells billing software to telephone companies.

The American telephone manager's suspicions came to the attention of the CIA, the reporters said, which turned the matter over to the FBI. The Israeli worked as a subcontractor on a telephone-billing program being developed for the CIA, and was married to an Israeli woman employed in the Israeli Embassy in Washington. In a search of the husband's workplace, the FBI found "a list of the FBI's most sensitive telephone numbers, including the Bureau's 'black' lines that FBI counterintelligence used to keep track of the suspected Israel spy operation," the reporters noted. They reported also that

husband-and-wife assignments are common in the Mossad.

In the course of their investigation, the journalists said, they found it impossible to get clear confirmation that the investigation was still active, but at the same time no one would confirm that it had been closed. Instead the reporters were told *officially* that nothing had turned up to confirm the suspicions that prompted the three-year-long investigation, and *unofficially* that, because the allegations and findings involved Israel, the entire subject was "radioactive," "too hot to handle," and "could not be confirmed on the record." The two journalists also suggested in their article that perhaps congressional investigators could pick up where they had left off, using the power to subpoena testimony that government officials seemed both eager and afraid to offer except under duress. But since the article appeared, no member of Congress has taken up the challenge.

A 'Radioactive' Effect

In fact, the different media handling accorded the article in the US, European, and Israeli press is a story in itself. The US media, like US government officials, clearly consider Israel "radioactive." Just as an American government official knows that expressing any interest in Israel, unless it is extremely positive, is a career-breaker, US editors know that in journalism it can have the same effect, and also can result in extensive, concerted loss of advertising—whether the publication's advertisers are national or local.

Thus, although the Rupert Murdoch-owned Fox News, the most conservative of the US networks, picked up the *Insight* story on May 5, even before *Insight* readers had received their copy of it, there was virtually no television or radio follow-up, except on radio talk shows when the few callers who had heard about it brought it up. The US print media were even more timid. *The Washington Post* printed only a May 6 Associated Press report quoting "two senior federal law enforcement officials...who requested anonymity" as reporting that "the FBI had identified no one to arrest during its investigation." The AP also quoted "Capitol Hill Republican sources" as saying the allegations centered on a telecommunications contractor and that Israeli Embassy spokesman Mark Regev in Washington

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This essay is reprinted from the July 2000 issue of *The Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*, pp. 43, 112.

called the allegations “outrageous” and claimed, “Israel does not spy on the United States.”

On his Web site, *Insight* editor Paul Rodriguez subsequently pointed out that when *The New York Times* got around to reporting the story, it built in an error about the *Insight* report, which then gave the *Times* something to deny.

Whether the *Times* intentionally set up such a straw man and then knocked it down in lieu of reporting accurately on the *Insight* story isn’t clear. But the overall US media handling, or non-handling, of the story is summarized by Rodriguez: “While *Insight* prides itself on having sources and contacts others don’t, this doesn’t mean that other venerable institutions such as *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* don’t have good sources and contacts. In fact, several reporters at those papers, as well as ABC News and Fox News Network, have been pursuing the *Insight* exclusive and have been told much the same story that was published by this magazine [*Insight*]. Yet apart from Fox News, these outlets have run not a word other than the initial wire or staff stories repeating bland comments by the FBI.”

Rodriguez told *The Washington Report* on June 19: “We’re perplexed that no one has followed up on this story. We think it’s news by any stretch of the imagination. It is true that the FBI says that a portion of the investigation is closed. But the fact that a portion also is open makes it news. We will continue to pursue it. Meanwhile, it’s gratifying that the Middle East press played it fair and square.”

This magazine covered the *Insight* report in a page-and-a-half article in its June issue. That article was also sent out to the magazine’s e-mail list of 1,500 newspapers with permission to reprint it. There were a few inquiries, including a request for all references on the subject by a major New York daily, but so far as this writer knows, no reprints. A Texas columnist who queried editors in his state as to why they evinced no interest was told they were put off by *Insight*’s lack of corroborating sources. Maybe you can’t dial up the FBI, White House, State Department or Pentagon from Texas. Or maybe Texas editors know exactly what Washington journalists and bureaucrats know: Israel is radioactive.

European press handling of the story was not much different, but perhaps for slightly different reasons. The original wire service stories, based upon *Insight*’s information, were picked up. But since there was no follow-up after the first day or two, even those foreign newspapers with Washington correspondents (who concentrate on “local angle” material and leave general reporting about the US to the wire services) let the story die. Moral: if the US media choose to ignore a story about the



President Clinton with Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu at a White House news conference in February 1997. At this meeting, the Zionist leader praised Clinton as “an exceptional friend of Israel.”

US, it literally goes down the memory hole, both at home and abroad.

One country that did not ignore the report, however, was Israel. But there the focus was not at all on whether or not the story was true, but only why a three-year-long FBI probe that began as early as 1996 was only now being “leaked” to the media. Reported the Tel Aviv daily *Ha’aretz*, “Israeli sources said that elements within the US government take routine precautionary steps and that whenever there is any tension with Israel, reports on supposed Israeli espionage against the United States are leaked to the press.” They noted that this had happened in the past and was happening again now against the background of US opposition to Israel’s deal to sell Phalcon spy planes to China.

The same May 7 *Ha’aretz* report on the contents of the *Insight* article was far longer than anything that appeared in any US daily newspaper. It said that although “White House and FBI officials denied the allegations... they acknowledged that such an investigation into possible Israeli eavesdropping had been conducted and added that the file has not technically been closed yet. The file is categorized as ‘inactive’ due to the severity of the allegations and the possibility that there may be further developments.”

Ha’aretz continued: “According to the *Insight* report, for more than a year the FBI followed an

Israeli businessman who works for Amdocs... The magazine said that the FBI is convinced that telephone company equipment was used from a remote venue to eavesdrop on conversations initiated or received by senior US government officials, including possibly those of the president himself...

"The report notes that many government officials conduct conversations containing classified information on lines that are not considered secure. Clinton, too, the magazine stressed, conducted his intimate chats with Monica Lewinsky on an open line. Lewinsky herself said that in March 1997, when she was with the president in his office, he told her he suspected that a foreign embassy had been tapping his line.

"Special prosecutor Kenneth Starr never told the Congress whether those statements by Lewinsky were ever investigated further. Congressional investigators who asked questions about the matter were told at the end of 1998 by the FBI and the CIA that there was no basis to Lewinsky's statement. Congress was also told that there was no investigation being conducted into any foreign government's wiretapping of the White House. Now it emerges that such an investigation on precisely that matter had indeed been conducted."

There were reports similar to that of *Ha'aretz* in the other major Israeli dailies, all longer than anything that appeared in any US daily. The only Israeli editorial comment the reports drew did not question the validity of the *Insight* report, but only its timing.

It is interesting to note that every Israeli editor feels free to inform his readers about stories of great interest in both Israel and the US. But nearly all American editors — in a form of "voluntary censorship" identical to that practiced in countries where there is no freedom of the press — choose to withhold those same stories from American readers.

It's going to be hard, however, to make Monica Lewinsky's testimony that President Bill Clinton warned her that a foreign embassy was listening to their telephone sex go permanently down the memory hole. This is particularly true after the whole sordid Monica story hit the US media fan just hours after then-Israeli Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu arrived in the US national capital vowing "to set Washington on fire" back in 1998.

Now we know where he got the matches.

"It is time for Americans to comprehend that taxation has become an instrument for the transfer of power, freedoms and treasure from the people to the government."

— Linda Bowles

Clinton and America's Jews

"Nowhere will Mr. Clinton's departure be felt more keenly than among American Jews. Mr. Clinton won Jews' hearts — along with their votes and their campaign dollars — as no president had since Franklin Roosevelt. He evoked a feeling of warmth and comfort among Jews that was evident whenever he met with them, and that was a phenomenon in American politics.

"The president plainly reciprocated this comfort. He appointed more Jews to his administration, from the Cabinet on down, than any president in history. He placed Jewish causes and interests high on his agenda as few presidents had before. He threw the full weight of his administration behind the quest for Holocaust restitution ... Most of all, he made the quest for peace and security in Israel one of the centerpieces of his presidency."

— Front page editorial in *Forward*, an influential nationally-distributed New York Jewish weekly, January 19, 2001.

'The Jewish Century'

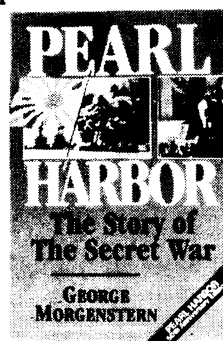
"No doubt Henry Luce would have been pained to contemplate it, but the era that the founder of *Time* [magazine] was pleased to dub the 'American century' became the Jewish century in American history."

— David Lauter, *Los Angeles Times* senior editor, in the *Los Angeles Times Book Review*, February 18, 2001, p.8.

PEARL HARBOR The Story of the Secret War

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A Horrific, Suppressed Story

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"The events are vivid, the language is powerful, the conclusions appear just. The book should be read and become part of the all too gruesome document the world calls history."

— New York Daily News

In 1945 Poland's new Soviet-dominated government was actively recruiting Jews for its Office of State Security to carry out its own trademark brand of brutal "de-Nazification." The Office's agents raided German homes, rounding up some 200,000 men, women, children and infants — 99 percent of them non-combatant, innocent civilians. Incarcerated in cellars, prisons, and 1,255 concentration camps where typhus was rampant and torture was commonplace, the inmates subsisted on starvation rations. In this brief period, between 60,000 and 80,000 Germans perished at the hands of the Office.

An Eye for an Eye tells the little-known story of how Jewish victims of the Third Reich inflicted equally terrible suffering on innocent Germans. To unearth it, the author, a veteran journalist and war correspondent, spent seven years conducting research and interviews in Poland, Germany, Israel and the United States.

Author John Sack focuses on such figures as Shlomo Morel, a commandant who bragged: "What the Germans couldn't do in five years at Auschwitz, I've done in

five months at Schwientochlowitz."

