

The Journal of Historical Review

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A Startlingly Dissident Look at World War II, From an American Journalist who Sided with Axis Germany

A seasoned American observer of the European scene who refused to compromise his integrity and principles provides an informed, outspoken view of World War II and its origins that contrasts sharply with the familiar, official accounts.

For 22 years Donald Day (1895-1966) was the only American journalist stationed in Europe north of Berlin. From Poland, Finland, Latvia, Sweden and elsewhere in northern and central Europe, he covered events as correspondent for the *Chicago Tribune*. His dispatches were read by millions of readers of the *New York Daily News*, the *Chicago Tribune*, and dozens of other American newspapers. He was also an authority on the Soviet Union. But unlike many of those who reported on Soviet affairs, he was undeceived about the true character of the Stalin regime.

As war approached in March-August 1939, Day lamented Britain's anti-German policies and the sharply anti-German tone of the British press, which he attributed to Jewish power and influence. In early 1939 the authorities in Warsaw barred him from verifying the rapidly accumulating reports of Polish persecution of the country's ethnic German minority, which was an important factor in the rising tension between Germany and Poland that culminated in the outbreak of war on September 1, 1939.

In 1940 Day reported from Latvia on the brutal Soviet subjugation of the Baltic lands. He was virtually the only western journalist to provide frank, first-hand coverage of this great human tragedy. Similarly, he accompanied Finnish troops as they advanced into Soviet territory in the summer and fall of 1941.

He wrote *Onward Christian Soldiers* in late 1942 and early 1943, at a time when, he believed, the future of Western civilization hung in the balance. Convinced that Third Reich Germany was Europe's only bulwark against Soviet tyranny, Day resolved actively to enlist in what he regarded as the West's crucial struggle for survival.

In the summer of 1944, at a time when the tide of war had already shifted decisively to the Allies, he moved to Berlin to work for German radio. From September 1944 until April 1945, he broadcast from the beleaguered capital city, speaking out against President Roosevelt and America's military-political alliance with Stalinist Russia, and the ruthless Allied war against Germany and Christian Europe.

What moved this middle-aged veteran journalist to risk being branded, and punished, as a traitor? In this valuable memoir, Day reveals the character and thinking of an American who decided to enlist with Axis Europe.

Onward Christian Soldiers

by Donald Day

With a preface by journalist Walter Trohan, and a foreword by historian Mark Weber.

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ONWARD

CHRISTIAN

SOLDIERS

An American
Journalist's
Dissident Look
at World War II



Twenty-Two Years in Europe
as Correspondent for the *Chicago Tribune*
With an introduction by Walter Trohan, former
Washington bureau chief of the *Chicago Tribune*



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On the cover: Simon Wiesenthal, man of many secrets: Did he collaborate with both the Nazis and the Communists in World War II?

The Journal of Historical Review (ISSN: 0195-6752) began publication in 1980. It upholds and continues the revisionist tradition 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 \$20 per year. For overseas airmail delivery, add \$40 per year. Remittances for subscriptions must be payable in U.S. dollars drawable on a U.S. bank. Donations to the IHR are tax-deductible.

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This issue of the *Journal* centers on the issues of memory and truth. Orwell's memory hole, down which goes evidence of authentic events displeasing to Big Brother, has long captured the imagination of readers of his 1984. Yet it's doubtful that many of today's readers grasp the proliferating parallels between the control of information in the novel and in contemporary Europe and North America. It isn't simply that news that threatens or embarrasses the authorities is routinely suppressed: we are taught (and conditioned) to forget what is true, and to remember what is false — sometimes under legal sanction.

None of the other taboos equals that of questioning the Holocaust and its heroes. Our latest exposé of Simon Wiesenthal builds on recently unearthed documents and previous *Journal* studies to show that this leading merchant of Holocaust "memory" has repeatedly changed his story on the most important aspects of his wartime experience. Furthermore, we demonstrate that Wiesenthal, who has often been extolled for his elephantine recall in the service of Holocaust vengeance, has chosen to forget some of his most revealing recollections of those years.

Don Heddesheimer examines the wartime journalism of Soviet reporter Boris Polevoy, known to revisionists for his early, and imaginative, reporting on Auschwitz. Heddesheimer uncovers the roots of Polevoy's writing in the Russian classics, and analyses the literary techniques which allowed the journalist to manufacture "memory" out of fantasy on the front line during the Second World War. As Heddesheimer shows, Polevoy's war reporting was highly effective in getting ordinary people in the USSR and around the world to struggle for communism for many years after it appeared. Our researcher's consideration of Polevoy's writings on Auschwitz and other camps serves also to remind of the too often neglected role of Soviet propagandists in the creation of the contemporary hoax.

Frequent contributor Dan Michaels, an expert on modern Soviet military and political history, provides a haunting overview of the vast network of penal camps that spanned the USSR for most of the twentieth century, and of recent attempts to commemorate some of their millions of victims. These camps, for all the efforts of a gallant few historians and writers, continue to exist only at the edges of Western consciousness. Nor has there been any effective effort to bring the functionaries of the Soviet terror apparatus to account for their

actions. What a contrast to the vast enterprise that has hunted, caught, tried, and punished German and other Axis personnel from 1945 to the present! This valuable article establishes that neither the victims of the camps nor those that created and ran them are yet forgotten — or should they be.

Whatever its shortcomings, David Irving's stout-hearted single combat against the arrayed forces of the Holocaust industry in the Lipstadt trial two years ago continues to power revisionist advances. Brian Renk's study of the evidence for the all-important crematoria roof holes, which grew out of his research for Irving in that trial, in our last issue is followed here by Samuel Crowell's review of *The Case for Auschwitz* (!), an important new book by Lipstadt expert witness Robert Jan van Pelt. Crowell reports van Pelt's surprising readiness to consider revisionists' positions, including Crowell's, and analyzes the author's attempts to answer them. Crowell's review, likely not the last word on *The Case for Auschwitz* in these pages, masterfully examines van Pelt's concessions and arguments, in particular as they bear on his research on Irving's behalf.

That we revisionists differ among ourselves on many issues is recalled by Arthur Butz's polite challenge to David Irving's assessment of the ancestry, and motives, of financier and gold miner Henry Strakosch, who rescued Winston Churchill from bankruptcy at a key point in his career.

Robert Faurisson delineates and defies the mushrooming contempt for intellectual liberty among the leaders of his own country and its neighbors in a piercing answer to a judicial summons from Switzerland — a place to which Voltaire and other dissenters could flee their censors in more enlightened times. And John Weir, in an engaging essay on how imaginative exterminationist methods of deciphering wartime German documents stack up against medieval English savant William of Ockham's famous counsel of interpretative parsimony, well demonstrates how the revisionist approach better fits the methods of science and scholarship, as evolved over the centuries, than the logic-chopping and appeals to authority of our opponents.

In closing, we hope that you will find this issue a memorable one, but we trust you will read even these pages in a critical spirit, to hasten our progress toward "bringing history into accord with the facts," in the words of Harry Elmer Barnes.

— Theodore J. O'Keefe

Review and Revision

AXIS TO GRIND: As America's hollow, but cheap, victory over the Taliban continues to unravel in Afghanistan, President Bush has disheartened those of us who had hoped that what we recently called the "American wing" of his administration would prevail in the national councils. By designating Iran, Iraq, and Red herring North Korea as the "Axis of Evil" in his annual State of Union speech, the president both signaled the ascendancy of his administration's Zionist faction, and reduced the rest of the planet, including our chief allies and clients (save one), to consternation and confusion.

Thus the emotional response to the terrorist attacks of September 11, with its (understandable) aura of preliminaries to a World Wrestling Federation match, has not been supplanted by a sober strategy that sets realistic limits to U.S. intervention abroad and puts American, not foreign (or "international"), interests first. The bizarre monicker "Axis of Evil" alone gives cause for trepidation. Those (often cuttingly cruel) skits parodying George W. on Saturday Night Live begin to seem believable, and it grows more difficult to repress the fancy that the president's daily intelligence briefing comes in comic book format, with our leader confronting a Saddam Hussein who declaims: "Stand back, Pretzel Man, or, by Allah and Lex Luthor, I shall destroy the universe!"

The Bush administration has offered no credible evidence that Iran and Iraq (which have long detested one another), let alone North Korea, supported or took part in, jointly or singly, the murderous attacks on U.S. soil of September 11, 2001. Lately none of their regimes seems any more active than any of their neighbors (including Israel) in supporting attacks on innocent civilians. But both Iran and Iraq are opponents of Israel, so that President Bush has been forced, like a bumbling chef, to fold "seeking to acquire weapons of mass destruction" into his anti-terrorist omlet. In his moral ardor (or, perhaps, ardor to pass for moral) the president made it seem as if seeking such weapons were worse than having them, and having them were worse than having used them (although, to be sure, Iraq used such a weapon against its own minorities and against Iran in the 1980s, when Saddam Hussein was our de facto ally against the now long forgotten Shiite menace). Of course, just as Bush decides who's a terrorist

today, tomorrow he will be the judge of which nations are guilty of attempts to come by nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons (who doubts that Israel, with its large and stealthily acquired nuclear arsenal, will emerge unchastened?). And, thanks to a timorous Congress and a slumbering citizenry, in his role as commander in chief President Bush has virtually a free hand to attack any country that meets the criteria he finally settles on with the help of Paul Wolfowitz and the rest of the administration's Zionist wing.

AFGHAN UNRAVELING: We've vanquished the Taliban with minimal casualties of our own, and the truth is that U.S. bombing was not as murderous as we and other critics had feared. Indeed, it's probable that U.S. and British bombs killed more non-combatants on many a single night over Germany than in the Afghan campaign to date. Nonetheless, our forces have failed to capture putative 9/11 mastermind Osama bin Laden, or a single leader of his network. At this time that effort continues, with mounting American casualties. Simultaneously the U.S. is roiling the contentious ethnic and factional mix by yet another patronizing, and likely doomed, attempt at "nation-building" (it's difficult to recall a successful republic ever being founded by a convention largely peopled by "warlords"). The different gangs are already tweaking Uncle Sam into bombing rivals falsely tagged as Taliban, exposing deficiencies in gathering and assessing local intelligence that augur ill for U.S. military ventures already underway in the Philippines, the Caucasus, and Yemen, or being mooted for Colombia, Somalia, and elsewhere. By far the worst effect of the Afghan affair, however, has been its transformation of George Bush into a war president (without a declaration) who seemingly intends to keep American forces in constant combat around the planet — at least until his approval ratings begin to drop.

'LITTLE BROWN BROTHERS': The ominous news that the U.S. has dispatched hundreds of "military advisors" to the Philippines has been underplayed in the media, and thus largely overlooked by the public. The ostensible purpose of the intervention is to train the Philippine armed forces attempting to subdue "terrorists linked to Al Qaeda" in the southern part of the archipelago. Our leaders assure us that this expedition will ignore Muslim separatists in and around the island of Mindanao

who have been waging a guerrilla war unrelated to Osama bin Laden for decades now. American commanders have acknowledged that our troops will accompany Filipino regulars into battle, and take part as necessary. Clearly the nexus "Southeast Asia-jungle-guerrillas" no longer gives pause.

If Vietnam has slipped our minds (except for the occasional war movie), the first American foray into the Philippines has vanished into oblivion. Yet the Spanish-American War, as the American republic's portal to overseas empire, is worth remembering. The climate for the war was stirred up beforehand by American newspaper reports. These consisted largely of atrocity propaganda aimed at the concentration, or "reconcentration," camps the Spaniards had instituted for interning Cuban guerrillas and their families. (In today's spin, those Cuban "freedom fighters" might qualify as "terrorists.") Despite Spain's recall of its commanding general, Valeriano Weyler, and the relaxation of his internment policy in late 1897, the propaganda continued. The explosion and sinking of the U.S.S. *Maine* in Havana's harbor in early 1898, blamed (not very convincingly) on the Spaniards, led to an American declaration of war against Spain and the invasion of Cuba. Admiral Dewey's quick victory over a Spanish fleet in Manila Bay and the rise of an armed Filipino independence movement put Spain's Philippine colony on the table, too. By the terms of the peace treaty Spain was forced to give up the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and Guam, as well as Cuba.

Of these four former colonies, only Cuba was granted formal independence immediately. This came at the cost, however, of the inclusion in Cuba's constitution of the humiliating Platt Amendments, by which the United States was awarded the somewhat paradoxical prerogative to intervene in Cuba whenever it deemed the island's independence to be threatened. After President McKinley declared his intent "to take them all and to educate ... and civilize and Christianize" the largely Catholic Filipinos (to whom McKinley insultingly referred as Americans' "little brown brothers"), their islands were made an American colonial dependency. When the Filipino guerrillas continued their fight for independence against American rule, U.S. troops waged a grueling, merciless war against them in the jungles. The methods of our forces soon rivaled those of the Spaniards in Cuba. In the words of the American diplomatic historian Samuel Flagg Bemis: "The maddening guerrilla tactics of the natives caused the Amer-

icans to feel some measure of sympathy for 'Butcher' Weyler, and to do him the honor of adopting a form of reconcentration." While many countries have fared worse than the Philippines under half a century of American rule (and nearly as long a period of U.S. suzerainty), no one denies that the Filipinos were happy to see us go.

Thus, as in the First and Second World Wars, did a foreign policy begun in proclaimed altruism and pursued with thundering self-righteousness end not only in failure, but in a betrayal of America's professed national ideals.

As of this writing, ten of the American soldiers sent to the Philippines have perished, in a helicopter crash that may have been caused by enemy fire.

ON THE 'HOMELAND' FRONT: To date there has been no serious inquiry into why our bloated intelligence and security apparatus failed to detect the 9/11 plot and foil the attacks (the incipient Congressional investigation is not expected to be very searching). CIA chief George Tenet, who continues to deny that the disasters represent a failure of U.S. intelligence, not only remains in place (seriously inhibiting his underlings from blowing any whistles), but is a leading strategist in the continuing Afghan imbroglio. Meanwhile, the FBI continues to dawdle in apprehending a suspect in the anthrax killings, although a prominent scientist has recently revealed that the feds have known for months that the perpetrator probably worked in a laboratory for biological warfare at Ft. Detrick, Maryland, and certainly was a government insider. In January, sources in the Justice Department were still disseminating the lie that revisionists, among other "extremists," might have been behind the murderous mailings. Finally, a propaganda office hatched in the Pentagon fell victim to guileless military spokesmen who let out that the purpose of the Office of Strategic Information was to disseminate false information. Administration efforts to deny this embroiled spokesmen in difficulties that recalled those ancient paradoxes so appealing to the Sophists: "Donald, a Pentagon official, says that all Pentagon officials are liars ..."

MIDEAST MAYHEM: Israel's treatment of the Palestinians remains the number one lightning rod for Muslim discontent with the United States. Heartened by their American patron's indifference, the Israelis are plumb-ing new depths of cruelty and depravity in their war on

refugee camps. The hard truth is that the responsibility for what our media miscall “the cycle of violence,” including the abominable attacks on civilians by Israelis and Palestinians alike, lies chiefly with the United States. Were it not for our government’s insistence on financing Zionist mistreatment of the land’s rightful inhabitants, and its persistence in rejecting the advice of the rest of the planet, the Israel-Palestine quandary could have long ago been resolved under international supervision.