Not for 60 years has a book been so diligently (and, in the end, unsuccessfully) suppressed as *An Eye for an Eye*. One major newspaper, one major magazine, and

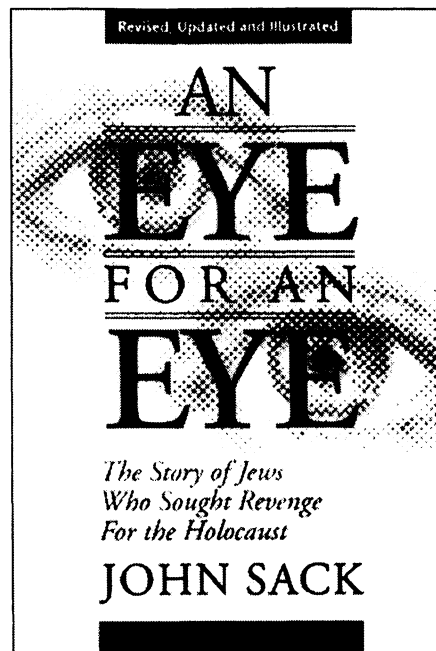
three major publishers paid \$40,000 for it but were scared off. One printed 6,000 copies, then pulped them. Two dozen publishers read *An Eye for an Eye* and praised it. "Shocking," "Startling," "Astonishing," "Mesmerizing," "Extraordinary," they wrote to the author, but all two dozen rejected it.

When it was finally published by Basic Books, it "sparked a furious controversy" (*Newsweek*). And while it became a best-seller in Europe, it was so shunned in America that it also became, in the words of *New York* magazine, "The Book They Dare Not Review."

Since then, both *60 Minutes* and *The New York Times* have corroborated

Sack's riveting expose of atrocities by vengeful Jews against German civilians in Communist-ruled Poland.

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Unternehmen Barbarossa und der russische Historikerstreit ("Operation Barbarossa and the Russian Historians' Dispute"), by Wolfgang Strauss. Munich: Herbig, 1998. Hardcover. 199 pages. Illustrations. Source references. Bibliography. Index.

Reviewed by Daniel W. Michaels

No two peoples suffered more during the Second World War than the Russians and the Germans. In the carnage of that great global conflict, nothing matched the massive destruction of life and property wrought on the Eastern front by Russian and German forces fanatically driven by irreconcilable ideologies.

Now, more than 50 years after the end of the "clash of the titans," free Russian and German historians are collaborating to ascertain the historical decisions and actions that led to that bloodiest of all conflicts. Wolfgang Strauss, a respected German Slavist and political analyst, explains this clarifying historical process in "Operation Barbarossa and the Russian Historians' Dispute," his most recent work.¹ He examines here the research of revisionist scholars in Russia and Germany on Stalin's role in igniting the German-Russian conflict and his efforts to expand the Soviet empire across Europe. Perhaps most importantly, he also shows how a shared understanding of the war is contributing to reconciliation between these two great European peoples.

Strauss affirms the view of German historian Ernst Nolte that Hitler's militant anti-Communism was an understandable reaction to the looming Soviet threat to Europe and humanity. Put another way, the militancy of the "fascist" movements that arose in Germany, Spain, Italy and other European countries in the 1920s and 1930s was, in essence, a response to the undisguised Bolshevik goal of dominating Europe.² This view, Strauss contends, has now largely been embraced by Russian revisionists and the French historian François Furet.³ It is basically irrelevant whether one regards the war that broke out in June 1941 between Germany and Soviet Russia as a war of aggression, a preventive war or a counterattack. For each side, Nolte and others contend, this was a life or death struggle to

decide which world view and way of life would prevail in Europe — atheistic, internationalist Communism or the bourgeois Christian civilization of the West.

The Black Book

In no way does Strauss dismiss or whitewash Hitler's brutal excesses. He also holds that Hitler's racist concept of the inferiority of the Slavic peoples and his attempt to colonize their lands was not only wrong but doomed his military campaign, and ultimately the Third Reich, to failure. At the same time, Strauss stresses the monumental brutality of Soviet and international Communism. In this regard he cites *The Black Book of Communism: Crimes, Terror and Repression*, a recent 860-page work by French scholar Stéphane Courtois and others.⁴

As Courtois stresses, many American and European scholars have upheld a morally peculiar view of history that fervently condemns National Socialist Germany while maintaining a meretriciously non-judgmental "objectivity" toward Soviet Russia. But there is no hierarchy of death and suffering. As Courtois writes: "The death of a Ukrainian peasant child, deliberately exposed to starvation by the Stalinist regime, is just as important as the starvation of a child in the Warsaw Ghetto."

As Strauss relates, Courtois finds that 1) some 100 million human beings lost their lives as a result of Communist policies in the Soviet Union, Red China and other Communist states 2) The Communists made mass criminality an integral part of their governmental system; 3) Terror was part of the Soviet regime from the outset, beginning with Lenin; 4) Class and ethnic genocide, begun by Lenin and systematized by Stalin, preceded Hitler's dictatorship by years; 5) Stalin was unquestionably a greater criminal than Hitler; and 6) Stalin's joint, if not primary, responsibility for the outbreak of Russo-German War is undeniable.⁵

It is often forgotten that the Russian people were the first victims of Communism. Citing evidence from British, Russian and other sources, Strauss shows that those who imposed Communist despotism on the Russians were primarily non-Russian and non-Christian aliens — above all, Jews.⁶ Their goal was nothing short of eradicating Christianity and European civilization, at whatever the human cost. Many Russians place the primary responsibility for the crimes of Communism, particularly in the first ten years of Soviet rule, on the Bolshevik

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party's non-Russian elements. For example, Strauss notes, the Russian press has referred to the execution of Tsar Nicholas II and his entire family as a "Jewish ritualistic murder."⁷ In a similar context, Strauss cites from Solzhenitsyn the names of the ruthless Soviet secret police (NKVD) chiefs — all of them Jews — who put tens of thousands of slave laborers to death under appallingly inhumane conditions in building the White Sea Canal.⁸

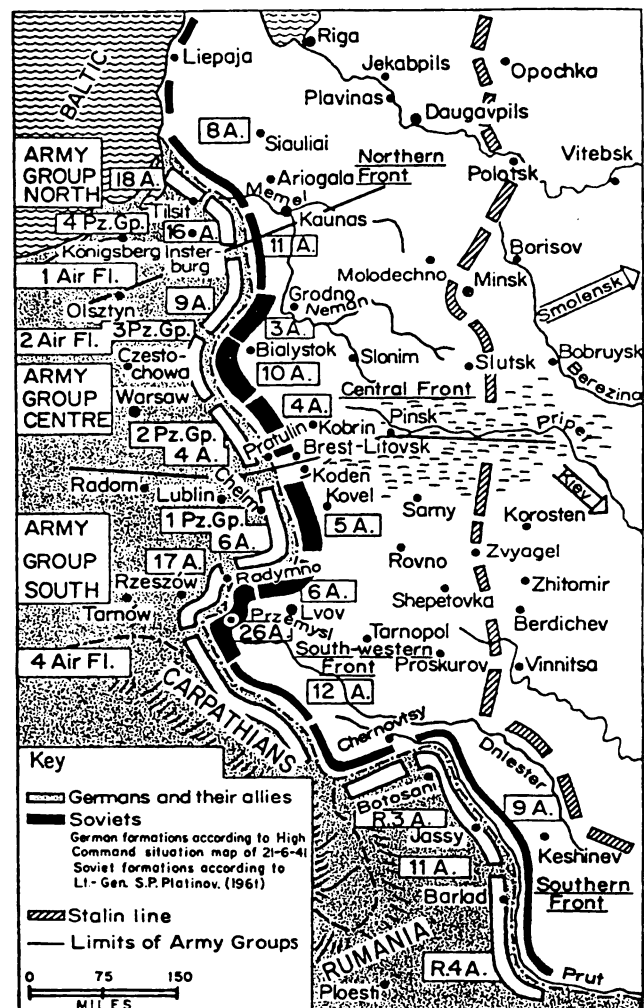
One should not, however, get the impression that Slavs were the exclusive victims of Stalin's terror, or that the murderers were all non-Russians.⁹ During the Great Purge of 1937-39, Strauss points out, Stalin executed many Jews who had played a prominent role in the early Soviet regime. In 1940 Stalin succeeded in killing his greatest rival, Lev Trotsky (Bronstein), who had once been the second most powerful figure in the Soviet state. And when Stalin installed the Russian Nikolai Yezhov as head of the NKVD, replacing the Jewish Genrikh Yagoda, thousands of Yagoda's followers and their families, mostly Jews, were murdered or committed suicide.

Pioneering Russian Revisionists

One of the earliest Russian revisionists of World War II history was Pyotr Grigorenko, a Soviet Army Major General and highly decorated war veteran who taught at the Frunze Military Academy. Already in the early 1960s, during the Khrushchev era, he was a "dissident," publicly supporting civil rights for oppressed ethnic minorities. (Authorities committed him to a mental asylum.) In 1967, Strauss relates, he was the first leading Soviet figure to advance the revisionist arguments, which became well known during the 1980s and 1990s, on Stalin's preparations for aggressive war against Germany. In an article submitted to a major Soviet journal (but rejected, and later published abroad), Grigorenko pointed out that Soviet military forces vastly outnumbered German forces in 1941. Just prior to the German attack on June 22, 1941, more than half of the Soviet forces were in the area near and west of Bialystok, that is, in an area deep in Polish occupied territory. "This deployment could only be justified" wrote Grigorenko, "if these troops were deploying for a surprise offensive. In the event of an enemy attack these troops would soon be encircled."¹⁰

The best known Russian historian to advance revisionist arguments on Stalin's preparations for a first-strike against Germany has been Viktor Suvorov (pen name of Vladimir Rezun). Strauss recapitulates his main arguments (which have been treated in detail in the pages of this *Journal*).¹¹

Strauss examines three significant speeches by Stalin (which have also been dealt with by Suvorov, as well as in the pages of this *Journal*):¹² 1. In his



Just prior to the "Barbarossa" attack on the morning of June 22, 1941, two colossal military forces were poised on each side of the Soviet frontier. Three million German men, with 600,000 vehicles, 750,000 horses, 3,580 tanks, and 1,830 aircraft, were deployed in three large "Army Groups," together with some 600,000 Romanian and Finnish troops. On the Soviet side, 4.5 million Red Army troops were deployed against Germany and Europe. Source: Paul Carell, *Hitler Moves East 1941-1943* (1991), p. 18.

address of August 19, 1939, shortly before the outbreak of war, Stalin explained why a temporary alliance with Germany was more beneficial to Soviet interests than an alliance with Britain and France. 2. In his speech of May 5, 1941, Stalin explained to graduate officers of military academies that the impending war would be fought offensively by Soviet forces, and that it would nonetheless be a just war because it would advance world socialism. 3. In the speech of November 6, 1941, some four months after the outbreak of the "Barbarossa" campaign, Stalin stressed the importance of killing Germans.

(This speech helped to “inspire” the Soviet Jewish writer Ilya Ehrenburg to make his notorious contribution to the war effort in the form of murderously anti-German propaganda.)

Recent Russian Revisionist Historiography

A radical revision of World War II history, Strauss contends, became possible only after the collapse of the multinational Soviet Union (1991), when some 14 million previously classified documents dealing with all aspects of Soviet rule were finally open to free examination. This book’s greatest contribution may well be to highlight for non-Russians the research of Russian revisionists. Strauss is very familiar with this important work, which has been all but entirely ignored in the United States. The most important publications cited by Strauss in this regard are two Russian anthologies, both issued in 1995: “Did Stalin Make Preparations for an Offensive War Against Hitler?” and “September 1, 1939-May 9, 1945: 50th Anniversary of the Defeat of Fascist Germany.”¹³ The first of these contains articles by revisionist scholars as well as by critics of revisionism. (The “Russian historians’ dispute” referred to in the subtitle of Strauss’ book echoes the “German historians’ dispute” of the 1980s, in which Ernst Nolte played a major role.)

As Strauss notes, the most prominent critic of the revisionist view of Suvorov and others has been Israeli historian Gabriel Gorodetsky, who teaches at Tel Aviv University. (Strauss suggests that he is an long-time apologist for Stalin.) Gorodetsky is the author of a 1995 Russian-language anti-Suvorov work, “The ‘Icebreaker’ Myth,” and a detailed 1999 study, *Grand Illusion: Stalin and the German Invasion of Russia*.

In his discussion of “Did Stalin Make Preparations for an Offensive War Against Hitler,” Strauss writes (pages 42-44):

Even though revisionists as well as the critics of revisionism have their say in this book, the end result is the same. The anti-Fascist attempts to justify and legitimize Stalin’s war policy from 1939 do not hold up. The view that the Second World War was “a crime attributable solely to National Socialist Germany” can no longer be sustained. The historical truth as seen by Russian revisionists is documented in this collection of articles published by Bordyugov and Nevezhin as well as by the renowned war historian Mikhail Melitiukhov, academic associate of



Viktor Suvorov (Vladimir Rezun)

the All-Russian Research Institute for Documentation and Archives.

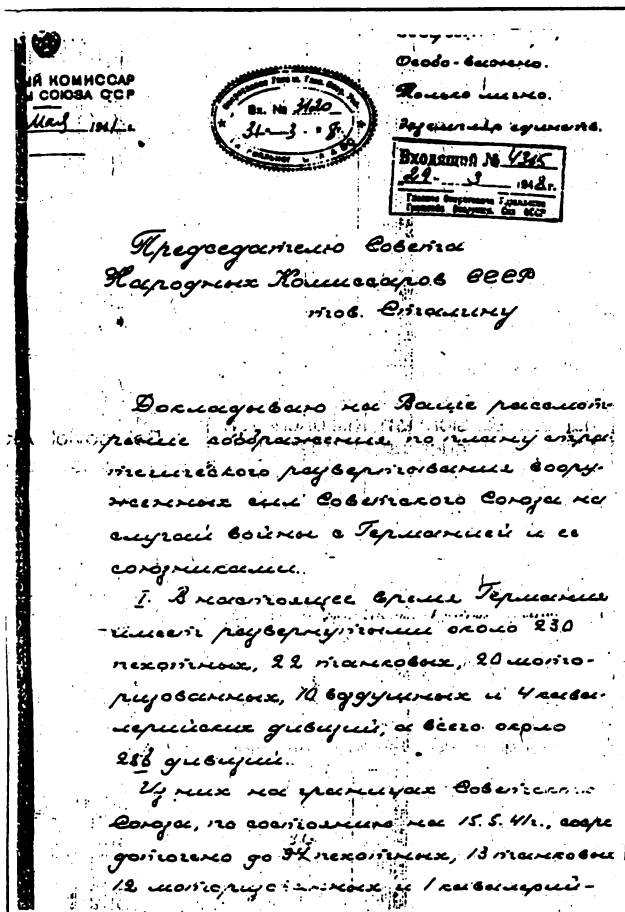
This most recent compendium of Russian revisionist writings deepens our understanding of Stalin’s preparations for a military first-strike against Germany in the summer of 1941. The strategic deployment plan, approved by Stalin at a conference on May 15, 1941, with General Staff chief Georgi Zhukov and Defense Commissar Semen Timoshenko, called for a *Blitzkrieg*:

Tank divisions and mechanized corps were to launch their attack from the Brest and Lviv [Lemberg] tier accompanied by destructive air strikes. The objective was to conquer East Prussia, Poland, Silesia and the [Czech] Protectorate, and thereby cut Germany off from the Balkans and the Romanian oil fields. Lublin, Warsaw, Kattowice, Cracow, Breslau [Wroclaw] and Prague were targets to be attacked.

A second attack thrust was to be directed at Romania, with the capture of Bucharest. The successful accomplishment of the immediate aims, namely, to destroy the mass of the German Army east of the Vistula, Narev and Oder rivers, was the necessary prerequisite for the fulfillment of the main objective, which was to defeat Germany in a quick campaign. The main contingents of the German armed forces were to be encircled and destroyed by tank armies in bold rapid advances.

Three recurrent terms in the mobilization plan of May 15 confirm the aggressive character of Stalin’s plan. “A sudden strike” (*vnyyazpni udar*), “forward deployment” (*razvertyvaniye*), and “offensive war” (*nastupatel’naya voyna*). Of the 303 [Soviet] divisions assembled on the western front, 172 were assigned to the first wave of attack. One month was allotted for the total deployment — the period from June 15 to July 15. Mikhail Melitiukhov: “On this basis it appears that the war against Germany would have to have begun in July.”

This anthology also devotes much attention to analyzing Stalin’s speech of May 5, 1941, delivered to graduates of Soviet military academies. In this speech Stalin justified his change of foreign policy in connection with the now decided-upon attack against Germany. From the Communist point of view even a Soviet war of aggression is a “just war” because it serves to expand the “territory of the socialist world” and “to destroy the capitalist world.” Most important in this May 5 speech was Stalin’s efforts to



First page of the May 1941 Soviet memorandum, shown here in facsimile (reduced), that lays out strategy for a military first strike against Germany and her allies. Using such terms as “a sudden strike” and “offensive war,” it calls for a lightning attack against German East Prussia, Poland, Silesia and the Czech lands, thereby cutting Germany off from the Balkans and the Romanian oil fields, and a second military thrust directed at Romania. This document, says Russian historian Melitiukhov, suggests that the Soviet strike against Germany and her allies was set to begin in July 1941. Hand-written in black ink, this 15-page document was prepared by Soviet general Vasilevski, and signed by Soviet General Staff chief Zhukov and Soviet defense commissar Timoshenko. It was submitted to Stalin on May 15, 1941. The rectangle and oval archive stamps show that this document was transferred in 1948 to the operations bureau of the Soviet General Staff.

dispel the “myth of the invincible Wehrmacht.” The Red Army was strong enough to smash any enemy, even the “seemingly invincible Wehrmacht.”

Strauss lists (pages 102-105) the major findings

and conclusions of Russian revisionists, derived mostly from the two major works cited above:

- Stalin wanted a general European war of exhaustion in which the USSR would intervene at the politically and militarily most expedient moment. Stalin’s main intention is seen in his speech to the Politburo of August 19, 1939.

- To ignite this, Stalin used the [August 1939] Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact, which: a) provoked Hitler’s attack against Poland, and b) evoked the declarations of war [against Germany] by Britain and France.

- In the event Germany was defeated quickly [by Britain and France], Stalin planned to “Sovietize” Germany and establish a “Communist government” there, but with the danger that the victorious capitalist powers would never permit a Communist Germany.

- In the event France was defeated quickly [by Germany], Stalin planned the “Sovietization” of France. “A Communist revolution would seem inevitable, and we could take advantage of this for our own purposes by rushing to aid France and making her our ally. As a result of this, all the nations under the ‘protection’ of a victorious Germany would become our allies.”

- From the outset Stalin reckoned on a war with Germany, and the [Soviet] conquest of Germany. To this end, Stalin concentrated on the western border of the USSR operational offensive forces, which were five- to six-times stronger than the Wehrmacht with respect to tanks, aircraft and artillery.

- With respect to a war of aggression, on May 15, 1941, the Red Army’s Main Political Directorate instructed troop commanders that every war the USSR engaged in, whether defensive or offensive, would have the character of a “just war.”

- Troop contingents were to be brought up to full strength in all the western military districts; airfields and supply bases to support a forward-strategy were to be built directly behind the border; an attack force of 60 divisions was to be set up in the Ukraine and mountain divisions and a parachute corps were to be established for attack operations.

- The 16th, 19th, 21st, 22nd and 25th Soviet Armies were transferred from the interior to the western border, and deployed at take-off points for the planned offensive.