REALM OF THE SENSELESS: France is formally a republic, but when it comes to freedom of thought and inquiry, King Holocaust rules with an iron fist. Government measures against revisionists — which over the years have included outlawing dissent on the Holocaust, fining or imprisoning heretics, dismissing them from jobs, ending their careers, revoking academic degrees, draining them by lawsuits, and allowing them to be physically attacked — have lately intensified. Now the French government has expanded its onslaught against free speech to target an entire university.

One might think that the University of Lyon III, where Jean Plantin’s master thesis (on Paul Rassinier) was annulled last June, eleven years after it was duly accepted with high marks, had earned the congratulations of France’s powerful Holocaust lobby. Instead, a commission formed by France’s Jewish minister of education, Jack Lang, will comb through university records dating back to the 1970s in an attempt to sniff out a plot by revisionists to recruit and advance their own kind. That there have been a few Lyon III professors willing to listen to revisionists is true (two of them, Jean-Paul Allard and Pierre Zind, sat on the jury that awarded Henri Roques a doctorate, based on his study of the testimony of Kurt Gerstein, that was subsequently revoked by order of an earlier French minister of education). What would have been dubbed a witch hunt had it targeted Communists during the Cold War has been gearing up for months with scarcely an admonitory notice from the press of what used to be known as the “Free World.” Education minister Lang explains that he has no desire to restrict academic freedom, but reminds that combating “xenophobia and Holocaust denial” in line with French law is the higher principle. Although the mayor of Lyon has formed a separate commission to investigate the university, banshee-like wails are already rising from various Holocaust-affirming groups affronted at the slow progress of the inquisition.

Jean Plantin, the scholarly, industrious, and courageous revisionist from Lyon, who was convicted of Holocaust denial and given a suspended sentence one year before his master’s degree was effectively revoked, has continued to irk the Holocaust bullies by privately circulating his *Etudes Révisionnistes* — but not so privately that the local Holocaust enforcers didn’t get wind of it and sound the alarm. While Plantin is legally within his rights, his attackers figured that the police and judges could get around such technicalities — and so they have: in the form of a long list of court-prescribed harassments by judges, probation officers, and policemen issued last November.

On December 19 of last year, Robert Faurisson prevailed against an appeal of his successful suit against the magazine *L’Histoire* for denying his legally prescribed right to respond to a personal attack. On the next day, however, *Quid*, a one-volume reference work widely consulted by French students, knuckled under to five Jewish pressure groups by agreeing to omit an estimate of deaths at Auschwitz by Dr. Faurisson, which had somehow crept into the book, from future editions. The media hullabaloo over the affair doubtless caused more than a few curious students surreptitiously to look up this latest offering to France’s memory hole.

King Holocaust, despotic usurper that he is, continues to pauperize such French revisionists (and family men) as Jean Plantin, Serge Thion, and others who have paid with jobs and careers to keep the torch of Paul Rassinier, the first systematic revisionist of the Holocaust, ablaze. They need, and deserve, our support. (Contributions earmarked for Plantin, Thion, and other French revisionists may be sent to the IHR, which will see that they reach the intended recipients.)

Open Season on Revisionists

ROBERT FAURISSON

[Dr. Faurisson wrote this article some eight months ago. While some of the legal circumstances have changed (as the preceding article makes clear), his description of the continuing persecution of revisionists in France, Switzerland, and elsewhere in Europe has lost none of its freshness, acuity, or defiance. — Editor]

This very day, Serge Thion is being tried in Paris, while Vincent Reynouard answers a summons to

appear before an examining magistrate in Limoges. I myself have been notified by Michel Favre, an examining magistrate in Fribourg (Switzerland), of his finding that I am guilty of violating Switzerland's anti-revisionist law by writing a revisionist article. He has sentenced me to one month's imprisonment without bail. My article had appeared in a booklet published in August 2000 by the society Vérité et Justice (CP 355, CH 1618 Châtel Saint Denis, Switzerland). The society's three leaders currently face legal proceedings which will allow them to be heard in court.

As for me, I received no word whatsoever that I was being prosecuted. The examining magistrate neither warned me nor informed me. He didn't send me a summons; he didn't question me. What he did do, if I may say so, was to convict me by mail. Some will be astounded by this. They don't know that when it comes to suppressing those who anger Jewish or Zionist organizations, trust, and law, and justice no longer matter. Those who have been designated "Holocaust deniers," "war criminals," "criminals against humanity," or even "Palestinian terrorists" by these organizations have learned this to their cost.

Our Fribourg judge strikes me as less deceitful than such French justices as Simone Rozès, Pierre Draï, or Françoise Simon, who notify me, summon me to appear, pretend to listen to me, and convict me, no matter what arguments I make in my defense. *Tomorrow, I shall inform Michel Favre by registered letter that I shall not appeal his ruling; I am ready to surrender to the Canton of Fribourg to serve my sentence.* Were I naive enough to challenge his decision before a Swiss court, I would receive the same treatment as Swiss revisionists in the past: first, I would be told that mounting a revisionist defense would violate the law anew; thus my

counsel could only raise legalistic quibbles, and plead mitigating circumstances; finally, any witness who testified on the heart of the case, historical accuracy, would, at the urging of the prosecution, be charged immediately. I would then be sentenced to twelve or fifteen months in prison, and my fines and costs would be considerable. To avail myself of the protection of my French nationality doesn't even bear considering: French authorities, in their attempts to please the Grand Sanhedrin, would cooperate with Switzerland against me, as they did with a Dutch court in my Anne Frank case. Besides, I no longer have the time, the money, or the strength to compete in these unwinnable judicial marathons.

In Switzerland as in France, and a good number of other countries in the world, Jewish organizations have, through constant pressure, obtained the passage of special laws providing for the prosecution of those who don't believe in the kosher version of the history of the Second World War, with its genocide of the Jews and its Nazi gas chambers (not to be confused with the crematory ovens, the existence and usefulness of which, in camps ravaged by epidemics, are contested by no one). The Fabius-Gayssot Act of July 13, 1990, provides for a prison term of from one month to a year, a fine of from two to three hundred thousand francs, and still other penalties against skeptics in France (it is a violation of this law merely to express doubt). An identical law has oppressed Switzerland since 1995. Needless to say, these laws are insolently labeled "anti-racist" by their authors and enforcers.

For the reader's information, I should note here that, like my other revisionist articles, the piece that earned me today's conviction was inspired by the sixty-word sentence that I uttered during an interview with Ivan Levaï on the Europe 1 radio network in December 1980:

The alleged Hitlerite gas chambers and the alleged genocide of the Jews form one and the same historical lie, which has permitted a gigantic political and financial swindle the main beneficiaries of which are the state of Israel and international Zionism and whose main victims are the German people — BUT NOT THEIR LEADERS — and the Palestinian people in their entirety.

In the jargon of our so-called examining judge in the land of the "glacious Swiss" (Céline: *Suisses glacieux*), "a favorable prognosis cannot be posited." He

Robert Faurisson is Europe's foremost Holocaust revisionist scholar. Born in 1929, educated at the Sorbonne, Professor Faurisson taught at the University of Lyon from 1974 until 1990. Specializing in close textual analysis, Faurisson won widespread acclaim for his studies of poems by Rimbaud and Lautréamont. After years of private research and study, Faurisson revealed his skepticism of the "Holocaust" gas chambers in articles published in 1978 and 1979 in the French daily *Le Monde*. He has written numerous articles on all aspects of the "Holocaust," many of which have appeared in this journal. A four-volume collection of many of his revisionist writings, *Écrits Révisionnistes* (1974-1998), was published in 1999.

means that no penance or repentance can be expected from me. Here for once is a clear-sighted judge! He must know that ten physical assaults and a stream of court convictions, writs of seizure, a recent police search of my house, banning from my profession, torrents of slander in the national and foreign press (particularly *Le Monde*, the oblique daily) have only strengthened me in my determination, especially because, in terms of scientific argumentation, we are still right where we were on February 21, 1979, when a “historians’ declaration” published in the self-same newspaper amounted to a declaration that there was no one who could answer me on the subject of the Nazi gas chambers.

I shall continue my revisionist intifada all the way to prison.

19 June 2001



NB: In Lyon, so virulent has been the campaign that Jewish organizations are waging against the Universities of Lyon II and III that the officials of those institutions, one after another, have groveled before them, in a display of the most shameful servility. Thus revisionist scholar Jean Plantin has been summoned by the president of the University of Lyon III to reappear before the jury which, eleven years ago, awarded him the mention “très bien” for his master’s thesis on Paul Rassinier. The Jewish groups, and those who follow their lead, are demanding that the thesis be invalidated — and thus the degree. In so doing, the president has cited no law, rule, or administrative regulation. Nothing finer was ever devised in the Kingdom of the Absurd.

Recently, Jean-Louis Berger lost his right to teach high school, and Serge Thion was expelled from the CNRS (Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique).



Registered letter addressed to Michel Favre

I was never notified, either by you or any other Swiss authority of your country, of the initiation of the proceedings against me. I see that, in the secrecy of your chambers, without having heard me, you have just sentenced me to a month in prison without bail and ordered me to pay 230 Swiss francs in “court costs.”

Your penal order of June 15, 2001, was delivered to me yesterday, June 19. I am ready to surrender to the

Canton of Fribourg to serve my sentence. You must inform me as quickly as possible of the place and date of my incarceration.

I would like, if possible, to see your face.

Robert Faurisson

Vichy, Wednesday, June 20, 2001

The Razor and the Ring

JOHN WEIR

“Plurality is not to be assumed without necessity.”

William of Ockham

The fourteenth century Franciscan theologian, William of Ockham, is credited with using a method to trim logical absurdities out of arguments that came to be named for him. This method, today known as Occam’s Razor, or “Entities are not to be multiplied without necessity,” was developed to show that the realm of theology was separate from that of science; scientific proof for the existence of God, he concluded, was not possible. Therefore science and theology, being different, required different methods for their advancement.

This division of science from theology allowed modernism to take hold in the West. Scientific investigation could now go forward unfettered by religious dogma, which men relegated to the world of metaphysics. Scientific knowledge thereby became restricted to that which could be observed and tested. Theology, on the other hand, advanced through thoughtful speculation and faith.

The basis of the razor is simplicity. A model based on the simplest explanation of the data available is usually the best. Scientists and mathematicians, therefore, strive for simplicity and elegance in their theories describing the physical reality that surrounds them.

Consequently, a basic question that needs answering is whether history is to be described using scientific principles, since the events of history occur in the physical world, or whether it is part of theology, since histor-

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ical events are used in the making of myths that support a particular world view and popular basic philosophical truths.

Recently, several documents have been “discovered” in archives. A few of them have only recently been declassified, and they purportedly shed light on certain details of the Jewish Holocaust that were not known before. These recent revelations are an illustration of the taffy pull of history that is going on now between the scientific Occam’s Razor and Holocaust theology’s magic decoder ring.

For Zionists, the Holocaust is more than an historical event. It is the embodiment of their view of the world. The Shoah verifies that Jews can never trust Gentiles, but must control their own destiny. Otherwise, only death — at the hand of the Gentiles — awaits them. The Holocaust is proof of that and reinforces the need for a Jewish state to safeguard their survival. The theological dogma to this must only be supported — not undercut — by historical events. Therefore, events and documents dealing with the fate of the Jews at the hands of the Nazis must be interpreted only in a way that supports this Holocaust theology and Zionist view of reality.

The first of the documents is a Chilean diplomatic report dated November 24, 1941, and was in the hands of the American Office of Strategic Services [the chief U.S. intelligence agency during the war — ed.] by March 1942. This report has been quoted in the press to read in part “The Jewish problem is being partially solved in the Protectorate [Reich Protectorate of Bohemia], as it has been decided to eradicate all the Jews and send some to Poland and others to the town of Terezin, whilst looking for a more remote place.” The press articles somehow concluded from this that the OSS, and therefore the American government, knew the Germans planned to kill all of the Jews of Europe by March of 1942 and that the Germans had planned this by the previous November. Yet that is clearly not what the Chilean diplomat’s report says, or means.

Next, in January of 1942, the famous Wannsee Conference was held to finalize the details of the extermination of the Jews, or so it has been said. Yet this is not what the minutes of the meeting actually say. They read, in part, in translation to English as follows: “Under proper direction the Jews should now in the course of the Final Solution be brought to the East in a suitable way for the use as labor. . . . The evacuated Jews are to be bought first group by group into the so-called transit

ghettos, in order to be transported from there farther to the East.” This is consistent with the Chilean document: Jews were to be deported to the East.

The third document was very recently discovered and published. Its publication was treated by the Jewish Telegraphic Agency (JTA) in an article posted on their Web site on Wednesday, January 16, 2002. (See: <http://www.fpp.co.uk/History/General/Korherr/JTA150102.html>)

This document is a translation of an intercepted German encoded message, dated January 11, 1943, that summarized the activity at the so-called transit ghettos, described in the Wannsee Protocol, for the year 1942.

The JTA’s correspondent, Toby Axelrod, states that this intercept “indicates” the number of Jews killed at these “extermination camps” during 1942. Enter the decoder ring, here not the cereal box premium once prized by aspiring boy “G-men,” but rather a mighty decipherer of hidden meanings in Holocaust texts. The document doesn’t say the Jews were killed, it only indicates the number for each camp: 434,508 at Belzec, 101,370 at Sobibor, and 713,555 at Treblinka. The document also provides a total of 24,733 for Lublin (Majdanek), but since Lublin is not considered by the keepers of the Holocaust to be an extermination camp, that is omitted from the article.

If this document doesn’t in fact describe mass exterminations, what does it reveal about the fate of the Jews at these camps? The encoded wireless telegraph message marked “State secret!” describes these numbers as “recorded arrivals.” In the document the same terminology is used for Lublin as is used for the imagined “extermination camps,” but the wielders of the decoder ring can tell the difference: When the Nazis used the term “arrival” for three of the four camps, that “indicated” the Jews were killed on arrival, but — for one out of the four — it did not.

The total recorded arrivals for the four camps for the year 1942 was 1,274,166. It was this number that stimulated the interest of researchers Stephan Tyas and Peter Witte, the discoverers of the intercept, because it matches a number which appears in an April 1943 secret statistical report by a Nazi statistician, Richard Korherr, on “The Final Solution of the European Jewish Problem.” (See David Irving’s website, at <http://www.fpp.co.uk/History/General/Korherr/index.html>)

This report was assembled by Korherr on the order of Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler. The purpose of

the report was to estimate the change in the number of Jews in Nazi-controlled territory from 1933 to the end of 1942. Korherr subdivided his statistics into several categories: Deaths over Births, Emigration, Evacuation, and Other. There was no listing for "Killed in Death Camps" or anything like it. The number that appeared in the intercept and also in Korherr's report is listed under the heading "Transport of Jews from the Eastern Provinces to the Russian East: Processed through the Camps in the Government-General," which falls under the "evacuation" category.

Because the number of deaths for Jews at Lublin, as of the end of 1942, is recorded separately in Korherr's report as 14,348, it is obvious that "arrivals" means something other than "murdered" in the context of the January, 1943 intercept, because the figure in it is over ten thousand higher than the number listed as dead for Lublin (Majdanek) by Korherr in his report. In light of the Korherr report, therefore, the decoder ring "solution" of the January 11, 1943, is an arrant fraud.