- In his speech of May 5, 1941, to graduate officers of the academies, Stalin said that war with Germany was inevitable, and characterized it as a war not only of a defensive nature but rather of an offensive nature.

- Stalin intended to attack in July 1941, although Russian historians disagree about the precise date. Suvorov cites July 6, [Valeri] Danilov [a retired Soviet Colonel] gives July 2,



General Alfred Jodl, center, makes a point about the military situation during a briefing with Hitler and General Wilhelm Keitel.

while Melitiukhov writes: "The Red Army could not have carried out an attack before July 15."

Hitler's Proclamation

In an appendix of documents, Strauss includes portions of Hitler's "Operation Barbarossa" directive of December 18, 1940. Also here, in facsimile, is a German press announcement of June 22, 1941, that gives Hitler's reasons for Germany's attack against the Soviet Union:

This morning the Führer, through Reich Minister Dr. Goebbels, issued a proclamation to the German people in which he explains that after months-long silence he can finally speak openly to the German people about the dangerous machinations of the Jewish-Bolshevik rulers in Soviet Russia. After the German-Russian Friendship Treaty in the Autumn of 1939, he hoped for an easing of tensions with Russia. This hope, however, was crushed by Soviet Russia's extortionist demands against both Finland and the Baltic states as well as against Romania.

After the victory in Poland the Western powers rejected the Führer's proposal for an understanding because they were hoping that Soviet Russia would attack Germany. Since the Spring of 1940 Soviet troops have been deploying in ever increasing numbers along the German border, so that since August 1940 strong German forces have been tied down in the East, making any major German effort in the West impossible.

During his [November 1940] visit to Berlin, [Soviet foreign minister] Molotov posed questions regarding Romania, Finland, Bulgaria and the Dardanelles that clearly revealed that

Soviet Russia intended to create trouble in eastern Europe. To be sure, the Bolshevik coup attempt against the [Romanian] government of Antonescu failed, but, with the help of the Anglo-Saxon powers [Britain and the United States], their putsch in Yugoslavia succeeded. Serbian air force officers flew to Russia and were immediately incorporated in the Army there.

With these machinations Moscow has not just broken the so-called German-Russian Friendship Treaty, it has betrayed it. In his proclamation the Führer stressed that further silence on his part would be a crime not only against Germany, but against Europe as well. On the border now stand 160 Russian divisions,¹⁴ which have repeatedly violated that frontier. On June 17-18 Soviet patrols were forced back across the border only after a lengthy exchange of fire. Meanwhile, to protect Europe and defend against further Russian provocations, the greatest build-up of forces ever has been assembled against Soviet Russia. German troops stand from the Arctic Ocean to the Black Sea, allied in the north with Finnish troops and along the Bessarabian border with Romanian forces.

The Führer concluded his proclamation with the following sentences: "I have therefore decided to once again lay the fate and the future of the German Reich and of our people in the hands of our soldiers. May the Lord God help us especially in this struggle!"

Coming to Terms With the Past

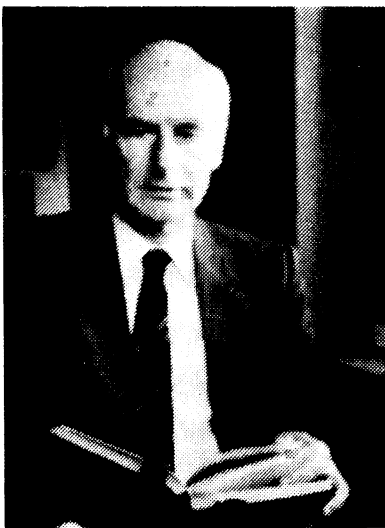
Even though more and more independent Russian, German and other European historians support the revisionist arguments of Suvorov (and others), it still seems impossible, especially in Germany, to reapportion historical responsibility from Hitler to Stalin. In this regard, Strauss recalls (pages 45-46) a discussion in May 1993 at the Military History Research Office in Freiburg involving German historian Dr. Joachim Hoffmann, decades-long associate of the Research Office, and Russian historian Viktor Suvorov. Hoffman told of conversations on the "preventive war" issue he has had with prominent Germans, including President Richard von Weizsäcker, the influential journalist Marion Gräfin Dönhoff, and political figures Egon Bahr and Heinrich Graf von Einsiedel. In every case he was told that even if Suvorov is correct, and Hitler's attack indeed preceded Stalin's by weeks, this must not be acknowledged publicly because it would exonerate Hitler. This is typical, says Hoffmann, of the immoral attitude that prevails in Germany. In their egotism, he adds, these Germans do not realize that they are, in effect, demanding that Rus-

sians accept the propaganda lies of the Stalin era.

Strauss contrasts the very different attitudes of Germans and Russians toward 20th century history, and the role of historical revisionism. Whereas Germans are imbued with a national masochistic guilt complex about their collectively "evil" past, which was instilled during the postwar occupation as part of Allied "reeducation" campaign, and reinforced ever since in their media and by "their" political leaders, Russians are much more free and open about their Communist past, largely because they have not been occupied by foreign conquerors, and their media and educational system has not come under the control of outsiders.¹⁵ Although die-hard Communists try to uphold the historiography of the Soviet era, most Russians want to know the truth about their past. After all, Strauss points out, one out of every two Russian families suffered under the Stalinist tyranny. For the time being, anyway, nothing is taboo in Russia, including the role of Jews in the Communist movement. (By contrast, Germans are forbidden by law to say anything derogatory about the political activities of Jews in the first half of the 20th century.)

The term "genocide" is used to refer particularly to the World War II treatment of Europe's Jews. Without in any way minimizing the sufferings of innocent Jews caught up in that maelstrom, one should not forget that Stalin's Soviet regime inflicted a much more ruthless and widespread genocide against the Russian and Ukrainian peoples. It is estimated that in the Soviet Union about 20 million people, the vast majority of them Slavs, lost their lives as a result of Soviet policies, either executed or otherwise perished in the Gulag prison network or as victims of imposed famine, and so forth. Millions of Germans were also victims of genocide. It is estimated that some four million Germans were killed or otherwise perished during the 1944-1948 period, victims of Allied-imposed "ethnic cleansing," starvation, slave labor in the USSR, and in inhumane POW camps administered by the victorious Allies.¹⁶

In promoting greater understanding of the calamitous German-Russian clash of 1941-1945, German and Russian revisionist scholars foster reconciliation between these two peoples. Strauss cites



Dr. Joachim Hoffman served from 1960 until 1995 as a historian with the semi-official Military History Research Office in Freiburg. His detailed revisionist work *Hitler's Vernichtungskrieg, 1941-1945* ("Hitler's War of Annihilation") has appeared in five editions. An English-language edition is being prepared for publication.

recent developments that attest to this process. In Volgograd, victors and vanquished have joined to erect a monument dedicated to all the victims of the Battle of Stalingrad. Its inscription, written in Russian and German, reads: "This monument commemorates the suffering of the soldiers and civilians who fell here. We ask that those who died here and in captivity will rest in eternal peace in Russian soil." On the outskirts of St. Petersburg a German soldiers' cemetery and memorial was recently dedicated. Across Russia today, it is not unusual for Russian women to tend the graves of German soldiers. (Because the Soviet government did very little to help identify and provide decent burials for their war dead, few Russian women have had any idea where their own sons, brothers, and husbands fell.)

In the book's epilogue, Strauss describes the fervent indignation and rage of Russians over the criminal capitalism that has taken hold in their country. The inequities between the *nouveau riches* and the mass of Russian working class people are now greater than under Soviet rule. Many Russian revisionists see an intrinsic resemblance and affinity between capitalism and Communism. Given that many former Soviet officials still hold office or otherwise wield power in the "new Russia," everyone readily sees how easy it has been for members of the old Soviet elite — the *Nomenklatura* — to reemerge in Russia's predatory capitalism as racketeers, gangsters, money speculators, bank frauders, extortionists and mafiosi. On the ruins of the Soviet system, writes Strauss, has emerged a new dictatorship of pitilessness, corruption, criminality, social division, poverty and despair. Resentment against the "reformist" policies advocated by the United States is widespread.

In this regard Strauss cites the views of Spanish writer Juan Goytisolo, who asserts that if this social pathology endures in Russia, then Karl Marx's analysis will be proven correct, at least in part. While Marx was wrong about the promised virtues of Communism, writes Goytisolo, events seem to confirm his critique of capitalism, especially of unrestrained monetarism that knows only one value, namely, maximum profits regardless of human cost.¹⁷



Holding flowers, an 86-year-old German from the Aibling region of Bavaria searches memorial tablets for the names of comrades who gave their lives more than half a century ago in World War II. The stone memorial tablets stands at the recently dedicated soldiers' cemetery of Zolguebovka, near St. Petersburg.

'Strong and Free'

Whether they call themselves "Reformers" (Westernizers), Communists or nationalists ("Eurasians"), Russians today, writes Strauss, overwhelmingly reject all forms of internationalism, whether Communist or capitalist. They want a Russia that is strong and free.

Toward this goal, many look to geopolitics, an outlook built on the Eurasian "heartland" theory expounded by 20th-century British geographer Halford Mackinder and promoted in Third Reich Germany by Karl Haushofer. (According to this theory, Russia has the potential for great power and prosperity because it is the core of the vast, resource-rich Eurasian heartland.) The leading exponent in Russia today of this view is Alexander Dugin, whose book, "The Basics of Geopolitics: Russia's Geopolitical Future," has been influential with both old Communists and new nationalists in a grouping sometimes referred to as the "national Bolshevik alliance," and whose adherents are known as "Eurasianists." Dugin is a close associate of Gennady Zyuganov, head of the country's largest political party, the Russian Communist Party (which, in spite of its name, is much more nationalist than Marxist). Zyuganov himself is the author of a recent book, "The Geography of Victory: The Bases of Russian Geopolitics."