Though it is clear from the context of his report that Korherr didn't consider "evacuated" to mean "killed," today's guardians of "Truth and Memory" reject the obvious. Korherr's report was a secret document created for Himmler, who certainly would have known what the report was about, because he had commissioned it. Yet we are told that it contains code words to hide the fact the Jews were being murdered en masse — despite the report's explicit statement that the evacuated Jews were to be considered a reduction in the population of Europe's Jews for purposes of the report only.

Like the word "arrival," the terms "transported east," "evacuated," "resettled," and "sent to Poland" are all phrases which mean "killed," according to the Holocaust cryptographers. This principle, applied to Nazi documents dealing with the Jews, can make just about any word mean "murdered." All you need is the Holocaust document decoder ring. Those who wield this wondrous ring can discover new meaning even in documents that have already been decrypted and translated. Even better, with this magical device one can find any meaning desired.

The decoder ring is the theological opposite of the scientific razor. It allows one to add a layer of complexity so that evidence can be manipulated to fit the theory. No longer does a document have to mean what it says. For dogmatists, this makes the decoder ring much more useful than the razor, for Occam's Razor enjoins inflexible simplicity, while the ring promises infinite

possibilities and complexity.

The conclusion to this conundrum is rather simple: since there are two choices of how to interpret Holocaust documents, which to select depends on one's philosophical outlook.

If the answer has already been decided upon, apply the ring: then "arrival" means murdered; and "evacuated" means murdered; "resettled" means murdered as well, as does "transported." This is convenient when restating dogmas known a priori.

Conversely, if the answer has yet to be determined, apply the razor. The documents mean what they say: The Jews were assembled and transported east by the Nazis where the Jews were put into ghettos deep inside occupied Soviet territory.

Which to use is a matter of taste. Revisionist historians employ Occam's razor; the defenders of "Truth and Memory" use their Holocaust decoder rings, which allow the evidence to "converge" wherever, and however, their dogmas desire.

Was Churchill's Gold Bug Jewish?

ARTHUR R. BUTZ

In volume 5 of his biography Winston S. Churchill, published in 1976, historian Martin Gilbert relates the working relationship that existed during the 1930s between Churchill and the South African economist and gold mining executive Sir Henry Strakosch. Most of the figures on German armaments that Churchill brought to the House of Commons and publicized elsewhere were supplied by Strakosch, who wished anonymity in the affair.

Strakosch eventually had to pay heavily for such services. Gilbert relates that Strakosch saved Churchill from financial ruin in 1938 when, due to declines in the New York markets, Churchill's brokerage account went into debt in the amount of £18,000 (\$90,000), which

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Churchill could only begin to cover by selling his house Chartwell. Strakosch picked up the tab for this fancy sum, at a time when a decent American salary was perhaps \$2,000 per year. In addition, Strakosch bequeathed Churchill £20,000 when he died five years later.¹

In the first volume of his *Churchill's War* (1987), David Irving repeats this story but adds that "Strakosch was a Jew born in Moravia, Czechoslovakia." The purpose of this note is to express my skepticism that Strakosch was a Jew, and to expose the specific political cause that his involvement served.

Evidence Strakosch Wasn't Jewish

Strakosch died near London on Saturday, October 30, 1943, and *The Times* (London) published a long obituary on November 1, eulogies on the second, and on the fourth a report of a memorial service for Strakosch. It was clearly a Christian service, held at St. Michael's, Chester Square.

Thus Strakosch died a nominal Christian. That does not exclude the possibility that he was partially of Jewish descent or converted from Judaism, but neither David Irving nor anybody else has been able to provide hard evidence in that respect.

From several sources we learn the following about Strakosch.² He was born May 9, 1871, in Hohenau, Austria, son of Edward Strakosch and Mathilde Winterburg. Hohenau is on the Austria-Moravia border, and Edward Strakosch was a pioneer in the Austrian beet sugar industry. Henry was educated at the Wasa Gymnasium in Vienna and then privately in England. He joined the Anglo-Austrian bank in London in 1891, rising quickly to become foreign exchange manager. He then became interested in gold mining and finance and emigrated to South Africa in 1895. He joined the gold mining enterprise Goerz and Co. in 1896 as assistant managing director, rising to chairman in 1924, a position he held until his death (the company had become Union Corp. in 1918). He was known as "keen on polo, an inveterate motorist, and a bachelor."

Strakosch was adviser to the government in the drafting of the South African Currency and Banking Act of 1920, which led to the establishment of the South African Reserve Bank. From 1925 on, India retained him for similar purposes. He was knighted in 1921, and became a Knight Commander of the Order of the British Empire in 1924, and Knight Grand Cross of the British Empire in 1927.

He got married late in life, in 1941, to the widow Mrs. Mabel Elizabeth Vincent Temperley, in a Christian ceremony at St. Andrew's in Kingswood, Gloucester.

None of the sources on which the above summary is based gives any indication of a Jewish connection for Strakosch.

Two books that ought to have had much about a man of Strakosch's importance, if he had been Jewish, do not list him in their indexes. They are *Jewish Roots in the South African Economy*, by Mendel Kaplan (Cape Town: C. Struik, 1986), and *The Jews in South Africa: A History*, editors Gustav Saron and Louis Hotz (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1955).

The *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (1971) mentions two Jewish Strakosches, but not Sir Henry (it also mentions one Jewish Irving, but not David). If a Jew, or someone of partial Jewish descent, or a Jewish convert to Christianity had played such an important part in the background to the Second World War then it would seem that the *Encyclopaedia* would have at least mentioned it.

The death and obituary notices in the four issues of the London weekly (Fridays) *Jewish Chronicle* for November 1943 contain no mention of Strakosch.

The simple explanation for all of this is that Strakosch was not a Jew.

Who Says That He Was?

The Jüdisches Biographisches Archiv (1994), a massive database available on microfiche, cites two sources that indicate he was a Jew. The first is a book or pamphlet entitled *The Jews' Who's Who: Israelite Finance: Its Sinister Influence* (London: Judaic Publishing Co., 1920). A copy of this publication could not be consulted but the Jüdisches Biographisches Archiv quotes from it as follows:

Strakosch, Henry. Director of A. Goerz & Co. £1,500,000. This company which is a South African "control" house, has now extended its tentacles to West Africa, Nigeria, and Mexico. In addition to its very considerable direct mineral holdings, this House has interests in a huge number of companies, mostly mining, with property all over the world. It is in consequence a close Jewish preserve, and not a single Anglo-Saxon was on its Board in 1914. It is technically a purely British Co., but it has been suggested that its cosmopolitan and Asiatic flavour entitles it to be called "Britisch."

The text goes on to list other directors of the com-

pany. The names given are not obviously Jewish names but one gets the impression that the reader is supposed to consider any non-British, especially German, name a Jewish name.³ It lists some other companies that Strakosch was allegedly a director of, and there are indeed Jewish connections there, but that was unavoidable. The most important example is the Geduld company, controlled by Samuel Marks and Isaac Lewis, both Jews from Lithuania.⁴

In defense of the author of the pamphlet it should be noted that the leading German-speaking entrepreneurs who migrated to South Africa in the nineteenth century were predominantly Jewish. The assumption German-Jew was an understandable fallacy, but a fallacy nevertheless.

The main defect of the pamphlet is that it seems ignorant of the history of Goerz and Co. at the time of publication (1920). In fact there was no company of that name in 1920; it became the Union Corporation in 1918. Its founder, Adolf Goerz (1857-1900), was an immigrant from Germany and not a Jew.⁵ Although the company had maintained close relations with Germany and in particular the Deutsche Bank in Berlin, Goerz had incorporated it in England. On the outbreak of war in 1914 five of the eight directors were German subjects. The British forced them off the board and by 1918 both the name of the company and the character of the board had changed.⁶ The British would not have distinguished in this purge between Germans and German Jews, and Austrians would have been considered Germans. Strakosch survived, no doubt on account of his strong British connections. The basic objection to this pamphlet, therefore, is its apparent ignorance of the status of the matter treated at the time of its publication. The Goerz board of 1914 was irrelevant in 1920. It also sounds like the sort of publication that is recklessly eager to seize any stick to beat a Jew, of which we have seen many.

The second source mentioned by the Jüdisches Biographisches Archiv is more credible. In a 1949 article Albert M. Hyamson listed about 2500 prominent "Anglo-Jewish" people, each getting one or two lines in his sixty-nine pages. One of them was:

Strakosch, Sir Henry (1871-1943). Economist & banker; The Times, 1.11.43; Ann. Reg.; "Randlords."⁷

The first two references are to Strakosch's obituaries, already cited here, which do not say he was a Jew. The third is to the book *Randlords*, by Paul H. Emden.

Emden merely gives some biographical information about Strakosch and mentions his relation to Adolf Goerz thus:

One of the earliest collaborators of Adolf Goerz (from 1896 on) was the present Sir Henry Strakosch, whose influence and importance extend far beyond the limits of gold production. He is recognized the world over as an authority on monetary matters and exchanges; his influence on the development of currency and the organization of Banking in South Africa was so great that the objection was expressed that "the Commission seems to have been clay in the hands of Sir Henry Strakosch."⁸

Emden does not say that Strakosch was a Jew, and there appears to be no basis for Hyamson classifying him as such. One notes that Emden was listed in Hyamson's acknowledgements as having made "valuable criticisms and suggestions." Perhaps Emden told him privately that Strakosch was a Jew.

According to the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* Hyamson was a Zionist Jew who became anti-Zionist after serving as Britain's Chief Immigration Officer in Palestine, 1921-1934. He published several books about Jews and also a general (not specifically about Jews) reference work, *Dictionary of Universal Biography*, issued in 1915, 1950 and (in the U.S.A.) 1951. His entry for Strakosch in the last is:

Strakosch, Sir Hy.; Hung.-Eng. econ. and financ., 1871-1943. S

The "S" signifies that his obituary is to be found in the *Annual Register*. In accord with his general objectives in this work, Hyamson does not declare Strakosch to be Jewish, but he does declare him to be Hungarian-English. None of the other sources indicates he was Hungarian. Strakosch came from a town in Austria distant from Hungary, but as an Austrian he no doubt had some dealings with Hungarians. His father's beet sugar business probably reached into Hungary. Another connection to Hungary is via Adolf Goerz, who managed gold mines and other interests in Hungary before emigrating to Africa around 1890.⁹ None of that makes Strakosch Hungarian.

Another basis for dissatisfaction with Hyamson's classification is that I can't trust any source which, after his death, classifies Strakosch as a Jew without at least mentioning that he died a nominal Christian. I consider Hyamson to be not well informed about Strakosch, whose name was just one of thousands he listed in

his various works. I think the weight of the biographical information is against Hyamson's classification of Strakosch as a Jew.

The idea that Strakosch was a Jew has become part of folklore; just search the Internet for "Strakosch"! In his 1994 biography *Churchill*, Clive Ponting also says that Strakosch was a Jew, in a phrase that smells very much as though carried over from Irving. I suspect that the spread of the belief is largely due to Irving's remark.

Then What Was He Up To, and Why?

The question of Strakosch's ethnicity is only important in relation to the question of what political forces were acting, during the thirties, to destroy Hitler. If Strakosch was a Jew, then political motivations that would explain his conduct would be obvious. If he was not a Jew, then the question of motivation arises. Why was he out to get Hitler? An answer is given in a booklet he published in 1935, in which the gold miner argued for the restoration of an international gold standard for currency.¹⁰ Strakosch considered that the cooperation of Britain and other "Sterling countries" was attainable, but it was not possible to

attain a full measure of recovery unless America and Germany are also brought into the fold ... Substantial progress in this direction has already been achieved in America ... The German situation, on the other hand, remains hopelessly confused, not so much because her problems are fundamentally so very different and so much more difficult, but because of the manner in which they are being faced. There is hardly a single one of the many and varied measures she has taken which can be said to be of real value for her restoration — indeed, most of them tend to impede it ...¹¹

It is well known that this judgment of the efficacy of Hitler's economic policies was wrong. The Nazi economic policies were notoriously successful, and have been called "The Nazi Miracle," which Hitler performed knowing at the outset that "The international financial world would stand on its head and attack our currency with all the means at its command."¹²

The important point is that we see the motivations that Strakosch brought to the campaign against Germany. Hitler was on the way to proving him wrong. Thus to describe Strakosch as a "Jew" in this context is to do more than make a mistake about ethnicity. Strakosch should, rather, have been described as "a South

African gold miner campaigning for restoration of the international gold standard." If he had been a Jew, I still would not have described him as Irving did. I would have written "a Jewish South African gold miner campaigning for restoration of the international gold standard."

Ironically, one conclusion to draw is that it doesn't really matter much whether or not Strakosch was Jewish, as long as it is understood what interests he represented. Irving's treatment of Strakosch, however, has the unintended effect of camouflaging a very important dimension of the background to the Second World War.



This investigation resulted from a discussion Dr. Butz had with Mr. Safet Sarich of Chicago, who passed away as this issue was going to press. Only he and his wife Ingeborg knew that his days were numbered, as he maintained his keen interest in the future of his family, nation, and civilization to the end. We mourn the loss of this good friend and supporter of IHR.

Notes

1. *The Times*, Feb. 7, 1944.
2. *Annual Register* (London, 1943); *The Times*, August 15, 1941; John F. Riddick, *Who Was Who in British India* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood, 1998); Eric Rosenthal, *Encyclopaedia of Southern Africa*, 6th edition (London and New York: Frederick Warne, 1973); C.J. Beyers, *Dictionary of South African Biography* (Cape Town: Tafelberg-Uitgewers, 1977); Walter H. Wills and R.J. Barrett, *The Anglo-African Who's Who and Biographical Sketch-Book* (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1905).
3. It should be noted that at the time many Britons associated Jewish intrigues with Germany. See Nesta H. Webster, *Secret Societies and Subversive Movements*, 1924, especially pp. 365ff.
4. Robin McGregor, *McGregor's Who Made South Africa*, vol. 1 (Saxonwold, S.A.: Purdey, 2000), pp. 26-30. McGregor presents a chart indicating who was and was not Jewish.
5. *Ibid*, pp. 138-141. As the preface explains this is vol. 1 of a projected series on "the positive contributions made by each of South Africa's twenty-five-odd cultural groups to its development ... the Jewish contribution ... comprises the first part of this volume. As a significant number of Jews are of German origin, it seemed appropriate to relate the contribution made by the Germans as the second part."

6. Geoffrey Wheatcroft, *The Randlords* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1985), pp. 118, 244.
7. Albert M. Hyamson, "Plan of a dictionary of Anglo-Jewish biography," in *Anglo-Jewish Notabilities: Their Arms and Testamentary Dispositions* (London: The Jewish Historical Society of England, 1949). Hyamson was president of this society.
8. Paul H. Emden, *Randlords* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1935), pp. 217, 342. Remarks in this article on what books say about Strakosch are based on the pages indicated in the indexes to those books. In the writer's opinion, the burden of more exhaustive research in search of credible evidence that Strakosch was a Jew is that of those who make the claim.
9. *McGregor's Who's Who*, p. 140.
10. Sir Henry Strakosch, *The Road to Recovery: With Special Reference to the Problem of Exchange Stability and the Restoration of the International Gold Standard* (New York: Economic Forum, and London: *The Economist*, 1935). Seventy pages, of which 27-36 were missing from the copy consulted.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 51.
12. Alan Milard, in the *London Review of Books*, January 23, 1986, p. 21. Milard reviews several books on the subject.