Russia's parliament, the Duma, has established

a Committee of Geopolitical Affairs, chaired by Alexey Mitrofanov, a member of Vladimir Zhirinovksy's Liberal Democratic Party. (Zhirinovksy proposes the formation of a Berlin-Moscow-Tokyo axis, and has been quoted as saying: "Today, the United States of America is the major enemy of our country. All our actions and dealings with America from now on should be undertaken with this in mind.")

Notes

1. Strauss, born in 1931, was arrested for anti-Communist activities as an *Oberschuler* (secondary school student) in East Germany (DDR) and imprisoned, 1950-1956. He is the author of several other notable books on Russia, including *Russland wird leben: vom roten Stern zur Zarenfahne* (1992), *Drei Tage, die die Welt erschütterten* (1992), *Bürgerrechtler in der UdSSR* (1979), and *Von der Wiedergeburt slawophiler Ideen in Russland* (1977). He is also a frequent contributor to scholarly journals. He currently lives in Bavaria, where he works as a Slavic affairs specialist.
2. See: Ernst Nolte, *Der Europäische Bürgerkrieg 1917-1945: Nationalsozialismus und Bolschewismus* (Munich: 1997 [5th ed.]). Nolte has strongly suggested that Hitler's wartime treatment of the Jews might legitimately be regarded as a defensive response by Hitler to the threat of Bolshevik mass murder of the Germans. In a 1980 lecture he said: "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." See also the interview with Nolte in the Jan.-Feb. 1994 *Journal* (Vol. 14, No. 1), pp. 15-22, and "Changing Perspectives on History in Germany: A Prestigious Award for Nolte: Portent of Greater Historical Objectivity?," July-August 2000 *Journal*, pp. 29-32.
3. François Furet and Ernst Nolte, *Feindliche Nähe: Kommunismus und Faschismus im 20. Jahrhundert: Ein Briefwechsel* (Munich: 1998).
4. *The Black Book of Communism: Crimes, Terror, Repression*, by Stéphane Courtois and others (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999). Original edition: *Le livre noir du communisme: Crimes, terreur, répression* (Paris: 1997). Earlier works by Courtois include *Histoire du parti communiste français* (1995), *L'état du monde en 1945* (1994), *Rigueur et passion* (1994), *50 ans d'une passion française* (1991), and *Qui savait quoi?* (1987).
5. Courtois has also written: "I am fighting for a reevaluation of Stalin. He was to be sure the greatest criminal of the century. But at the same time he was the greatest politician -

the most competent, the most professional. He was the one who understood most perfectly how to put his resources at the service of his goals."

6. Russian nationalists are fully aware, just as were the anti-Bolshevik "White Russians," that the leaders of Russia's Marxist movement — Mensheviks and Bolsheviks alike — were predominantly not Russian at all. As evidence of the alien character of the Bolshevik revolution and of the early Soviet regime, Russian nationalists (along with many others) often cite *The Last Days of the Romanovs*, a work by British writer Robert Wilton (and now translated into Russian). In an appendix to the 1993 IHR edition of this work (pp. 184-190), Wilton also notes: "According to data furnished by the Soviet press, out of important functionaries of the Bolshevik state... in 1918-1919 there were: 17 Russians, two Ukrainians, eleven Armenians, 35 Letts [Latvians], 15 Germans, one Hungarian, ten Georgians, three Poles, three Finns, one Czech, one Karaim, and 457 Jews." See also: M. Weber, "The Jewish Role in the Bolshevik Revolution and the Early Soviet Regime," Jan.-Feb. 1994 *Journal*, pp. 4-14.
7. A special 1996 edition of the Moscow newspaper *Russkiy Vestnik* lists the names of the executioners: Yankel Yurovsky, Anselm Fischer, Istvan Kolman, A. Chorvat, Isidor Edelstein, Imre Magy [?], Victor Grinfeld, Andreas Wergasi and S. Farkash. The article concludes: "All of this attests to the non-Russian origin of the murderers."
8. According to Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, the six directors were Semyon Firin, Matvei Berman, Naftali Frenkel, Lazar Kogan, Yakov Rappoport, Sergei Zhuk. The Head of the Military Guards was Brodsky, the Canal Curator of the Central Executive Committee was Solts, the GPU and NKVD heads were Yagoda, Pauker, Spiegelglas, Kaznelson, Sakovskiy, Sorensen, Messing and Arshakuni. As the names indicate, all were non-Russians. Stalin awarded most of these murderers the honorary title "Hero of Labor." See: Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, *The Gulag Archipelago*, III-IV, Book Two (New York: Harper & Row, 1975), pp. 79, 81, 82, 84, 94, etc.
9. This generalization is mostly valid for the first 20 years of Soviet rule. However, following the Great Purge (1937-1939), and except for several years after World War II in East Europe where Stalin used Jewish Communists to instal puppet regimes, the dictator until his death actively opposed elements he referred to as cosmopolitans, parasites, and so forth.
10. Grigorenko originally submitted his article to the Soviet journal *Voprosy istorii KPSS*, which (of course) rejected it. It was published in 1969 by Possev, a Russian emigré publishing house in Frankfurt am Main.
11. Suvorov's first three books on World War II have been reviewed in *The Journal of Historical Review*. The first two, *Icebreaker* and "M Day," were reviewed in Nov.-Dec. 1997 *Journal* (Vol. 16, No. 6), pp. 22-34. His third book, "The Last Republic," was reviewed in the July-August 1998 *Journal* (Vol. 17, No. 4), pp. 30-37.
12. See the review of *Stalins Falle* ("Stalin's Trap"), by Adolf von Thadden, in the May-June 1999 *Journal*, pp. 40-45.
13. *Gotovil li Stalin nastupatel'nyuyu voynu protiv Gitlera* ("Did Stalin Make Preparations for an Offensive War Against Hitler?," by Grigoriy Bordyugov and Vladimir Nevezhin (Moscow: AIRO XX, 1995), and, *1 sentyabrya 1939-9 maya 1945: Pyatidesyatiletiye razgroma fashistkoy Germanii v Kontekste Nachala Vtoroy Mirovoy Voiny* ("September 1, 1939-May 9, 1945: the 50th Anniversary of the Defeat of Fascist Germany in the Context of the Beginning of the War"), edited by I.V. Pavlova and V. L. Doroshenko (Novosibirsk Memorial, 1995). The latter work was briefly cited in the Nov.-Dec. 1997 *Journal*, pp. 32-34.
14. The German High Command greatly underestimated the number of Soviet divisions, as well as the quality and quantity of Soviet tanks. Hitler and the Wehrmacht were to find not 160 divisions on their doorstep, but more than 300. See: David Irving, *Hitler's War* (New York: Viking, 1977), pp. 205-206, 297. On the correlation of forces in June 1941, see also Joachim Hoffmann, *Stalins Vernichtungskrieg 1941-1945* (Munich, 1995), Chapter 1, and esp. pp. 31, 66.
15. Ominously, however, the "oligarchs," most of them Jewish, exercise considerable control over the Russian media. See: Daniel W. Michaels, "Capitalism in the New Russia," May-June 1997 *Journal*, pp. 21-27, and, "A Jewish Appeal to Russia's Elite," Nov.-Dec. 1998 *Journal*, pp. 13-18.
16. See: Alfred-Maurice de Zayas, *The German Expellees: Victims in War and Peace* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993), Alfred-M. de Zayas, *Nemesis at Potsdam: The Expulsion of the Germans From the East* (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska, 1989 [3rd rev. ed.]), James Bacque, *Other Losses* (Prima, 1991), J. Bacque, *Crimes and Mercies* (Little, Brown, 1997), Ralph Keeling, *Gruesome Harvest: The Allies' Postwar War Against the German People* (IHR, 1992).
17. Juan Goytisolo, *La Saga de los Marx* (Barcelona: Mondadori, 1993). Although Goytisolo was undoubtedly one of Spain's foremost 20th century novelists, both his political views and private life were highly controversial. Expelled from Spain by Franco, he lived most of his life in France.

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— Thomas Jefferson

Hitler's 'Barbarossa' Proclamation

On the morning of June 22, 1941, Reich Minister Goebbels announced to the world the startling news that German forces, together with Finnish and Romanian troops, had struck against the vast Soviet Union. On German radio he read Hitler's historic proclamation justifying the attack. Among other things, he said that Stalin had massed some 160 divisions to strike westwards. In reality, more than 300 Soviet divisions were assembled against Germany and Europe. Hitler and his generals had thereby greatly underestimated the Soviet danger — a fateful miscalculation that ultimately proved catastrophic, and not just for Germany.

*To the Italian leader Benito Mussolini, Hitler wrote that deciding to attack Soviet Russia was "the most difficult decision of my life." And even though it meant engaging Germany in a two-front war, something he had specifically warned against in *Mein Kampf*, this was a decision he never regretted.*

Hitler's strike against the Soviet Union, code-named "Barbarossa," has often been called his worst single military blunder because the immense clash he unleashed ended four years later, in May 1945, with his suicide in his Berlin command post, Soviet forces hoisting the Red hammer-and-sickle banner above the Reichstag, and Germany's unconditional surrender.

Hitler's "Barbarossa" assault is often, but simplistically, portrayed as a treacherous and unprovoked surprise attack against a peaceable ally, motivated by greed, dreams of empire, loathing of Russians and other Slavic peoples, and visceral hatred of Communism. Today, 60 years later, German and Russian historians continue to grapple with the origins of this mightiest military clash in history. Because Hitler's proclamation of June 22, 1941, helps to explain the German leader's motives for turning against Soviet Russia, it is a document of historic importance. The text is given here in full.

— The Editor

German people! National Socialists!

Weighed down with heavy cares, condemned to months-long silence, the hour has now come when at last I can speak frankly.

When on September 3, 1939, the German Reich received the British declaration of war there was repeated anew the British attempt to thwart every beginning of a consolidation of Europe and thereby its rise, by fighting against whatever power on the Continent was strongest at any given time. That is how, in times past, Britain ruined Spain in many

wars. That is how she conducted her wars against Holland. That is how later she fought France with the aid of all Europe, and that is how, at the turn of the century, she began the encirclement of the then German Reich and, in 1914, the [First] World War. It was only on account of its internal lack of unity that Germany was defeated in 1918. The consequences were terrible.

After hypocritical declarations that the fight was solely against the Kaiser and his regime, and once the German army had laid down its arms, the annihilation of the German Reich began according to plan.

While the prophecies of a French statesman that there were two million Germans too many — in other words, that this number would have to be eliminated by hunger, disease or emigration — were apparently being fulfilled to the letter, the National Socialist movement began its work of unifying the German people, and thereby initiating the resurgence of the Reich. This rise of our people from distress, misery and shameful disregard was in the form of a purely internal renaissance. In no way did that affect, much less threaten, Britain.

Nevertheless, a new, hate-filled policy of encirclement against Germany began immediately. Internally and externally there came into being that plot, familiar to all of us, between Jews and democrats, Bolsheviks and reactionaries, with the sole aim of inhibiting the establishment of the new German people's state, and of plunging the Reich anew into impotence and misery.

Apart from us, the hatred of this international world conspiracy was directed against those nations that, like ourselves, were neglected by fortune and were obliged to earn their daily bread in the hardest struggle for existence.

Above all, the right of Italy and Japan, just as much as that of Germany, to share in the goods of this world was contested and in fact was formally denied. The alliance of these [three] nations was, therefore, purely an act of self-protection in the face of the egoistic global combination of wealth and power that threatened them. As early as 1936 [Winston] Churchill, according to statements by the American General Wood before a committee of the American House of Representatives, declared that Germany was once again becoming too powerful and must therefore be destroyed.

In the Summer of 1939 the time seemed to have

come for Britain to begin to realize its intended annihilation by repetition of a comprehensive policy of encirclement of Germany. The plan of the campaign of lies staged for this purpose consisted in declaring that other people were threatened, in tricking them with British promises of guarantees and assistance, and of getting them to go against Germany, just as had happened prior to the [First] World War.

From May to August 1939, Britain thus succeeded in broadcasting to the world that Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, Finland and Bessarabia, as well as Ukraine, were being directly threatened by Germany. Some of these states allowed themselves to be misled into accepting the promise of guarantee proffered with these assertions, thus joining the new encirclement front against Germany. Under these circumstances I considered myself entitled to assume responsibility, before my own conscience and before the history of the German people, not only of assuring these countries or their governments of the falseness of these British assertions, but also of setting at rest the strongest power in the east [the Soviet Union], by especially solemn declarations regarding the limits of our interests.

National Socialists! At that time you probably all felt that this step was a bitter and difficult one for me. The German people has never harbored hostile feelings against the peoples of Russia. However, for more than two decades the Jewish Bolshevik rulers in Moscow had been endeavoring to set aflame not only Germany but all Europe. At no time did Germany ever attempt to carry her National Socialist worldview into Russia, but on the contrary Jewish Bolshevik rulers in Moscow unswervingly endeavored to foist their domination upon us and other European nations, not only by ideological means but above all with military force. The consequences of the activity of this regime were nothing but chaos, misery and starvation in all countries.

I, on the other hand, have been striving for two decades, with a minimum of intervention and without destroying our production, to arrive at a new socialist order in Germany, one that not only eliminates unemployment but also permits the productive worker to receive an ever greater share of the fruits of his labor. The achievements of this policy of national economic and social reconstruction — which strove for a true national community by overcoming rank and class divisions — are unique in today's world.

It was therefore only with extreme difficulty that I brought myself in August 1939 to send my [Foreign] Minister [von Ribbentrop] to Moscow in an endeavor there to counter the British encirclement policy against Germany. I did this only out of a sense of responsibility toward the German people, but



On the morning of Sunday, June 22, 1941, Reich propaganda minister Goebbels broadcasts to the world the startling news that Germany has struck against Soviet Russia. Reading Hitler's historic proclamation, he explains his government's reasons for the fateful attack, the largest-scale military offensive in history to that time.

above all in the hope of finally, in spite of everything, achieving long-term detente and of being able to reduce sacrifices that otherwise might have been demanded of us.

While Germany solemnly affirmed in Moscow that the designated territories and countries — with the exception of Lithuania — lay outside any German political interests, a special [supplementary] agreement was concluded in case Britain were to succeed in inciting Poland into actually going to war against Germany. In this case, as well, German claims were subject to limitations entirely out of proportion to the achievements of the German forces.

National Socialists! The consequences of this treaty, which I myself desired and which was concluded in the interests of the German nation, were very severe, particularly for Germans living in the countries concerned. Far more than half a million [ethnically] German men and women, all small



Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov, left, in conversation with Hitler in the Reich Chancellery during his visit to Berlin, November 12-13, 1940. Interpreter Gustav Hilger, middle, translates Molotov's remarks.

farmers, artisans and workmen, were forced to leave their former homeland practically overnight in order to escape from a new [Soviet] regime that at first threatened them with boundless misery and sooner or later with complete extermination.

Nevertheless, thousands of Germans disappeared. It was impossible ever to determine their fate, let alone their whereabouts. Among them were no fewer than 160 men of German Reich citizenship. To all this I remained silent because I had to! For, after all, it was my one desire to bring about a final relief of tension and, if possible, a permanent settlement with this [Soviet] state.

However, already during our advance in Poland, Soviet rulers suddenly, and contrary to the treaty, also claimed Lithuania. The German Reich never had any intention of occupying Lithuania, and not only failed to present any such demand to the Lithuanian government, but on the contrary refused the request of the then Lithuanian government to send German troops to Lithuania in that spirit for that purpose as inconsistent with the aims of German policy.

Despite all this I complied also with this fresh Russian demand. However, this was only the beginning of continually renewed extortions, which have been repeated ever since.

The victory in Poland, which was won exclusively by German troops, prompted me to address yet another peace offer to the Western powers [Britain and France]. It was rejected, due to the efforts of the international and Jewish warmongers. Already at that time the reason for this rejection lay in the fact that Britain still had hopes of being able to mobilize a European coalition against Germany,

which was to include the Balkans and Soviet Russia. It was therefore decided in London to send Mr. Cripps as ambassador to Moscow. He received clear instructions under all circumstances to resume relations between Britain and Soviet Russia, and develop them in a pro-British direction. The British press reported on the progress of this mission, except insofar as tactical reasons did not impose silence.

In the fall of 1939 and the spring of 1940 the first results actually made themselves felt. As Russia undertook to subjugate by armed force not only Finland but also the Baltic states, she suddenly motivated this action by the assertion, as ridiculous as it was false, that she must protect these countries from an outside threat, or forestall it. This could only be meant to apply to Germany, for no other power could even intervene in the Baltic area, let alone go to war there. Still I had to be silent. However, those in power in the Kremlin immediately went further.

Whereas in the spring of 1940 Germany, in accordance with the so-called Friendship Treaty [of Sept. 28, 1939, with Soviet Russia], withdrew her forces from the eastern frontier and, in fact, for the most part cleared these areas entirely of German troops, a deployment of Russian forces at that time was already beginning, to an extent that could only be regarded as a deliberate threat to Germany.

According to a statement that [Soviet Foreign Minister] Molotov personally made at that time, there were 22 Russian divisions in the Baltic states alone already in the spring of 1940. Given that the Russian government always claimed that it had been called in by the local population, the purpose of their presence there could only be a demonstration against Germany.

While our soldiers from May 10, 1940, onward were breaking Franco-British power in the west, Russian military deployment on our eastern frontier was continuing to an ever more menacing extent. From August 1940 onward I therefore considered it to be in the interest of the Reich to no longer permit our eastern provinces, which moreover had been laid waste so often before, to remain unprotected in the face of this tremendous deployment of Bolshevik divisions.

Thus, and just as intended by this British-Soviet Russian cooperation, there came about the tying up of such strong [German] forces in the east that a radical conclusion of the war in the west, particularly as regards aircraft, could no longer be vouched for by the German leadership. This, however, was in line with the goals not only of British but also of Soviet Russian policy, for both Britain and Soviet Russia intended to let this war go on for as long as possible in order to weaken all Europe and render it

ever more impotent.

Russia's threatened attack on Romania was in the last analysis equally intended to gain possession of or, if possible, to destroy, an important base of the economic life of not only Germany, but of all of Europe. Since 1933 the German Reich sought with boundless patience to win over states in southeastern Europe as trading partners. We therefore also had the greatest interest in their internal consolidation and order. Russia's advance into Romania and Greece's alliance with Britain threatened to quickly turn these regions as well into a general theater of war.

Contrary to our principles and customs, and at the urgent request of the then Romanian government, which was itself responsible for this development, I advised that it acquiesce to the Soviet Russian demands for the sake of peace, and to cede [the province of] Bessarabia. The Romanian government believed, however, that it could answer for this before its own people only if Germany and Italy in compensation would at least guarantee the integrity of what still remained of Romania. I did so with heavy heart, above all because when the German Reich gives a guarantee, that means it also abides by it. We are neither Englishmen nor Jews.

I still believe at this late hour to have served the cause of peace in that region, albeit by assuming a serious obligation of our own. In order, however, finally to solve these problems and achieve clarity concerning the Russian attitude toward Germany, as well as under pressure of continually increasing mobilization on our eastern frontier, I invited Mr. Molotov to come to Berlin.

The Soviet Foreign Minister [during their November 1940 meeting] then demanded Germany's clarification of or agreement to the following four questions:

Molotov's first question: Is the German guarantee for Romania also directed against Soviet Russia in case of attack by Soviet Russia against Romania?

My answer: The German guarantee is a general one and is unconditionally binding upon us. Russia, however, never declared to us that she had other interests in Romania beyond Bessarabia. The [Soviet] occupation of Northern Bukovina was already a violation of this assurance. I did not therefore think that Russia could now suddenly have



Joseph Stalin. His plan to overwhelm Europe in a decisive military assault was dashed by Hitler's preemptive "Barbarossa" strike.

more far-reaching intentions against Rumania.