RIP

Gladye Whitney, 1940-2002

The Institute lost a friend in January, when Gladye Whitney passed away in Tallahassee at the age of sixty-two. Professor Whitney, a member of the faculty of Florida State University, had achieved eminence for his research in the field of behavioral genetics. A few years ago he made waves at his university and among his colleagues by writing an introduction to David Duke's *My Awakening* (available from the Noontide Press), which contains a popular treatment of the case for Holocaust revisionism. Professor Whitney was a speaker at the Institute's thirteenth conference two years ago, and proved to be as personally engaging as he was dedicated to researching and standing up for free inquiry in pursuit of knowledge. His presence is missed.



INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE SET FOR JUNE

Leading Revisionist Historians and Activists to Meet in Southern California

Scholars, activists and friends of the Institute for Historical Review will meet in Orange County, California, from Friday afternoon, June 21, through Sunday afternoon, June 23, 2002 – for the 14th IHR Conference.

Leading revisionists will report on the latest breakthroughs in the international fight for historical truth, from headline-making developments in the Middle East, to the growing support for Holocaust revisionism around the world, 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.

The full Conference program is still being set, and updated information will be announced on the "Conferences" section of the IHR web site. But already the line-up of scheduled speakers includes: Joe Sobran, columnist and author; Tom Sunic, scholar and diplomat; Prof. Tony Martin, author and scholar; Prof. Robert Faurisson, scholar and activist; Arab "mystery speaker"; Mark Weber, IHR director; Greg Raven, MC for the event; Ted O'Keefe, IHR Journal editor, and Robert Countess, author and IHR editorial advisor.

For further information, including a registration form, call or write, or check the "Conferences" section of the IHR web site: www.ihr.org

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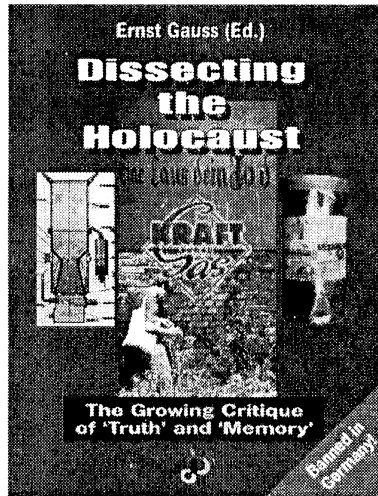
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Packed with stunning revelations, this scholarly, attractive and well-referenced work is the best revisionist critique of the Holocaust story to appear in years.

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:

- 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, "Diesel Gas Chambers: Ideal for Torture, Absurd for Murder"



- 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."

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 War Years of Simon Wiesenthal: New Light on a Dark Past

THEODORE J. O'KEEFE

The Institute for Historical Review has recently obtained from the U.S. National Archives a copy of a document dating from 1945 that provides new evidence that famed “Nazi hunter” Simon Wiesenthal collaborated with the Soviet Union during the Second World War.¹ The author of the document, a “curriculum vitae” submitted to American military authorities at the former concentration camp at Mauthausen, in Upper Austria, is Wiesenthal himself. He claims in this autobiographical statement that he served the Soviet occupation regime in the east Galician city of Lwów (today Lviv) as an engineer and was well rewarded for his services to the Communist government. Wiesenthal’s 1945 account offers strong corroboration of a sworn statement he made to U.S. authorities in 1948, first published in the *Journal of Historical Review*, that he had functioned as a “Soviet chief engineer” in Lwów during the 1939-41 Soviet occupation.²

Thus, in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War, Wiesenthal twice contradicted what would later become his standard story of his time in Soviet-ruled Lwów: that he was forced to work as a poorly paid factory mechanic and narrowly escaped deportation to the interior of the USSR. The “curriculum vitae” and accompanying documents provided by Wiesenthal in 1945 contain additional statements that contradict important aspects of Wiesenthal’s standard account of his war years. These records are of further interest in that they provide the first documentary evidence of Wiesenthal’s career as a denouncer and tracker of alleged German war criminals.

Lwów: The Missing Years

On May 25, 1945, some three weeks after American forces had captured the camp, the recently liberated inmate Simon Wiesenthal submitted his “curriculum vitae” and a list of ninety-one men and women he alleged were guilty of war crimes to the “U.S. Camp Commander, Camp Mauthausen.” In an accompanying cover letter, Wiesenthal, writing with the restraint that was to become his trademark, claimed: “Many of these have caused incalculable sufferings to myself as well as to my fellow inmates,” and went on to state: “Many of these I have personally seen commit murder phantastic in number and method.” The list of “war criminals” itself, and Wiesenthal’s efforts to identify, characterize, and accuse them, will be considered briefly below. Because it is “Ing. Szymon Wiesenthal,” as he signed these documents nearly fifty-seven years ago, who is under investigation here, his statements about himself rather than about his quarry are of chief interest.

Wiesenthal opens the “curriculum vitae” (actually closer in form to a short autobiography than a standard c.v.) that accompanied his other submissions with a brief and seemingly unremarkable paragraph about his origins and education. The next paragraph reads:

After the outbreak of the war I stayed in Lemberg and after the entry of the Red Army continued my work as a construction engineer and a designer of refrigerating plants and other various constructions as well as private dwellings.

by authority of Ltr. to U.S. F. E. T.
file AG 0005 GDI-AG 17 June 1946

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g. Wiesenthal Szymon
g. Szymon WIESENTHAL

ing on his experiences during the war years, to U.S. after American forces captured the concentration

During this period I invented an artificial insulation material for which the Soviet Government awarded me a premium of 25,000 rubles.

These two sentences supply more concrete detail regarding Simon Wiesenthal's work, status, and relationship to the Soviet authorities during the twenty-one months the USSR occupied Lemberg (as Lviv is known in German) than any other statement or account by Wiesenthal that has appeared to date. As noted above, Wiesenthal's 1948 testimony to a U.S. Army interrogator lends corroboration to his 1945 statement and provides further details about his activities from September 1939 to mid-1941: "Active until 1939 in Poland as a professional engineer architect [*sic*], between 1939-1941 Soviet chief engineer employed in Lemberg and Odessa. 10 days prior to the outbreak of war between Germany and Russia I returned to Lemberg, where I experienced the German entry." Wiesenthal's express claim to have been a "Soviet [emphasis added] chief engineer" is telling in itself. If, as he states, he worked in Odessa, some three hundred miles away in Soviet Ukraine, then he enjoyed travel privileges afforded only a few inhabitants of the occupied lands of prewar eastern Poland. The only USSR destination for most citizens of Poland during the first Soviet occupation was the Gulag.

Simon Wiesenthal's 1967 "memoirs," *The Murderers among Us*, strongly contradict his claims of 1945 and 1948.³ *Murderers* has the following to say about his employment in Communist-ruled Lwów: "By the middle of September, the Red Army was in Lwów, and again Wiesenthal found himself 'liberated[.]'... The Wiesenthals managed to stay in Lwów, but Wiesenthal's days as an independent architect were over. He was glad to find a badly paid job as a mechanic in a factory that produced bedsprings."⁴

If what Wiesenthal said in his statements from 1945 and 1948 about his employment, status, and means under the Soviets is correct,⁵ then there are other questions to be answered on the full extent of his activities and affinities in Lwów from 1939 to 1941. Was he a member of the Communist party? Did he acquire Soviet citizenship? Did he take part in the persecution of the city's Polish and Ukrainian Christian majority? And why was Wiesenthal — apparently trusted by the Soviets, capable, and with vital skills — not evacuated with the Red Army, as were so many others, when it abandoned Lwów in mid-1941?

Saved by the Bells?

One of the most famous tales from the Wiesenthal canon describes his arrest and hair's breadth escape from execution at the hands of Ukrainian auxiliary police a few days after the arrival of the Wehrmacht. As recounted in *The Murderers among Us*,⁶ on the afternoon of July 6, 1941, a Sunday, Wiesenthal was arrested by a Ukrainian policeman and brought to Lwów's Brigidki prison. In Wiesenthal's telling, after about forty Jews had been collected in the prison courtyard, the Ukrainians lined them up and began shooting them, one by one. Wiesenthal relates that the killers feasted on sausages and swilled down vodka between murders. The memoirs relate: "The shots and the shouts of the dying men were getting closer to Wiesenthal. He remembers that he stood looking at the gray wall without really seeing it. Suddenly he heard the sounds of church bells, and a Ukrainian voice shouted 'Enough! Evening mass!'" That night, his account continues, Wiesenthal was rescued thanks to a chance encounter in his cell with a Polish acquaintance serving in the Ukrainian auxiliary police. The policeman devised an audacious plan: he would tell the other police that Wiesenthal was a Soviet spy, and that he had to bring him before a Ukrainian commissioner elsewhere in the city. Although Wiesenthal claims to have been badly beaten, the friendly policeman was able to lead him and another "spy" (a friend of Wiesenthal's) out of the prison, and — "after a series of narrow escapes" — both men were back home the next morning.

Wiesenthal's concededly laconic account in the 1945 curriculum vitae clearly contradicts the story told in his memoirs. He writes:

When after the outbreak of the German-Soviet war that city was taken by the German troops, I was immediately arrested on July 13, 1941, as one of the Jewish intelligentsia. Of independent means, through a bribery I succeeded in getting out of prison.

In this 1945 version, less than four years after the purported event, Wiesenthal's arrest comes a week later than in his memoirs. Here he attributes his release from prison to a bribe, rather than to a chance encounter and the implied altruism and sang-froid of a Polish friend. Although in this document and the 1948 interrogation Wiesenthal describes countless atrocities he claims to have suffered or witnessed, they mention no festive shootings by Ukrainian auxiliary police.

Wiesenthal's 1948 testimony strengthens the presumption against his miraculous escape from a Ukrainian massacre by omitting any mention of an incarceration in July 1941. Instead, he tells this story: "On 8 July I was forcibly removed from my residence by two soldiers and a Ukrainian auxiliary policeman — a group of about sixty Jews, who had been similarly dragged from their homes, was waiting on the street; we moved slowly down the street, because new Jews were continually brought from their homes. When there were around 100 or 120 of us, we were brought to the German army railroad yards, where the army engineers awaited us. We were forced to run the gauntlet and nearly every one of us received a kick or the lash of a whip." Wiesenthal goes on to state that he continued to work as a forced laborer at the railroad yards, returning home nights, for at least the following two weeks.

Jewish apologists understandably make much of various scurrilous stories, oftentimes quite untrue, that have been directed at the Jews over the centuries. In the light of Wiesenthal's testimony from 1945 and 1948, which contradicts as well as omits the dramatic account of his escape from the Ukrainian bloodbath, might the story in his memoirs be a carefully crafted "blood libel" against Ukrainians — and their church?

A Charmed Life?

While the evidence of Wiesenthal's 1945 and 1948 statements points toward his having collaborated with the Communists during the war, Wiesenthal has more frequently been accused of collaborating with the Germans than with the Soviets.⁷ While published evidence of such collaboration remains scarce, interesting questions arise from his different accounts of certain war-time experiences — such as his strange and conflicting stories about his recapture and subsequent treatment by the Germans in 1944.

Wiesenthal is consistent in his claims to have escaped from German custody in Lwów in 1943.⁸

His accounts of how he spent his several months of freedom differ, however. While in his memoirs he claims merely to have hidden from the Germans, in his 1945 curriculum vitae Wiesenthal wrote that he had joined and fought in the ranks of "Jewish partisans." In the 1948 interrogation he testified that he had been a major with the partisans, specializing in designing *bunkers and fortifications*, and strongly implied that his group had Soviet backing.

He claims to have been recaptured in June 1944. In the 1945 curriculum vitae, he provides this version of

what happened:

It was while I was fighting in the partisan ranks against the Nazis that we managed to collect and bury for safekeeping considerable amount [*sic*] of evidence and other materials proving the crimes committed by Nazis. When the partisans were dispersed by the Germans I fled to Lemberg on February 10, 1944, and again wnet [*sic*] into hiding. On June 13, 1944, I was found during a house to house search and was immediately sent to the famous Lacki camp, near that city. Since there was no escape for the partisans who were caught, I attempted suicide by cutting the veins on my arms but was saved.

The 1945 statement does not explain how, as a Jew and a partisan, he was "saved" while in the custody of the German security forces. Wiesenthal had an answer for that question in his 1948 interrogation, however. He testified: "On 13 June 1944 we were in this bunker [in Lwów — Ed.]. . . . A search for arms was carried out and we were discovered. We were in a position where we could not even make use of our own arms. . . ." After being arrested, Wiesenthal states: "I immediately cut open my artery. We were taken to the Lonsky prison and they found some of my records. We had been waiting every day for a Soviet offensive, so we made certain records at this time concerning the whole partisan area where we were. These notes were in our possession, and I owe it specially to this circumstance that I was not killed right away as so many other Jews, for these records seemed to be very valuable and therefore [*sic*] I was taken into a prison hospital after my attempted suicide." Thus, according to Wiesenthal's 1948 account, he was not merely a Jew and a partisan, but an armed Jewish partisan. Inasmuch as the Red Army was driving toward the city at that time (the Germans abandoned Lwów a month later), it is difficult to understand how a partisan officer and specialist caught with partisan documents was, at the least, not speedily interrogated — rather than being allowed to recuperate in a hospital for over a month, as Wiesenthal states elsewhere in the 1948 interrogation.

As noted above, there is nothing about Wiesenthal's having been a partisan in his memoirs. Nonetheless, *Murderers among Us* states that he was captured with a pistol (for which surely he would have been dealt with as a partisan), and "a diary [he] had kept and a list of SS guards and their crimes that he'd compiled, believing that one day it might be useful."⁹ Although the memoirs report that the pistol was immediately stolen by one of

the arresting officers for sale on the black market (if Wiesenthal correctly divined his purpose), in this account Wiesenthal is nonetheless caught with a sheaf of juicy allegations against individual German officers for eventual presentation to the Allies at some later day.

Once again, Wiesenthal is not only spared, but by his account never interrogated. He claims to have evaded torture by twice attempting suicide — first by cutting his wrists, then by attempting to hang himself. After he has been hospitalized and fattened up on a fortifying diet, however, on July 15, 1944, the day appointed for his interrogation, the Germans seem to forget Wiesenthal's diary and list: the Red Army is drawing near, and Wiesenthal is sent westward with a contingent of Jewish prisoners.¹⁰

Whatever is to be made of the discrepancies and improbabilities touched on above, it is worth noting that in each of the above tellings one of the most prominent "survivors" of Hitler's alleged attempt to exterminate the Jews has acknowledged that he survived circumstances which, given an extermination policy, should have guaranteed his speedy death.¹¹ And, given the various implausibilities in his several accounts, the suspicion arises that Wiesenthal *was* in fact interrogated, raising the question: if so, why has he chosen to deny it?

Falsus in Uno...?

A venerable legal saw has it, "*Falsus in uno, falsus in omnibus*," meaning, more or less, "Once a liar, always a liar." The objection to that is that many people sometimes tell lies, yet that doesn't mean that they always lie, let alone that their speaking a truth makes it untrue. Clearly, the less stringent interpretation must govern the evaluation of personal testimony, including that of Simon Wiesenthal. Nonetheless, often enough Wiesenthal gives us pause.