Molotov's second question: Russia again feels itself menaced by Finland, Russia is determined not to tolerate this. Is Germany ready not to give any aid to Finland, and above all immediately to withdraw German relief troops marching through to Kirkenes?

My answer: As ever, Germany has absolutely no political interests in Finland. A new war by Russia against the small Finnish nation could not, however, be regarded any longer by the German government as tolerable, all the more so because we could never believe that Finland could threaten Russia. Under no circumstances did we want another theater of war to arise in the Baltic.

Molotov's third question: Is Germany prepared to agree that Soviet Russia give a guarantee to Bulgaria and, in this regard, send

Soviet troops to Bulgaria, in connection with which he — Molotov — was prepared to state that the Soviets did not intend on that account, for example, to depose the King?

My answer: Bulgaria is a sovereign state, and I have no knowledge that Bulgaria had ever asked Soviet Russia for any kind of guarantee such as Romania had requested from Germany. Moreover, I would have to discuss the matter with my allies.

Molotov's fourth question: Soviet Russia absolutely requires free passage through the Dardanelles, and for her protection also demands occupation of a number of important bases on the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus. Is Germany in agreement with this or not?

My answer: Germany is prepared at any time to agree to altering the Treaty of Montreux [1936] in favor of the Black Sea states. Germany is not prepared to agree to Russia's taking possession of bases on the Straits.

National Socialists! Here I adopted the only attitude that I could adopt as the responsible leader of the German Reich, but also a conscientiously responsible representative of European culture and civilization. The result was to increase the activity in Soviet Russia directed against the Reich, above all, however, the immediate commencement of undermining the new Romanian state from within, and an attempt to remove the Bulgarian government by propaganda.



Adolf Hitler. On the morning of June 22, 1941, the German leader launched the "Barbarossa" strike against the USSR to forestall an imminent Soviet assault. "Under no circumstances," he later explained, "could we allow the enemy the opportunity to strike first into our rear."

With the help of confused and immature leaders of the Romanian [Iron Guard] Legion a coup d'état was staged in Romania whose aim was to overthrow Chief of State General Antonescu and produce chaos in the country so as to eliminate the legal authority and thus remove the precondition for implementing the German guarantee. I nevertheless still believed it best to remain silent.

Immediately after the failure of this undertaking, there was renewed reinforcement of concentrations of Russian troops on Germany's eastern frontier. Panzer detachments and parachute troops were transferred in ever increasing numbers to dangerous proximity to the German frontier. The German armed forces and the German homeland know that until a few weeks ago not a single German tank or motorized division was stationed on our eastern frontier.

If any final proof was required for the coalition meanwhile formed between Britain and Soviet Russia, despite all diversion and camouflage, the Yugoslav conflict provided it. While I made every effort to undertake a final attempt to pacify the Balkans and, in sympathetic cooperation with the Duce [Mussolini], invited Yugoslavia to join the Tripartite Pact, Britain and Soviet Russia jointly organized that coup d'état which, in a single night, removed the government that had been ready to come to agreement.

For today we can inform the German nation that the Serb putsch against Germany did not take place merely under the British, but primarily under Soviet Russian auspices. While we remained silent on this matter as well, the Soviet leaders now went one step further. They not only organized the putsch, but a few days later [April 5, 1941] concluded that well-known friendship treaty with those submissive creatures, which was meant to strengthen the Serbs in their will to resist pacification of the Balkans, and to incite them against Germany. And this was no platonic intention: Moscow demanded mobilization of the Serbian army.

Because, even then, I still believed it better not to speak out, those in power in the Kremlin went still further: The government of the German Reich today possesses documentary evidence proving that Russia, in order finally to bring Serbia into the war, gave her a promise to supply her, by way of Salonika, with weapons, aircraft, munitions and other war materials against Germany. And this happened almost at the very moment that I was advising Japanese Foreign Minister Matsuoka to bring about an easing of tensions with Russia, still hoping thereby to serve the cause of peace.

Only the rapid advance of our incomparable divisions to Skoplje, as well as the capture of Salonika itself, frustrated the aims of this Soviet Russian-British plot. Officers of the Serbian air force, however, fled to Russia and were there immediately received as allies.

It was only the victory of the Axis powers in the Balkans that thwarted the plan to tie down Germany this summer in months of fighting in southeastern Europe while meantime steadily completing the deployment of Soviet Russian armies and strengthening their readiness for battle in order, finally, together with Britain and supported by anticipated American supplies, to tie down and then defeat the German Reich and Italy.

Thus Moscow not only broke but miserably betrayed the stipulations of our friendship treaty. All this was done while the rulers in the Kremlin, exactly as in the case of Finland and Romania, up to the last moment pretended peace and friendship and issued seemingly harmless denials.

Although I have been obliged by circumstances again and again to keep silent, the moment has now come when to continue as a mere observer would not only be a sin of omission but a crime against the German people — yes, even against the whole of Europe.

Today something like 160 Russian divisions are standing at our frontier. For weeks there have been constant violations of this frontier, not only affecting us but also in the far north [against Finland], as well as Romania. Russian airmen consider it sport nonchalantly to overlook these frontiers, presumably to prove to us that they already feel themselves masters of these territories. During the night of June 17 to 18 Russian patrols again penetrated into Reich territory, and could only be driven back after prolonged exchange of fire.

This has brought us to the hour when it is necessary for us to counter this plot of Jewish-British warmongers and equally the Jewish rulers of the Bolshevik center in Moscow.

German people! At this moment a deployment of forces is taking place that, in its extent and scope, is the greatest the world hitherto has seen. United with their Finnish comrades, the fighters of the victory of Narvik are standing in the Northern Arctic. German divisions commanded by the conqueror of Norway [General Dietl], together with the heroes of Finnish freedom under their Marshal [Mannerheim], are protecting Finnish soil. Formations of the German eastern front extend from East Prussia to the Carpathians. German and Romanian soldiers are united under Chief of State Antonescu from the banks of the Prut along the lower reaches of the Danube to the shores of the Black Sea.

The task of this front, therefore, is not merely the protection of individual countries, but the safeguarding of Europe, and thereby the salvation of all.

I therefore decided today to once again lay the fate and future of the German Reich and our people in the hands of our soldiers.

May the Lord God help us especially in this fight!

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Shermer, editor-publisher of *Skeptic* magazine, makes one startling concession after another. He acknowledges that numerous Holocaust claims — once "proven" by eyewitnesses and courts — are obviously not true. Shermer concedes, for example, that an execution "gas chamber" at Majdanek — shown to thousands of trusting tourists yearly — is a fraud. (At Nuremberg the Allies "proved" that the Germans murdered *one and half million* people at this one camp.)

This two hour clash — at a special IHR meeting on July 22, 1995 — dramatically gives the lie to the often-repeated claim that the Holocaust story is "undebatable."

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'Mr. Death'

Among the many accounts that I have read of "Mr. Death," Errol Morris' film about Fred Leuchter, I think that Greg Raven's is the most instructive ("Flawed Documentary of Execution Expert", Sept.-Dec. 1999 *Journal*, pp. 62-69). In it the basic dishonesty of Jewish director Morris is well displayed. It is simply a pity for Raven that he does not point out that, in some scenes, it is not Leuchter who appears on the screen but an actor disguised as him so that Leuchter is portrayed as a "desecrator" in the ruins of an alleged Nazi gas chamber. (This point is explained on the aaargh.vho.org web site, "Actualités de novembre 2000," in an article entitled "Simplet," French for "simpleton," the term used, altogether unjustly, by David Irving in his interview with Morris to describe Leuchter.)

There is an essential factor that neither Raven nor any other revisionist, to my knowledge, seems to have noticed: the absence, in this alleged documentary, of any depiction of an American gas chamber designed for the execution of condemned prisoners. Fred Leuchter is described in words as a sort of technician of death administered in four ways: electrocution, hanging, lethal injection, and gassing. But while Morris takes care to illustrate the first three methods of execution with numerous images, he carefully avoids showing even one image of an American penitentiary gas chamber. And he is right to do so, for the mere representation of the imposing door of such a chamber would, in my opinion, be enough to let the attentive viewer grasp that the putting to death of one man by gassing with hydrocyanic acid calls for extensive safety measures and a highly

sophisticated technique.

I have devoted a part of my life to citing again and again what I call "the argument of the American gas chamber," to demonstrate the absurdity of the alleged Nazi [homicidal] gas chambers. I have often published or shown, as I did at the Zündel trials, photographs of the Baltimore penitentiary's gas chamber, along with the text of the "Procedure Check List" for executions there. (See S. Thion, *Vérité historique ou vérité politique?* [1980], pp. 301-309; "The Mechanics of Gassing," Spring 1980 *Journal*, pp. 23-30, reproduced in B. Kulaszka, *Did Six Million Really Die?: Report on the Evidence in the Canadian "False News" Trial of Ernst Zündel* [Toronto: 1992], pp. 322-324; "The Gas Chambers: Truth or Lie?," Winter 1981 *Journal*, esp. pp. 326-327.)

But I have the impression of not having convinced very many. Neither Fred Leuchter, nor Germar Rudolf, nor Walter Lüftl, has taken up my argument. I am therefore happy to note that Errol Morris, for his part, seems, in his own way, to have been receptive to that argument.

Robert Faurisson
Vichy, France

An Angry Episode

Having just read the July-August 2000 *Journal*, I want to say that I found all the articles interesting. One thing struck me: the articles all read so very well. You could say I read it from cover to cover in one sitting (actually two).

Your piece on the 1945 sinkings of the *Cap Arcona* and the *Thielbek* reminded me of an episode when I spent a six-month sabbatical at Reading in England during 1983. I was walking along the Kennet and Avon canal with the *Telegraph* under my arm. It

contained a letter from an arrogant Englishman (probably a major or officer from World War II) who dismissed with contempt any possibility that the *British* could in any way be responsible for this bombing. It made me so angry that I threw the paper into the canal, and I found a large stone to throw on the paper to make sure it sank forever!