In his 1945 c.v. Wiesenthal declares: "It was during this time that my life was several times placed in extreme danger, and that I lost both of my parents who were killed by the Nazis." In the accompanying cover letter, he writes: "With all of the members of my family and of my nearest relatives killed by the Nazis, I am asking of your kindness to place me at the disposal of the U.S. authorities investigating the war crimes."

Wiesenthal's memoirs, however, after noting that his father served in the Austrian army during the First World War, state unambiguously: "He was killed in action in 1915."¹² Might Wiesenthal have been referring in his 1945 statement to his step-father, then? Not

according to his memoirs: "Wiesenthal's stepfather was taken to a Soviet prison, where he soon died."¹³ Wiesenthal is silent on the fate of his parents in his sworn statement of 1948.

Studying Wiesenthal's false attribution of his father's death to the Germans in 1945 (doubtless to gain sympathy from the Americans) and the many other contradictions in his testimony tempts one to augment the categories of the legists with a new one: "*falsus in pluribus*."

Wiesenthal's List

The list of alleged war criminals Wiesenthal offered the American forces fills four pages, and is the first hard evidence of his Nazi-hunting activities. Deprived of the list he claims that he buried in the forest (or that perhaps the Gestapo had confiscated from him), Wiesenthal was forced to rely on his own prodigious memory, with consequences that will be noted below. There is no evidence that Wiesenthal testified in the trial of anyone designated on the roster, which as will be seen gives little hard data as to specific misdeeds of those listed, and few clues as to their whereabouts. Nonetheless, Wiesenthal's list serves to anticipate his career as a gifted publicist of atrocity allegations — and may provide hints about certain of his wartime doings.

In the brief heading that introduces the list of ninety-one names, Wiesenthal writes: "The following is a brief list of SS men and Gestapo agents as well as Nazi party members whom I had the opportunity of seeing to partake in murder and other crimes against human life." The list is divided into two groups, those whom Wiesenthal had encountered (or perhaps heard of) in "District Galicia (Lemberg)" and those in "Camp Cracow-Plashow" [*sic*].

Wiesenthal makes many accusations of mass murder (added up, the death toll he ascribes to his ninety-one Nazis comes to about 1,150,000), but gives details on very few of the crimes he alleges: in fact he names the date and place of a specific crime in only three instances. Thus, while Wiesenthal claims that someone he calls simply "Krieger, Maj. Gen. SS" (probably Obergruppenführer Friedrich-Wilhelm Krüger) "On Aug. 18, 1941 finished personally 13,000 people by shooting," and that four officers "Killed 7,000 on Nov. 18, 1943 in Lwów," usually he favors the diachronic perspective: "Killed 1,200 Jews in his shop, Lemberg" (of Georg Gross, "chief of the Lemberg railway shops"); "Killed 8,000 Jews in Tarnopol alone" (of "Rokita," said to be an Untersturmführer); "Greatest killer of all. His



Simon Wiesenthal is all smiles as he poses with a poster for the television miniseries that starred Ben Kingsley (who later portrayed Oskar Schindler's wartime accountant in *Schindler's List*) as the intrepid "Nazi hunter." Although scriptwriter Abby Mann had consulted Wiesenthal's 1945 submissions to the U.S. Army, he chose to portray Wiesenthal in accord with the later legend.

victims run into thousands" (of "Amond [sic] Goeth," commander of the Plaszow camp near Cracow); "Responsible for several thousands of deaths" (of someone designated simply as "Hasse"); or "Ditto" (of "Kipko, Untersturmführer" who follows "Hasse" on the list).

Despite its lack of precise information on specific misdeeds, Wiesenthal's list abounds in concrete characterizations of those he accuses. His only accusation against one "Schnerer" (perhaps Julian Scherner, who served as SS- und Polizeiführer of the Cracow district) is "Killed sick in the hospital," while "Hujar Untersturmführer" is described as "Winner of numerous wagers by sending one bullet through two heads at a time" and "Lied," said to be an Unterscharführer, is called a "Degenrat [sic] collector of his victims' skulls." In some cases Wiesenthal takes care to specify exact methods, a

few of which sound like categories in a hellish Holocaust Oscar night: "Worst sadist and killer using ax only," others of which sound simply foolish: "The last two specialized in hanging and chopping men alive." There are many lesser or vaguer accusations ("Camp's recorder. Many cruelties"; "Introduced keenest sadism"; "Worked in Bohemia"), while about twenty persons on the list are not accused of committing any crime. The list shows glimmerings of its author's knack for devising colorful nicknames for the headlines, but Wiesenthal was as yet short of mastery, e.g. of one "Engels, Gestapokommissar": "Timekeeper and schedule maker for mass killing throughout Galicia."

Although the implication of the heading is that Wiesenthal witnessed many of the misdeeds of those he lists ("whom I had the opportunity of seeing to partake in murder and other crimes against human life"), he is explicit about witnessing only one crime, the alleged shooting of thirteen men with American passports "on [sic] August, 1944."

Seemingly deficient as hard evidence of criminal acts, the Wiesenthal list would also seem not to have been very helpful in locating the 91 persons it enumerates. Although Wiesenthal provides rank or (sometimes general) office for some 70 of those listed, he is able to supply the first names (and in one instance simply an initial) of a mere 18 of them. Forty-two of the alleged war criminals are identified by their hometowns or places of origin, but nearly all these refer simply to cities (while 2 are said to be from "Holland," and 3 from the Batschka region, at that time occupied by Hungary). Only 5 listings mention streets, and of those just 2 give specific addresses. And Wiesenthal is able to identify the civilian occupations of only 12 of the 91 listed, and those of an additional 3 of their relatives.

It is beyond the scope of this article to attempt properly to identify the 91 persons on Wiesenthal's list, let alone whether they committed the crimes alleged by Wiesenthal, or what became of those of them who actually existed. An analysis of Wiesenthal's list yields data of possible significance in reconstructing certain of its author's wartime associations, however. Wiesenthal identifies 13 of those listed as "Gestapo agent[s]," 8 of whom he places in Lemberg/Galicia, the other 5 in Cracow/Plaszow. For the remaining 78 persons listed he is able to provide 10 first names and 1 first initial (14.1 percent); 34 places of origin (43.6 percent); and 10 civilian occupations, including two of family members (12.8 percent). For his 13 alleged Gestapo agents, however, Wiesenthal gives 7 first names (53.8 percent); 9 places of origin (69.2 percent); and 5 civilian occupa-

tions, including that of one in-law (38.5 percent). Wiesenthal's assignment of a military or police rank to only one of the 13 designated as Gestapo agents (in contrast to the other 78, for 54 of whom, among them Gestapo officers, he lists military or police ranks) strengthens the implication of the term "agent" that these were undercover operatives, whether military or civilian. That Wiesenthal is able to provide so many more particulars for such shadowy figures than he can for the more readily recognizable officers and NCOs he names would seem to add weight to the suspicion that Wiesenthal was himself an agent of the Gestapo.

Wiesenthal beneath the Whitewash

As is well known, Simon Wiesenthal has been the object of something approaching a cult since the 1960s. His skillful packaging of vengeance disguised as justice and his (often invented) adventures on the trail of euphoniously nicknamed Nazi supercriminals have made him a hero throughout the Western world. While he has had his detractors, including Israeli diplomats and intelligence operatives, Austrian chancellor Bruno Kreisky, and the Institute for Historical Review, their voices have been all but drowned out by a tidal wave of media acclaim.¹⁴ Within the Holocaust industry, a sizable Wiesenthal industry has long flourished: there are dozens of books by and about Wiesenthal, he has been depicted in numerous films, both documentary and fictional; and the Los Angeles foundation that pays for the use of his name has raked in tens of millions of dollars in contributions and government grants.

Nonetheless, there is compelling evidence that at least one of Wiesenthal's recent biographers had access to the documents that Wiesenthal composed in 1945. In *Simon Wiesenthal: A Life in Search of Justice*, Hella Pick discloses that Wiesenthal submitted a list of ninety-one names, dated May 25, 1945, to U.S. Army authorities at Mauthausen. Pick quotes virtually the entire text of Wiesenthal's covering letter — with the notable exception of its last sentence: "To furnish you with the personal data regarding my person, a brief curriculum vitae is attached." In fact, while the author cites most of the heading, or introduction, to Wiesenthal's list, and quotes freely and accurately from various of its accusations, she makes no mention whatsoever of the curriculum vitae, which follows the cover letter and precedes the list of war criminals in the Cracow war crimes case file in which the 1945 documents are contained.¹⁵ Nor does the author refer to this document in any of the corresponding passages of her account of Wiesenthal's life

under the Soviets, or during the rest of the war.¹⁶

While Hella Pick and other biographers may have suppressed the evidence of Wiesenthal's wartime collaboration and general duplicity revealed in the 1945 letter, list, and c.v., that is surely less important than the massive gullibility exhibited by Wiesenthal's vast audience of admirers throughout his long career. If Pick is audacious enough to quote, approvingly, Wiesenthal's claim that "My memory in those days was excellent" immediately after her account of his 1945 statements,¹⁷ doesn't such calculation accurately mirror the credulity, apathy, and sloth of the wider public? For nearly forty years now his unending "hunt" for one category of alleged criminal and his defiance of due process and historical accuracy have brought Wiesenthal the highest national honors that governments can bestow as well as the uncritical adulation of multitudes.

Wiesenthal's long life is reportedly nearing its end, leaving little hope for a thorough investigation and exposure of his actual past before his death. That should by no means preclude such an inquiry by a competent group of researchers in the years to come. Punching through the lacquered facade of the Wiesenthal myth to reveal the rot behind it would uncover at least some of the decay at work throughout Western society, past and present. And, even after Wiesenthal is gone, establishing his actual behavior during the war would likely bring the Nazi hunter's reputation down a rung or two, for facts are the nemesis of "memory."

Notes

1. Memorandum from Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Forces. Subject: war crimes, 6 July 1945. Folder 000-50-59, Records of Headquarters U.S. Army Europe (USAEUR), War Crimes Branch, Record Group 338, National Archives at College Park, College Park, Maryland. A recent biography quotes Wiesenthal to the effect that he wrote the original documents in Polish the English versions held by the National Archives bear his name, and he has made no attempt to disavow authorship. See Hella Pick, *Simon Wiesenthal: A Life in Search of Justice* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1996), pp. 84-5.
2. Interrogation no. 2820. Records of the Interrogation Division of the Evidence Branch of the Office of the Chief of Counsel for War Crimes, Record Group 238, National Archives Microfilm Publication M1019, roll 79, National Archives at College Park, College Park, Maryland. Wiesenthal's 1948 interrogation took place on May 27 and 28, ostensibly in investigation of alleged crimes

by the Wehrmacht. The interrogation was conducted in German; the extracts in this article were translated by the editor, and occasionally differ from translations in the article "New Documents Raise Doubts As to Simon Wiesenthal's War Years," in the *Journal of Historical Review* 8, no. 4 (Winter 1988-89), pp. 489-503.

3. Simon Wiesenthal, *The Murderers among Us: The Simon Wiesenthal Memoirs*, ed. Joseph Wechsberg (New York: Bantam, 1968). (The original edition was published in New York by McGraw-Hill in 1967.) While this book somewhat peculiarly combines first-person accounts of Wiesenthal's Nazi-hunting derring-do with four chapters that relate Wiesenthal's life story "as told to [editor Joseph] Wechsberg" (p. vi), it may be presumed that the biographical section has met with Wiesenthal's approval.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
5. It is worthy of note that each of two recent admiring biographies of Wiesenthal, while attempting to sustain Wiesenthal's later claim to have been a bedsprings mechanic victimized by the Communists, states that he worked for a time as an architectural engineer in Odessa during the Soviet occupation. See Pick, *Simon Wiesenthal*, pp. 48-9, and Alan Levy, *The Wiesenthal File* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Co., 1994), pp. 33-4. Both books are said to be based on extensive interviews of Wiesenthal; neither account of his activities in Soviet-ruled Lwów provides any reference to documents or transcripts of the interviews.
6. *Murderers*, pp. 26-27.
7. For example, Austrian chancellor Bruno Kreisky, a Jew and an inmate of Nazi concentration camps, claimed that Wiesenthal collaborated with the Gestapo during the war. See his statement in Mark Weber, "Simon Wiesenthal: Fraudulent Nazi Hunter," JHR 15, no. 4 (July-August 1995), pp. 9-10.
8. See *Murderers*, pp. 33-34; 1948 interrogation; 1945 c.v.
9. *Murderers*, p. 34.
10. *Ibid.*, 35-7.
11. In another sworn statement, this one an application for reparations to a state pension board in Düsseldorf dating from 1954 ("Eidesstattliches Erklärung über die Zeit meiner Verfolgung," in Robert Drechsler, *Simon Wiesenthal: Dokumentation* [Vienna: n.p., 1982], Dokumente zur Zeitgeschichte 1/1982), Wiesenthal claims that he was tortured (presumably to gain information) just after his capture, but escaped by cutting his wrists and being taken to the hospital. Wiesenthal's willingness to contradict his other accounts on this detail might be explained by his desire to obtain reparation monies. This statement contains no information about his time under Soviet occupation.
12. *Murderers*, p. 23.
13. *Murderers*, p. 25.
14. Mark Weber, "Simon Wiesenthal: Fraudulent Nazi

Hunter," JHR 15, no. 4 (July-August 1995), passim.

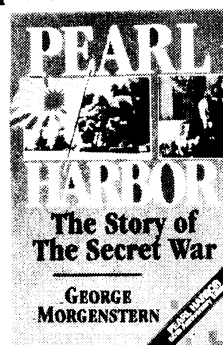
15. Pick, *Simon Wiesenthal*, pp. 85/6.
16. Pick, *Simon Wiesenthal*, pp. 48-73, passim. According to Pick (p. 85) the well-known screenwriter Abby Mann (*Judgement at Nuremberg*) consulted the Wiesenthal documents from 1945 at the National Archives while researching his Emmy Award-winning script for the 1989 television miniseries *Murderers among Us: The Simon Wiesenthal Story*. Although we have not seen the miniseries, reports make clear that Mann, who befriended Wiesenthal while a U.S. Army lieutenant at Mauthausen in 1945, omitted anything seriously jarring to the legend in his script.
17. Pick, *Simon Wiesenthal*, pp. 85.

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Correction

In "Revising the Twentieth Century's 'Perfect Storm,'" in JHR 20, 5/6 (September-December 2001), there was a mistake in the table at the top of page 63. The number of aircraft for the USSR should read 11,167.