Costas Zaverdinos
Pietermaritzburg
South Africa

A Blessing In Disguise

Although "Holocaust denial" laws have created physical and mental hardship for such scholars as Dr. Fredrick Töben, David Irving, Jürgen Graf and Dr. Robert Faurisson, they have actually created an interest in this historical period for people, myself included, who normally would not be interested.

My first encounter with a prominent revisionist was when I phoned Dr. Töben at his Australian residence from my New York office, not realizing I was ringing him at 6:00 in the morning, his time. A few days later I learned from David Irving's web site that the first person in the revisionist movement I contacted had been arrested in Germany.

I was perplexed. Why would there be laws to sabotage historical research for Dr. Töben? His arrest had an impact on my own pursuits in historical research. What struck a chord in my new thinking about the Holocaust, in particular, was a point he made during our conversation a few days before his infamous arrest. When I asked him what he believed, he said "I don't believe in anything. I want to know." As simple as it sounds, that was my turning point in my immersion into historical revisionism.

His words, "I want to know," coupled with his arrest motivated me to become a web journalist and create *RePortersNotebook.com*, a collection of journalistic truths suppressed by the mainstream media. Its mission statement is the following: "The ramifications of dishonest news reporting divides people. Our purpose is to rectify false concepts in history writing and contemporary news reporting."

I am indebted to researchers such as Dr. Töben for the sacrifices forced on them, and for their courage in speaking out, at the risk of suffering physical and mental hardships. (And I would not have known about Dr. Töben, or his arrest, if I had not been exposed to the World Wide Web.)

As we enter a new millennium, it is mind boggling that it is a taboo to want to know about certain historical events.

Michael Santomauro
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[MSantom629@aol.com]

Motivation?

I am student in Denmark. Having read through your article about Simon Wiesenthal [from the Sept.-Oct. 1995 *Journal*], I was quite disturbed by the accusations you make. It is not my intention to discuss whether even just one of these so-called frauds you claim Wiesenthal is guilty of, truly is a fraud. I am merely interested: Why even dig through all that information and commit yourself so heartedly to prove it wrong, if not for some political conviction? Do you intend to write off the entire Holocaust? And if so, would that not make you a Nazi in the eyes of this entire world, including me? Or have I gotten this all wrong?

Søren R. Staugaard
Denmark [by e-mail]

Today the "Nazi" accusation is little more than a cheap epithet. It is used not to explain or define, but to smear. I am not a "Nazi." But whether I am or not should basically be irrelevant in assessing the

accuracy of what I've written about Simon Wiesenthal.

My purpose in writing about Wiesenthal was to focus attention on facts — verifiable facts — about this deceitful man. This is important, even necessary, because he is such an influential man in our society. He is portrayed, by himself and others, as a great moral guide. He's nothing of the kind, as I think the facts clearly show.

If what I wrote about Wiesenthal is accurate, your indignation should be directed at him and those who, for their own self-serving reasons, portray him as an icon.

— The Editor

Hope for the Future

The lengthy article by Costas Zaverdinos, "The Rudolf Case, Irving's Lost Libel Suit and the Future of Revisionism," in the Sept.-Oct. 2000 *Journal* presents an excellent review and assessment of the status of revisionist work in history. One can see that a great deal of work and thought went into this synthesis. This is the kind of level-headed presentation of the issues that ought to be made available to young university students, doctoral candidates in chemistry and chemical engineering, and to all younger people, who are the hope for the future in uncovering truth.

As I look back over my life, and consider how the Holocaust came to "prime time," it is pretty clear that this has been an orchestrated, Hollywood-style media event. In the years immediately after World War II, and throughout the 1950s, one heard virtually nothing about all this. There wasn't much in the 1960s, either. However, by the 1970s, when television technology had advanced significantly, it was possible to do "creative editing" and construct all kinds of imagery and propaganda. But it's only during the past quarter century that the Holocaust business has really taken off.

A. E.
Santa Fe Springs, Calif.

Concentrated Information

After recently spending a lot of time on the IHR site, I must say that it's truly a bastion of excellent information — specific information that I can't find anywhere else in such concentrated form. I find relevant information more quickly on the IHR site than I do searching the entire Internet.

D. J. S.
[by e-mail]

Refreshing Exactitude

Having recently discovered the IHR website, I am quite impressed. It is thought-provoking and professional, and your attention to scholarly exactitude is refreshing.

P.B.
[by e-mail]

We welcome letters from readers. We reserve the right to edit for style and space. Write: Editor, P.O. Box 2739, Newport Beach, CA 92659, USA, or e-mail us at editor@ihr.org

A Defense of the Dilettante

"In learning ... once can attain mastery only of a limited field, namely as a specialist, and this mastery one should attain. But if one does not wish to forfeit the ability to form a general overview — indeed, to have respect for such an overview — then one should be a dilettante in as many fields as possible — at any rate, privately — in order to enhance one's own knowledge and enrichment of diverse historical viewpoints. Otherwise one remains an ignoramus in all that lies beyond one's speciality, and under the circumstances, on the whole, a barbarous fellow."

— Jacob Burckhardt (1818-1897).
Quoted in *The New York Review of Books*, Sept. 23, 1999, p. 68.



The Most Important Dissection of the Holocaust Story in Years!

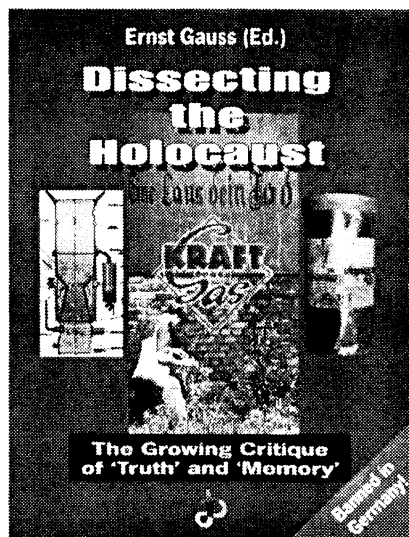
Packed with stunning revelations, this scholarly, attractive and well-referenced work is the best revisionist critique of the Holocaust story to appear in years.

In this big (8 1/2 x 11 inches), illustrated, 600-page collection, 17 specialists — chemists, engineers, geologists, historians and jurists — subject Holocaust claims to withering scrutiny. They expose bogus testimonies, falsified statistics, doctored photos, distorted documents, farcical trials, and technological absurdities. They provide expert examinations of the alleged Holocaust murder weapons: gas vans and gas chambers.

Among the 22 essays in this anthology are:

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- Robert Faurisson, Preface and "Witnesses to the Gas Chambers of Auschwitz"
- John C. Ball, "Air Photo Evidence"
- Mark Weber, "'Extermination' Camp Propaganda Myths"
- Friedrich P. Berg, "The Diesel Gas Chambers: Myth within a Myth"

- Carlo Mattogno, "The Gas Chambers of Majdanek"



- H. Tiedemann, "Babi Yar: Critical Questions and Comments"
- Udo Walendy, "Do Photographs Prove the NS Extermination of the Jews?"

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It's no wonder that alarmed authorities banned the original German edition, ordering all remaining copies confiscated and burned.

Dissecting the Holocaust is edited by Germar Rudolf ("Ernst Gauss"), a certified chemist, born in 1964, who wrote "The 'Rudolf Report,' a detailed on-site forensic examination of the 'gas chamber' claims of Auschwitz and Birkenau. After a German court sentenced him to 14 months imprisonment, he fled his homeland and has been living ever since in exile as a political refugee. Since 1997, he has been editor of the German-language historical journal *Vierteljahreshefte für freie Geschichtsforschung*.

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The 'Confessions' of Kurt Gerstein

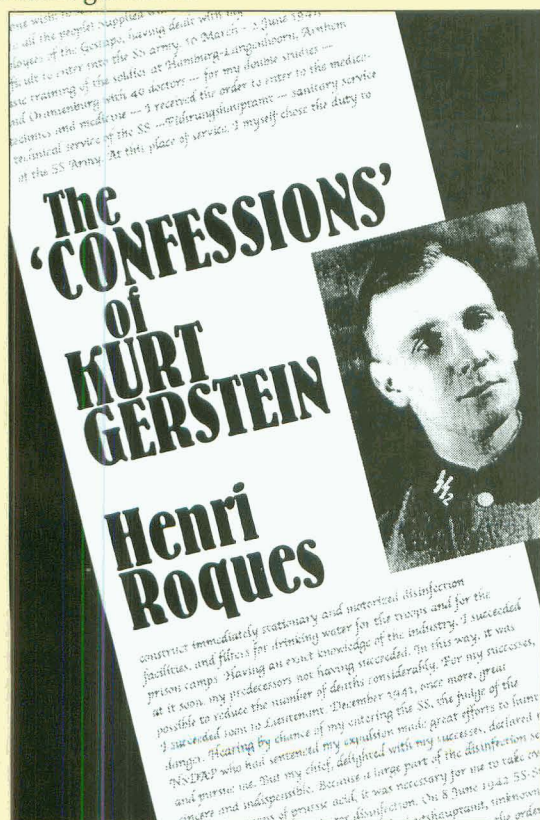
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This powerful exposé and its author made world headlines in 1986 when, for the first time in the nearly eight-century history of French universities, a duly awarded doctorate was revoked by government order.

Gerstein's bogus "confessions" were the basis of the anti-German and anti-Catholic hysteria stirred by Rolf Hochhuth's play "The Deputy." Roques' study thus shatters the myth of Pope Pius XII's complicity in Holocaust genocide.



Henri Roques



British historian Hugh Trevor-Roper (Lord Dacre) praised this study as "an entirely legitimate, scholarly and responsible work of *Quellenkritik* [source critique] on a limited but important subject."

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Includes transcripts and translations of all six versions of Gerstein's "testimonies," as well as facsimiles of the original texts and other previously unpublished documents and records. Translated from the French by Ronald Percival, who also provides a foreword.

The 'Confessions' of Kurt Gerstein

by Henri Roques

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