‘Nothing Has Been Invented’: The War Journalism of Boris Polevoy

DON HEDDESHEIMER

Krushinsky and I had been the first correspondents to visit Oswiecim, then still called by its German name, Auschwitz. We had flown in after our troops and seen this vast death camp virtually still in running order ... By the time Sergei Krushinsky and I reached Birkenau, all the buildings of this fake junction and the gas chambers had been blown up and only a maze of railway tracks remained. An ordinary railway time-table was jutting out of the heaps of smashed concrete: “Train departures to Vienna ... Belgrade ... Paris ... Milan ...” We met a Polish partisan in a railwayman’s uniform and square cap who knew Russian. He told us about everything that had been going on here. He showed us the so-called bath house lying in ruins and gray mounds of something resembling charcoal mingled with white stony fragments. This was ash, human ash from the ovens, ‘fireplaces,’ as they were called here. It crackled rather strangely as though it were moaning in pain and begging for retribution.”¹

These emotive words, written over twenty years after the war, are those of Soviet journalist Boris Polevoy.² Once a celebrated literary figure in the USSR, today Polevoy is known to revisionists as the author of

one of the first news reports on Auschwitz after its capture on January 27, 1945. Thanks to the work of Faurisson, Walendy, and others, that story, which appeared in *Pravda*, the leading newspaper of the Soviet Communist party, on February 2, 1945, is now widely known to differ drastically from the later orthodox account of the camp. Polevoy described how Auschwitz inmates were exterminated, not in gas chambers, but on an electric conveyor belt that electrocuted hundreds of them simultaneously, then dropped their bodies into a flaming blast furnace. He reported enormous mass graves, filled with at least four layers of bodies. Polevoy also described zinc-covered benches fitted with straps for restraining inmates, on which inmates were beaten to death with truncheons manufactured by the Krupp factory in Dresden.³

Revisionist researchers have concentrated chiefly on the factual discrepancies of Polevoy’s report, consistent with their general approach to the extermination literature. Such work is of course vital, but Polevoy’s activity as a journalist was not limited to writing on Auschwitz or the Holocaust. As a propagandist Polevoy had few equals in depicting German savagery or in glorifying Soviet heroism. His numerous writings on the war, published in the most influential newspaper of the USSR, not only epitomized Soviet propaganda but also

Don Heddesheimer’s study of American Jewish reactions to the Bolshevik revolution and the Communist consolidation of power in Russia, “Der erste Holocaust anno 1914-1927,” appeared in the Vierteljahreshefte für freie Geschichtsforschung (3, no. 2 [June 1999]) and may be read at the VffG page of the website: www.vho.org



Pravda correspondent Boris Polevoy listens intently to testimony at Nuremberg in this drawing by Soviet artist Nikolai Zhukov, dated February 8, 1946, from Polevoy's book *The Final Reckoning*. On that day Soviet Chief Prosecutor R.A. Rudenko made his opening statement, which was largely a catalogue of imaginative atrocity accusations, including the charge that the Germans had killed "over 5,500,000 completely innocent people" in just the two "camps of Maidanek and Auschwitz with their gas-chambers" (*Trial of the Major War Criminals*, vol. 7, p. 173).

influenced Soviet behavior. The purpose of this article is to acquaint readers with Boris Polevoy, his writings, and certain literary techniques which rendered them effective.

A Life for the Soviet

Few reporters of the Second World War were as accomplished, or as influential, as the Soviet writer Boris Nikolaevich Kampov (1908-1981), who wrote under the pseudonym Boris Polevoy. Polevoy, the son of a physician, although of Jewish heritage, was born "beyond the pale" in Moscow in 1908. As a young

writer he showed enough promise to join a select group of Soviet writers under the patronage of Maxim Gorky.⁴

It was not until the Second World War that Polevoy became famous throughout the Soviet Union. From the 1939-40 "winter war" with Finland to the fall of Berlin, Polevoy covered the front as a reporter for *Pravda*, while holding the rank of lieutenant colonel in the Red Army. He served six months on assignment to Stalin-grad, and was present when General von Paulus emerged to surrender from his headquarters in a department store basement. Polevoy reported on the Red Army's advance from Kharkov through Bessarabia, across Poland, and into the heart of Germany. When American and Soviet forces met on the Elbe, Polevoy was there, and he visited Hitler's underground bunker in Berlin while fighting still raged in the German capital.⁵ Following the Allied victory Polevoy, heading a team of Soviet journalists, reported on the International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg as special correspondent for *Pravda*.

Polevoy's books, articles, and political commentaries gained him an international readership well before the end of the war. He remained influential until his death in 1981, at which time he was secretary of the all-powerful Union of Soviet Writers. During his lifetime, Polevoy was named a Hero of Socialist Labor and awarded the Stalin Prize for literature, three Orders of Lenin, two Red Banners, the Red Star, and the Gold Medal of the World Peace Council. To this day a commercial cargo ship bears his name;⁶ an opera has been written about him;⁷ and at least one of his admirers still leads a nation: Fidel Castro praised one of Polevoy's books in a meeting with Leonard Brezhnev.⁸

Gorky's Influence

Polevoy's mentor Maxim Gorky (Alexei Maximovich Peshkov, 1868-1936), whose pseudonymous last name means bitter, had been a close friend of Lenin. While his attitude toward the Soviet Union was sometimes ambivalent, in his last years he became a committed Communist. Gorky was the USSR's leading authority on the complex relationship between political and literary issues, so important in the history of Russian letters, and was the most important link between pre-revolutionary and Soviet literature.⁹

Gorky set out to create a literature that would express the ideals and further the goals of the Bolshevik revolution. He saw "the people," rather than religion, as the only inexhaustible spring of spiritual values. Indeed, Gorky's school of Soviet writers strove to pro-

duce a literature that would instill in the masses the kind of loyalty and dedication to the Soviet regime that they had once felt toward religion. "This concept of the people, and the new Communist Russia they belonged to, gave rise to a feeling for the mother country which could lead people to dedicate their lives to it."¹⁰ Gorky elaborated these goals in the 1920s and 1930s, and, put into practice by his many disciples, they exercised a profound influence on Soviet literature in the following decades.

Gorky urged his apprentices to study and learn from the great Russian writers of the past. In one recorded counsel to Polevoy, Gorky, commenting in 1928 on one of the younger writer's manuscripts (probably "The Forge Shop"), wrote that "just as a lathe worker shapes wood or metal, the literary man must know his material: language and words."¹¹

Reportage in Red

During the war Polevoy wrote diary-like accounts of his activities as *Pravda* correspondent with the Red Army. His reports on his own experiences and on his interviews with soldiers and civilians reliably followed the Soviet line. Polevoy portrayed the German invaders as technologically advanced barbarians who had assaulted the peaceful USSR treacherously and without provocation, unleashing a struggle between good, personified by the Soviet peoples, and the evil of Nazi "fascism." What made Polevoy's writing stand out, however, was not rote propaganda abstractions, but the impact of particular, tangible, and often ordinary details that lent both credibility and emotion to his words.

Typical of this genre of Polevoy's reportage was "Regimental Colors,"¹² which was published in England in 1945, but had certainly appeared in the Soviet Union before that. It describes how eight survivors of a Red Army tank regiment that had been decimated in battle saved their unit's standard, then fought on behind the lines as partisans. Nazis from the Gestapo captured three of the Soviet tankers turned guerrillas, and interrogated them to no avail. After stripping the Soviet heroes to expose them to the full fury of the frigid Russian winter, the fiendish Nazis poured cold water over the Soviets until they were frozen into statues. The secret they went to their terrible deaths to conceal? Where they had hidden their regimental colors. The Nazis then went to work on the peasants. Polevoy assures his readers that the Germans "burned their bodies with soldering irons, drove nails

into their arms and legs and lopped off their ears, sliced their noses and gouged out their eyes," but the peasants too went to their deaths rather than reveal the banner's whereabouts. And the regimental flag was never captured: a lovely young collective farm girl had wrapped it in clean linen and wound it around her body. She wore it day and night until the arrival of its rightful bearers, the Red Army.

"A Copy of *Pravda*"¹³ recapitulates that simple story of Red loyalty and heroism in defense of Soviet ideals, as objectified in the regimental banner, against Nazi savagery. But Polevoy tells his *Pravda* tale with a twist that reminds of his aim, as Gorky's disciple, to transform the religious fervor of the people into a burning dedication to the Communist regime. Writing of how fervently the leading party newspaper was esteemed by Soviet readers under German occupation, Polevoy writes, quoting one of them:

There are all kinds of legends current in our village about this paper. It is said that the Germans threw it in the fire but it didn't burn; then they tried to drown it in the river but it wouldn't drown. So they became furious, crumpled it, pushed it into a shell and fired the shell, but the paper wasn't lost and now there are thousands of them.

Thus, in Polevoy's telling, a solitary copy of *Pravda* proves indestructible, and even (metaphorically) capable of multiplying independently and indefinitely. The irony of the single most influential newspaper of the world's leading force for dialectical materialism behaving like a prop in a fairy tale was probably lost on a good many of Polevoy's readers.

Polevoy could conjure up the mawkish as well as supernatural in the service of Soviet propaganda. One of his dispatches from the battle of Berlin was entitled "Front Line at the Eisenstrasse" (which he described as an avenue lined with old beech trees that ran through no man's land). He reported that a curly haired German girl, no more than two or three years old, wandered out between the two front lines, lost and crying. She was rescued by a Soviet soldier — but no sooner than he had performed that heroic act, he was cut down by an SS man's bullet (a statue commemorating this alleged incident still stands in eastern Berlin). The absence of an Eisenstrasse in Berlin was remedied some thirty years later when the Communist East German authorities decided that Polevoy meant "Elsenstrasse," and that the "I" on the street sign must have been hit by a bullet so that it looked like an "i."¹⁴ Whatever the truth of this

suspicious story, it stands the actual conduct of Soviet troops toward German civilians on its head.

Polevoy's most successful and widely sold book was *A Story about a Real Man*.¹⁵ It became the basis of an opera by Prokofiev, was made into a popular Soviet motion picture, and gained Polevoy the Stalin Prize in 1951. Written shortly after the war, this semi-documentary "non-fiction" novel's protagonist was Alexei, a Soviet pilot who had been shot down in combat behind enemy lines and lost both his feet to gangrene before being rescued by partisans. While being treated in a Moscow hospital, he was inspired by a comrade who had also been wounded, Commissar Vorobyov. The commissar told Alexei of socialist heroes who had overcome similar difficulties and gone on to hold important positions in the party. Vorobyov used his influence to enable Alexei's rehabilitation and return to the front. Fitted with artificial feet, Alexei learned to walk, and just as important, to fly again. Reassigned to his old unit, he returned to combat. In the book's climactic episode, Alexei wins a dogfight with a pilot from the Richthofen squadron: it is the German flier who flinches, not the Soviet man of steel.

A Story about a Real Man has been translated into many different languages, and inspired Communists around the world. A Soviet literary magazine reported handwritten copies of it made by North Vietnamese soldiers, and there exists a copy said to have been pierced by a bullet and stained with the blood of a Greek partisan.¹⁶ Unfortunately for Polevoy's bonafides, the great popularity and resultant scrutiny of *A Story about a Real Man* aroused a burning desire among its readers to find out more about Alexei and Commissar Vorobyov. While Polevoy was able to produce a pilot who had lost his feet, he eventually had to admit that Commissar Vorobyov existed only in the author's imagination.¹⁷

Verisimilitude and Chicken Soup

Many of Polevoy's accounts begin with such words as, "Nothing has been invented," or "All of the people in this book really lived," or "There is nothing imaginary in this book." In straightforward works of fiction, such statements would be seen as literary devices. In Polevoy's reportage and non-fiction books, his assurances that he is telling the unembroidered truth set the tone for his development, in concrete and realistic terms, of his accounts of persons met and things witnessed or heard. Polevoy tells readers how, where, and when he met his narratives' heroes, whether real or invented. He

sets his scenes with prosaic exactitude. What comes next, whether an over-the-top atrocity story, a miraculous tale of Red courage, or an invented commissar, becomes believable because it seems to have evolved naturally from the ordinary and specific details that led up to it. In these writings of Polevoy, Commissar Vorobyov, a copy of *Pravda*, the regimental flag for which Germans torture and Soviets die, the nonexistent Berlin street where a Red Army man gave his life to save a small German girl, and the human ash that crackles as though moaning in pain and pleading for revenge at Auschwitz all function as markers of verisimilitude even as they convey a highly emotional message.

Polevoy carefully shapes and develops his narratives to maximize the emotional involvement of his readers. Take his use of a simple bowl of chicken soup. While most people are vaguely aware that chicken soup comes from chickens, wherever there is chicken soup, there is a story of the life and death of a chicken. In *A Story about a Real Man*, the hero Alexei, behind enemy lines and unable to walk, is given chicken soup by an old woman in a village. Polevoy weaves in a moving tale: the Germans have shot her whole family, all except for one chicken. The chicken hid up in the loft whenever the Germans came, and was therefore nicknamed Partisanka by the villagers. To feed Alexei chicken soup, the old woman must kill Partisanka. Thus the giving of chicken soup to a soldier becomes the occasion of a sacrifice, if not a sacrament.

Atrocity Tales

Seen in the above light, the accounts by Polevoy — and many other propagandists — of German atrocities become rather more transparent. For instance, it is not enough for Polevoy to write that the Germans requisitioned the University of Kharkov. He reported that they turned the buildings into a breeding ground for pigs, covering the parquet floors with straw and droppings.¹⁸ In the same "Soviet war correspondent's notebook" that contains the Kharkov tale, Polevoy describes a school in Moldavia which the Germans took over and converted into a stable, amusing themselves in the schoolyard by setting up a shooting gallery, playing soccer with the school's globes, "drinking the alcohol out of jars containing zoological specimens and roasting pork on a fire fed by school books."¹⁹

Needless to say, Polevoy was in his element at Nuremberg, where libellous lies of the same kind as he churned out for the Soviet public were given the seal of authenticity by the Allied judges. He was one of the

most eminent writers of an entire corps of Soviet journalists, which included the notorious Ilya Ehrenburg. His later book *The Final Reckoning: Nuremberg Diaries*, based on his notes from the trial, contain harrowing descriptions, crafted with loving care, of such discredited evidence against the Germans as “human soap” and a head claimed to have been shrunk and turned into a curio in a concentration camp.

Note the consistency of Polevoy’s technique in describing the head:

A human head was standing on an elegant marble base under a bell-glass. Yes, a human head with long, swept back hair, shrunk in some incomprehensible way to the size of a large fist. It was apparently one of the ornaments and knickknacks made by some of the monstrous “craftsmen” in a concentration camp, which were then presented as souvenirs to distinguished visitors by the camp chief. The prisoner who caught the gentleman — or lady — visitor’s eye was killed, the brain and crushed bones of the head were extracted by some technique through the neck, the head was shrunk by some process, stuffed and mounted as a statuette or ornament.²⁰

And see how he breathes life into the faded soap and skin lies:

On the Prosecutor’s instructions, all the sheets were removed from the display stands and tables. We saw a display of human skin in various stages of processing: freshly flayed, cleaned of flesh, tanned and, finally, furnished leather articles — elegant ladies’ shoes, handbags, briefcases, blotting pads and even jackets. Boxes of different kinds of soap were also lying on the tables: ordinary soap, household soap, baby soap, industrial soap and fragrant toilet soap in attractive colorful wrappings.²¹

The Nuremberg Trials: Final Reckoning is a very readable book, and certainly captures much of the spirit of the trials. As Polevoy wrote in a brief introduction, however, a key motive in his writing it over twenty years after Nuremberg was to combat a resurgence of revisionism: “Recently, however, books have begun to appear in the West whose authors have attempted to cast doubt on the justice meted out by the International Military Tribunal, and have even declared the trial a historical mistake.”²²

‘Check Up on Me’

Young Boris Nikaelovich Kampov may have chosen the pen name of Boris Polevoy to evoke the classical nineteenth century Russian writer Nikolai Polevoi. Nikolai Polevoi wrote fiction based on famous historical events, changing and distorting facts to fit his story. In the introduction to *An Oath at the Holy Sepulcher*, an historical novel by Nikolai Polevoi first published in 1832, the earlier classical Polevoi provides this imaginary dialogue between the reader and the author:

Reader: Should we believe everything you will tell us? You speak of a true story, but perhaps, all this will turn out to be fiction.

Nikolai Polevoi: What is the problem? Check [up on] me.²³

Advice to be heeded from the original Polevoi: for it applies not only to the writings of the Communist journalist and novelist who adopted his name, but also to many another chronicler of war — past, present, and future.

Notes

1. Boris Polevoi, *The Final Reckoning: Nuremberg Diaries* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1978), pp. 113, 161.
2. Sometimes transliterated from the Cyrillic alphabet to English as Polevoi or Polowej.
3. <http://www.fpp.co.uk/Auschwitz/docs/Pravda020245.html>
4. Vadim Kozhevnikov, “In Memoriam, Boris Polevoy,” in *Soviet Literature*, Nov.1981, pp. 189-191.
5. Boris Polevoi, *Final Reckoning*, dust jacket notes.
6. *Boris Polevoy*, a ship owned by the Metz Container Line, which maintains offices in Beirut, Montreal, Egypt, Romania, the United Kingdom, and elsewhere. <http://www.metz.ca/boris.htm>
7. David Finko, *That Song*, one-act opera after Boris Polevoy. Finko, a Russian-Jewish emigre, has taught music at several American universities, including Yale, the University of Pennsylvania, and the University of Texas.
8. “Conversation with Comrade Fidel, February 20, 1974” at: <http://lanic.utexas.edu/la/cb/cuba/castro/1974/19740220>
9. Irwin Weil, *Gorky, His Literary Development and Influence on Soviet Intellectual Life* (New York: Random House, 1966).
10. Otto Hoetzsch, *The Evolution of Russia* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1966), pp. 196-7.
11. Weil, *Gorky*, p.116.
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and Co., 1945). Should the reader wonder, this book has been classified as non-fiction by the Library of Congress.

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16. *Soviet Literature*, vol. 4 (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1968), pp. 152-6.
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19. Ibid., p. 144.
20. *Final Reckoning*, p. 112.
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22. Ibid., p. 53.
23. Dan Ungurianu, "Fact and Fiction in the Romantic Historical Novel," *The Russian Review*, July 1998, pp. 380-4.

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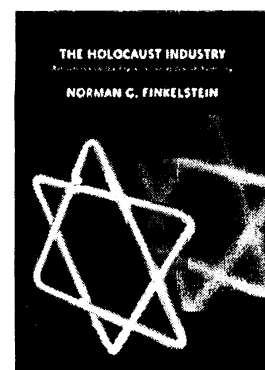
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The Gulag: Communism's Penal Colonies Revisited

DAN MICHAELS

During the twentieth century it became common practice for nations to detain citizens whose loyalty to the state was considered unreliable or suspect in times of war or "national emergency." To sequester such persons Britain, the United States, and Germany all established centers, variously called (often depending on who won and who lost) relocation centers, detention centers, labor camps, concentration camps, or death camps. Depending on circumstances, the treatment of inmates varied from benign to cruel. Such facilities in these countries were, however, temporary measures undertaken during times of national peril. Only in the Soviet Union, where such camps were collectively known as the Gulag (an acronym in Russian for the Main Directorate of Corrective Labor Camps and Colonies), were they a permanent and integral part of the government.

Beginning in the 1970s, British researcher Robert Conquest and Russian Nobel laureate (and former Gulag detainee) Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn did much to alert the world to the horrors of the USSR's vast penal empire. Conquest's readership has been limited largely to historians and the better educated, while today Solzhenitsyn's monumental *Gulag Archipelago* is scarcely read at all, except in a condensed version. Over the past decade, however, their pioneer work has been supported and elaborated on by serious studies compiled by survivors of the Soviet camps and by Russian, French, and German scholars. The most important of

these (and the basis for this essay) are: *The Gulag Handbook* by Jacques Rossi; *Sistema ispravitel'no-trudovyykh lagerey v SSSR. 1923-1960* (The System of Corrective Labor Camps in the USSR, 1923-1960), by a team of Russian researchers; Ralf Stettner's recent study of the Gulag under Stalin; former Gulag administrator D.S. Baldaev's *Gulag Zeichnungen* (Sketches from the Gulag); Avraham Shifrin's somewhat older *Guidebook to Prisons and Concentration Camps of the Soviet Union*; and the powerful *Black Book of Communism*, by Stéphane Courtois.¹

For whatever reason, American researchers have seemed content to relegate the "Gulag archipelago" to the dustbin of history. Pitifully for the reputation of the United States and Great Britain, all too many of their scholars, writers, artists, and politicians ignored, or even sought to justify, the Soviet camps when Communism ruled Russia. Their infrequent condemnation of the Soviet penal system was all too often on behalf of Communists who had fallen from favor. In 1944 Franklin Delano Roosevelt's vice president, Henry Wallace, visited one of the worst and most brutal of the Soviet penal camps, Magadan, lauding its sadistic commander, Ivan Nikishov, and describing Magadan as "idyllic."

Workings of the Gulag

Organizationally the Gulag was subordinated to the

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The effects of confinement at hard labor, with its poor diet, exposure to the elements, and abuse by guards, are clearly evident in this picture of Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn taken at a Gulag camp in 1946. He would spend seven more years in the camps, and three additional years of internal exile. Solzhenitsyn's later writings on the Gulag, including the fictional *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich* and *The First Circle* and the literary-historical *Gulag Archipelago*, helped him win the Nobel Prize in 1970 and four years later resulted in his expulsion from the Soviet Union. In 1994, after the collapse of the Communist regime, Solzhenitsyn returned to Russia.

secret police entity of the day (successively, Cheka, GPU, OGPU, NKVD, MVD, and KGB, from the last of which emanate many of the leaders of today's Russian Federation). The founder of the Soviet secret police, Feliks Dzerzhinsky, expressed the guiding principle of the Cheka in 1918: "We represent in ourselves organized terror — this must be said very clearly." All subsequent Soviet governments have rigorously observed that principle. In one consequence of that rigor, conditions in the camps of Communist Russia were typically far more brutal than those of the dreaded Siberian exile under the Tsars.

If France had one notorious penal colony — Devil's Island — the Soviet Union had hundreds. Of several thousand work camps of various types, more than five

hundred were officially ITL (for "ispravitel'no-trudovoy lager"), corrective labor camps and penal colonies. The first of these was established in 1917; eventually the ITL camps extended across the breadth of the USSR, from the severe arctic conditions of the far north to the scorched plains of Central Asia. Or, as Solzhenitsyn put it: "from the Cold Pole at Oy-Myakon to the copper mines of Dzhezkazgan."

Since the camp system was essential to the Soviet economy, the inmates were put to work in every aspect of hard labor — in railroad construction, road building, canal building, forestry, mining, agriculture, construction sites, etc., under conditions that were usually inhuman and unhealthy, and oftentimes deadly. Women, though housed in separate barracks, often shared the same work camps as the men — and worked side by side with them at the same labor. There were special camps for children, for mothers with babies, and other exceptional cases. Psychiatric wards (psikhobol'nitsy) "treated" other intractable "enemies of the people."

In 1943, with the "Great Patriotic War" raging, the Communists introduced an even severer category of labor camp, the "katorga" (hard labor camp), within the ITL system. Prisoners assigned to a katorga were assigned the hardest work and received the lowest rations and the least medical attention. (The word "katorga" stems from in Tsarist times, when hard labor, along with "ssylka," or Siberian exile, were standard, though much milder, punishments.)

As was the practice in the Soviet civilian sector in general, and long predating the German use of similar slogans in their concentration camps, the importance and joys of work were proclaimed and extolled by countless slogans posted in the camps: "Work is a matter of honor, fame, courage, and heroism"; "Shock work is the fastest way to freedom"; or, more ominously, "No work, no food."

The basic daily food ration (the "payka") ranged from 400 to 800 grams of bread, which accounted for more than half the prisoner's daily calories (1200-1300). This amount varied, depending on whether the prisoner was a shock worker or a Stakhanovite, an invalid, in isolation, etc. The most productive workers received a food bonus of fish, potatoes, porridge, or vegetables to supplement his bread. (Coincidentally, the American Morgenthau Plan for occupied Germany called for the allotment of about the same number of calories [1300] a day per German.) The UN World Health Organization sets the minimum requirements for heavy labor at from 3100-3900 calories per day.

The inmate population reflected a cross-section of the USSR: Christian and Muslim clergymen, “kulaks” (or independent farmers), political dissidents, common criminals, “economic criminals,” the remnants of the old elite, Communists who had fallen from favor, ethnic minorities, the homeless, “unpersons,” “hooligans,” and persons who had been, once too often, tardy at work.

Within the camps of the Gulag, inmate society came to be broken down into categories that depended on the prisoner’s particular crime. Most political prisoners or counterrevolutionaries were referred to as “58ers” for having violated Article 58 of the criminal code; common criminals were called “urki” or “blatnyaki”; less violent criminals accused of violating some aspect of the civil code were categorized as “bytoviki”; individuals accused of undermining Soviet economic laws were referred to as subversives or pests — “vrediteli” in Russian; trustees or “pridurki” in the camps, those most likely to survive their imprisonment, acted as camp service personnel. All inmates were referred to as “zeki,” the acronym for the Russian word for prisoner.

Reform, Soviet Style

Of all those who helped devise and perfect the slave labor system of the Gulag, special mention must be made of Naftaly Aronovich Frenkel. Frenkel, a Jew born in Turkey in 1883, had been a prosperous merchant there, but after the Bolshevik revolution he moved — as did an appreciable number of Jews — to the Soviet Union. Based in Odessa as an agent of the State Political Administration, Frenkel was responsible for the acquisition and confiscation of gold from the wealthier classes. The unscrupulous Frenkel was unable to resist this temptation, however, and in 1927 was arrested, on orders of the Moscow central office, for skimming off too much gold for himself. Convicted of economic crimes, he was sent to the Solovetsky Special Purpose Camp (or SLON, as it was designated by the Soviet bureaucracy), a bleak Arctic penal colony. Frenkel’s special talent for improving inmate work efficiency was quickly noticed by the camp officials there, and it was not long before he was ordered to explain his ideas and methods to Stalin personally. His main proposal was to link a prisoner’s food ration, especially hot food, to his production, essentially substituting hunger for the knout as the main work incentive. Frenkel had also observed that a prisoner’s most productive work is usually done in the first three months of his captivity, after which he or she was in so debilitated a state that the out-



Little known today, Naftali Frenkel, like Solzhenitsyn was a prisoner in a Soviet penal camp. While an inmate, however, the one-time Jewish timber magnate devised a system of labor exploitation that led to the deaths of millions of prisoners in Soviet penal camps, and earned him a life of ease as a high-ranking officer in the NKVD. Solzhenitsyn wrote of Frenkel in *The Gulag Archipelago: Two*: “I have the feeling that he really hated this country!”

put of the inmate population could be kept high only by removing (killing off) the exhausted prisoners and replacing them with fresh inmates. Another method of stimulating enthusiasm for work among prisoners — and at the same time culling the camp population by killing off the weak — was quite simple. When the prisoners were called out on a work detail, they fell into line. The last man in to line up would be shot as a laggard (“dokhodyaga”), one weakened enough to be useless for work. These policies would ensure a constant inflow of new prisoners, providing fresh labor while weeding out opposition to Stalin and his party.

So pleased was Stalin with Frenkel’s ideas on the efficient exploitation of inmate labor that he made him construction chief of the White Sea Canal project, and later of the BAM railroad project. In 1937 Stalin appointed Frenkel head of the newly founded Main Administration of Railroad Construction Camps (GULZhDS). In that capacity, Frenkel was called upon to provide railroad transport facilities to the Red Army in the 1939-40 “Winter War” against Finland, and for

the duration of Soviet participation in the Second World War. He was eventually awarded the Order of Lenin three times, named a Hero of Socialist Labor, and promoted to the rank of general in the NKVD.

The methods instituted by Frenkel in building the White Sea-Baltic Sea Canal became the standard operating procedures for most subsequent labor camps, including the BAM (Baltic-Amur Magistral) railroad project, the Dalstroy (Far East Construction), Vorkuta, Kolyma, Magadan, and countless other hell holes. Working on the BAM project after the war, the inmates noted that many of the rails were marked “made in Canada” — a reminder of the aid given by the Western powers to support the Soviet war effort.

Welcome Guests

The number of inmates varied over time. Thus, for example, there were roughly 300,000 prisoners in Soviet labor camps as early as 1932, a million in 1935, and two million by 1940. (President Roosevelt officially recognized the Soviet Union in 1933, extending the hand of friendship to its leader just as Stalin was starving and imprisoning millions of his subjects in Ukraine and Russia.) During the war, Stalin displayed his own brand of clemency by permitting some one million inmates to serve in various Red Army penal units. These were employed in clearing out minefields, not infrequently by walking through them at gunpoint, and in other hazardous tasks. Nevertheless, the population of the Soviet concentration camp system rose precipitously in 1945–46.

From 1939 on, the Gulag filled up with nationals from the USSR’s enemies: Finns, Poles, Germans, Italians, Romanians, and Japanese, many of whom were held for years after 1945. Although, technically, German prisoners of war were under the jurisdiction of GUPVI (Main Directorate for POW and Internee Affairs), they were nonetheless used no differently than other Gulag inmates. Indeed, in the first few years of the war the death rate for POWs exceeded that for non-POWs in the camps. Comparatively few German were taken alive before Stalingrad. Most were shot out of hand, many of them mutilated. Of the 95,000 German POWs captured at Stalingrad, only 5,000 survived to return home. Of the dead, some forty thousand did not survive the march from Stalingrad to the Beketovka camp, where 42,000 more perished of hunger and disease. Particularly murderous treatment was inflicted on SS POWs, many of whom, along with remnants of the Vlasov forces, were imprisoned and died on Wrangel

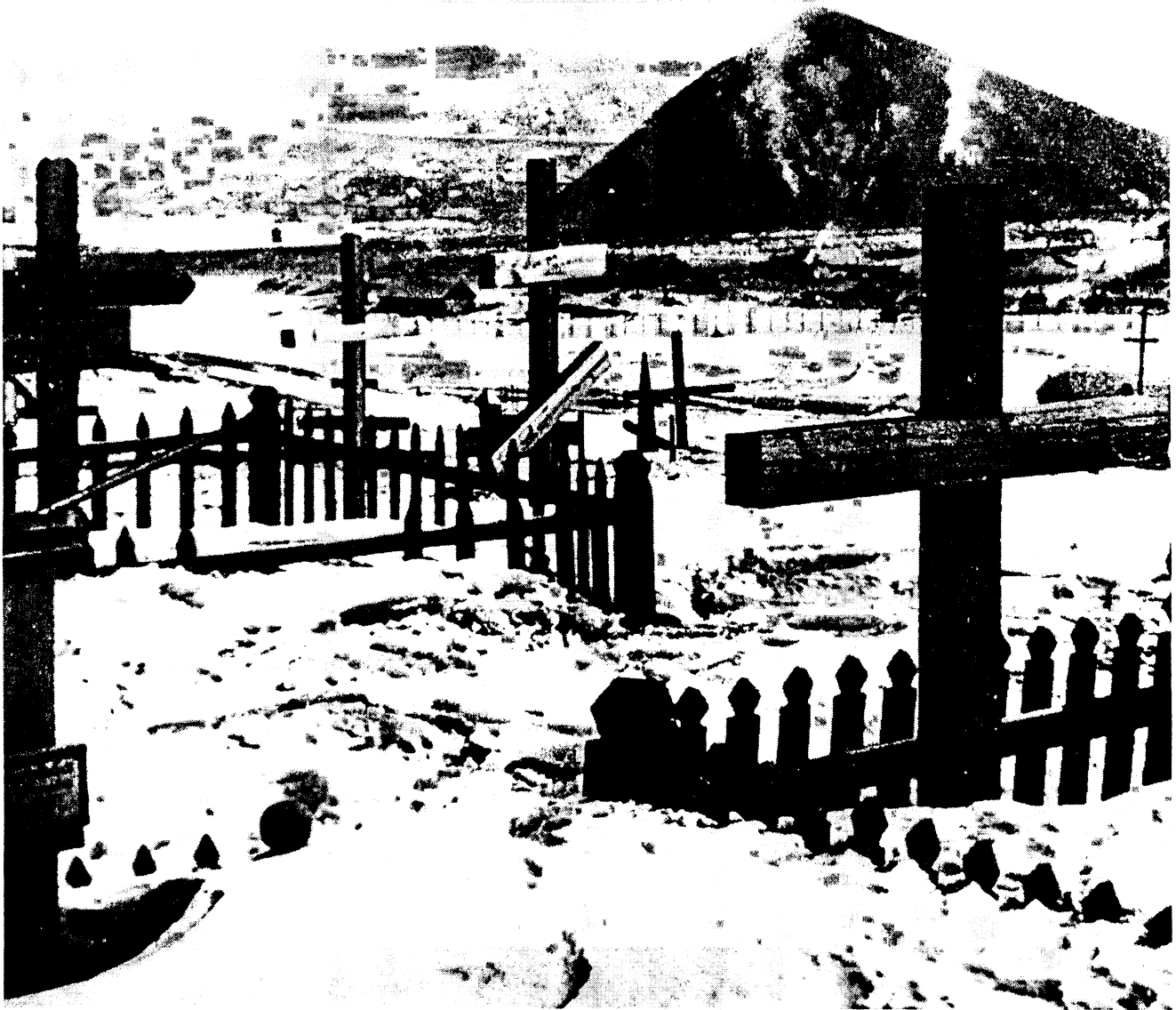
Island.

By the war’s end, the USSR held 3.4 million German soldiers prisoner. Under the provisions of the Yalta Agreement, the U.S. and U.K. had agreed to the use of German POWs in the Soviet Gulag as “reparations-in-kind.” Thus, rather than repatriate them to their homeland, Stalin began incorporating this captive human booty into the work camps in the summer of 1945. Recognizing that the German prisoners of war were productive workers, Stalin ordered that they be given food rations proportionate to their work. The ration included 600 grams of black bread every day, spaghetti, a little meat, sugar, vegetables, and rice. Officers got somewhat more, while, naturally, Axis “war criminals” got less. Nonetheless, between 1941 and 1952, almost a million German POWs died in the camps. The last of the surviving POWs (10,000 men) were released from the Soviet Union in 1955, after a decade of forced labor. Approximately 1.5 million German soldiers from the Second World War are still listed as missing in action. Of an additional 875,000 German civilians abducted and transported to the camps, almost half perished.

When the war ended in May 1945, British and U.S. civilian authorities ordered their military forces in Germany to deliver to the Communists great numbers of former residents of the USSR, including men who had taken up arms with the Germans against the Soviets, prisoners of war, forced and voluntary workers in the German wartime economy, and numerous persons who had left Russia and established different citizenship many years before. This “repatriation” of 4.2 million ethnic Russians and 1.6 million Russian POWs from defeated Germany was augmented, as noted above, by a great influx of German POWs and the arrival of large numbers of civilians abducted or deported from Germany and Eastern Europe. Tens of thousands of Lithuanians, Latvians, and Estonians were deported to Soviet camps, to be replaced in their homelands by Soviet settlers. While most repatriated ethnic Russian civilians, chiefly the women and children, were eventually reincorporated into Soviet life, the Russian POWs and the Vlasov men were put under the jurisdiction of SMERSH (Death to Spies), which sentenced about a third of a million to serve from ten to twenty years in the Gulag. In 1947, swollen by the dictates of Yalta and by Operation Keelhaul, the total number of Gulag prisoners hit its peak at about nine million.

After Stalin

After the war, the most wretched and hazardous



A cemetery at a coal mine in the Vorkuta complex of penal camps, 1956. The Latin crosses may mark the graves of some of the tens of thousands of Poles, many of them veterans of the underground Home Army, deported by the Soviets at the end of the Second World War. Some estimates put the mortality rate of the Poles in the Vorkuta mines at fifty percent.

work continued to be relegated to the inmates of the Gulag. Thus, under the direct supervision of secret police chief Lavrenty Beria, thousands of Gulag inmates were used to support the Soviet nuclear bomb project by mining uranium and preparing test facilities on Novaya Zemlya, Vaygach Island, Semipalatinsk, and dozens of other sites. Later, the Soviet navy employed Gulag prisoners to rid decommissioned nuclear-powered submarines of radioactivity.

In 1953, the year of Stalin's death, the Gulag held around 2.7 million prisoners. Over the next two years the number of inmates fell rapidly — which is not to say that the Gulag withered away under Stalin's successors.

Danchik Sergeyevich Baldaev, an MVD major who worked in the Gulag from 1951 until his retirement in 1981, has published a book of drawings depicting the travails and agonies of Russians and others declared "enemies of the people" in the post-Stalin Gulag.

Baldaev's book is arranged thematically, with sections on camp organization, tortures and cruelties, sex, food and housing, climatic conditions, common and political criminals, and so on. Despite his own past and the horrors of his topic, he succeeds in depicting the entire pathology of the Communist camps and their overlords in an almost clinical manner, starkly and without theatrics.

As Baldaev makes clear, while officially the KGB administered the operation of the camps, unofficially, inside the barracks, common criminals (murderers, rapists, and psychopaths of every variety) ruled, using and abusing the women and the weak. Calling themselves "vory v zakone" (literally, thieves within the law, the type of which is a ceremonially installed criminal leader who decides disputes and divides spoils), these thugs were Mafiosi of the lowest type.

Women in the Gulag were preyed upon from all quarters. During their transport to the camps they were often raped on the transport ships or in the railroad cars. Upon arrival at their destination they would be paraded naked in front of the camp officials, who would select those they fancied, promising easier work in exchange for sexual favors. These officials, according to Baldaev, preferred German, Latvian, and Estonian women, who most likely would never see home again, over native Russian women, who might. Women not selected by the camp officials became "prizes" for male (and sometimes lesbian) criminals. Besides the everyday tortures of starvation, work exhaustion, exposure to the cold of the far north, and physical abuse, the more intractable prisoners of either sex might be subjected to isolation, impalement, genital mutilation, or, more mercifully, a bullet in the back of the head.

Empire of Death

It is estimated that more than thirty million prisoners entered the Gulag during the half century in which it flourished. Not all of them perished, of course. Short termers, especially, might endure their five-year sentence and be released. In some cases, however, prisoners who had served their time in the Gulag were denied return to their homes, and forced to live out the remainder of their lives in towns near the camp. Robert Conquest, who of Western scholars has done the most to investigate and to reveal the crimes of the Soviet regime, estimates that one out of every three new inmates died during the first year of imprisonment. Only half made it through the third year. Conquest estimates that during the "Great Terror" of the late 1930s

alone, there were six million arrests, two million executions, and another two million deaths from other causes in the camps. It is Conquest's belief that, by the time of Stalin's death in 1953, about twelve million had perished in the Gulag. Certain investigators, such as the late Andrei Sakharov, have put the figure much higher, from 15 to 20 million. These apparent discrepancies result from honest historians studying crimes, committed in a closed society, of a magnitude never before seen, without reliable documentation.

A grotesque ritual evolved for the thorough disposal of the wasted bodies of inmates who had succumbed to hunger, exhaustion, exposure, and malnutrition. A wooden marker with the deceased inmate's identification number was affixed to his left leg, and gold teeth or fillings pried out. To ensure that the death was not feigned, the skull of the inmate was smashed with a hammer, or a metal spike driven into the chest. The near naked corpse would then be removed from the camp area and buried in an unmarked grave.

Voices against Oblivion

In recent years various German groups have, with the cooperation of the Russians, been establishing memorials for the German civilians and soldiers who died in the Soviet Union. Recently, a Russian Jew, Aleksandr Gutman, produced a documentary film in which he interviewed four German women from East Prussia who as young girls had been raped by Red Army troops, then transported soon after the war to a particularly hellish outpost of the Gulag, no. 517, near Petrozavodsk in Karelia. Of the 1,000 girls and women who were transported to that camp, 522 died within six months of their arrival. These women were among tens of thousands of German civilians, men and women, deported, with the acquiescence of the Western powers, to the Soviet Union as German "reparations-in-kind" for slave labor. One of the women interviewed by Gutman remarks: "While the diary of Anne Frank is known throughout the world, we carry our memories in our hearts." Recently, German philanthropists established a memorial cemetery for those women who perished in slave pen no. 517.²

After rejection by numerous film festivals due to its "controversial" nature, Gutman's *Journey Back to Youth* (Russian title: *Puteshestviye v yunost*) was finally accepted by the 34th International Film Festival in Houston, Texas, where it won the top prize — the Platinum Award — for 2001 (the film subsequently earned the U.S. International Film and Video Festival's Gold

Camera award). When Gutman attempted to show the documentary in New York City, however, it opened and closed to such taunts as: "He should be killed for making such a movie. Shame, a Jew describing the sufferings of Germans."

The Perversion of Memory

Today we Americans, from children to dotards, are bombarded with Holocaustiana, a saturation that borders on, and in some case results in, Holocaustomania. Yet rarely are we informed of the cruel purposes and the sadistic workings of the Soviet labor camps. More than half a century after the end of the Second World War, the U.S. Justice Department maintains a special branch — the Office of Special Investigations — exclusively dedicated to the investigation, prosecution, and deportation of former Axis soldiers and officials. Most of those who have been prosecuted served as low-ranking guards at wartime German camps. But no such American office has ever been created to hunt out the officials who headed and ran the Communists' camps. The most recent book on the Gulag, Smirnov's *System of Corrective Labor Camps*, lists more than five hundred camps with their administrative officers through the 1960s. More than a few may well be U.S. citizens today. If our leaders were suddenly to be fired with the same passion for pursuing Soviet persecutors that they have for tracking old Nazis and alleged terrorists, Smirnov's book might be the place to start.

While many of Germany's concentration camps have been preserved (some would say enshrined), and are evidently intended to be maintained in perpetuity as memorials to their former inmates and to the wickedness, not only of their jailers, but of the entire German people, the far more extensive Soviet Gulag camp system has in the past decade continued to disappear from the Russian landscape, and from collective memory.³

Recent attempts of former inmates of the Soviet labor camps to establish (at the very least) a museum of the Gulag have been frustrated by higher authorities. As Yuri Pivovarov, director of the Institute of Social Science Research at the Russian academy of Sciences, puts it: "People simple do not equate the ethical and moral horrors and shame of Nazism with those of Communism." Many who now object to the idea of a museum were formerly high-ranking Communist officials, who today steer Russia into the New World Order. Then, too, the Soviet Union was never conquered, and thus never subject to conquerors' demands.

Among the Forgotten

Not long ago the well-known British travel writer, Colin Thubron, trekked across Siberia. During his journey Thubron deliberately departed the usual itinerary to view the ruins of two notorious Gulag camps: Vorkuta and Kolyma.⁴ In his recent book *In Siberia*, Thubron describes them with a grim lyricism:

Kolyma was fed every year by sea with tens of thousands of prisoners, mostly innocent. Where they landed, they built a port, then the city of Magadan, then the road inland to the mines where they perished. People still call it the 'Road of Bones.' ... Kolyma itself was called 'the Planet,' detached from all reality beyond its own — death.

Of his visit to the dread Vorkuta, Thubron writes:

Then we reached the shell of Mine 17. Here, in 1943, was the first of Vorkuta's katorga death-camps. Within a year these compounds numbered thirteen out of Vorkuta's thirty: their purpose was to kill their inmates. Through winters in which the temperature plunged to -40 F, and the purga blizzards howled, the katorzhane lived in lightly boarded tents sprinkled with sawdust, on a floor of mossy permafrost. They worked twelve hours a day, without respite, hauling coal-trucks, and within three weeks they were broken. A rare survivor described them turned to robots, their grey-yellow faces rimmed with ice and bleeding cold tears. They ate in silence, standing packed together, seeing no one. Some work-brigades flailed themselves on in a bid for extra food, but the effort was too much, the extra too little. Within a year 28,000 of them were dead ... Then I came to a solitary brick building enclosing a range of cramped rooms. They were isolation cells. Solzhenitsyn wrote that after ten days' incarceration, during which a prisoner might be deprived even of clothing, his constitution was wrecked, and after fifteen he was dead.

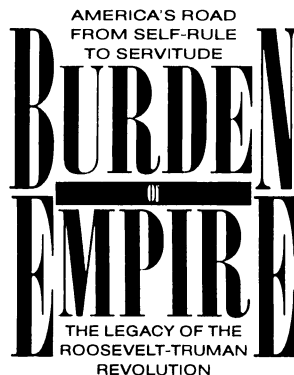
Departing Vorkuta, Thubron stumbled on a stone on which a message had been scratched. It read:

"I was exiled in 1949, and my father died here in 1942. Remember us."

Notes

1. Jacques Rossi, *The Gulag Handbook* (New York: Paragon House, 1989); M.B. Smirnov, et al., *Sistema ispravitel'no-trudovyykh lagerey v SSSR. 1923-1960* (Moscow: Zven'ya, 1998); Ralf Stettner, *Archipel Gulag: Stalins Zwangslager: Terrorinstrument und Wirtschaftsgigant* [*The Gulag Archipelago: Instrument of Terror and Economic Giant*] (Munich: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1996); Danchik Sergeyevich Baldaev, *Gulag Zeichnungen* (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1993); Avraham Shifrin, *The First Guidebook to Prisons and Concentration Camps of the Soviet Union* (New York: Bantam Books, 1982); and Stéphane Courtois, et al., *The Black Book of Communism: Crimes, Terror, Repression* (London: Harvard University Press, 1999).
2. Aleksandra Sviridova, in *V novom sverte* (In the New World), a Russian-language newspaper published in New York, May 18-24, 2001, pp. 14-15.
3. Only recently, however, Dr. Judith Pallot, a geography lecturer at Oxford University, reported that at least 120 "forest colonies" (forced labor camps) dating from the Stalin era are still being used to house tens of thousands, all of them common criminals as opposed to the mix of former years. The camps Dr. Pallot reports on are located in the Perm region of the Northern Urals. The average yearly temperature in that region is about minus 1° C (c. 30.8° F), although during the long winter from October to May it falls as low as minus 40° C (c. -40° F). As in Czarist times, many prisoners choose to remain as settlers in the vicinity of the camps when their sentences have ended. Michael McCarthy, "Thousands of Russian Prisoners Are Still Suffering in the Gulag Archipelago," in <http://www.independent.co.uk>.
4. Colin Thubron, *In Siberia* (New York: HarperCollins, 1999).

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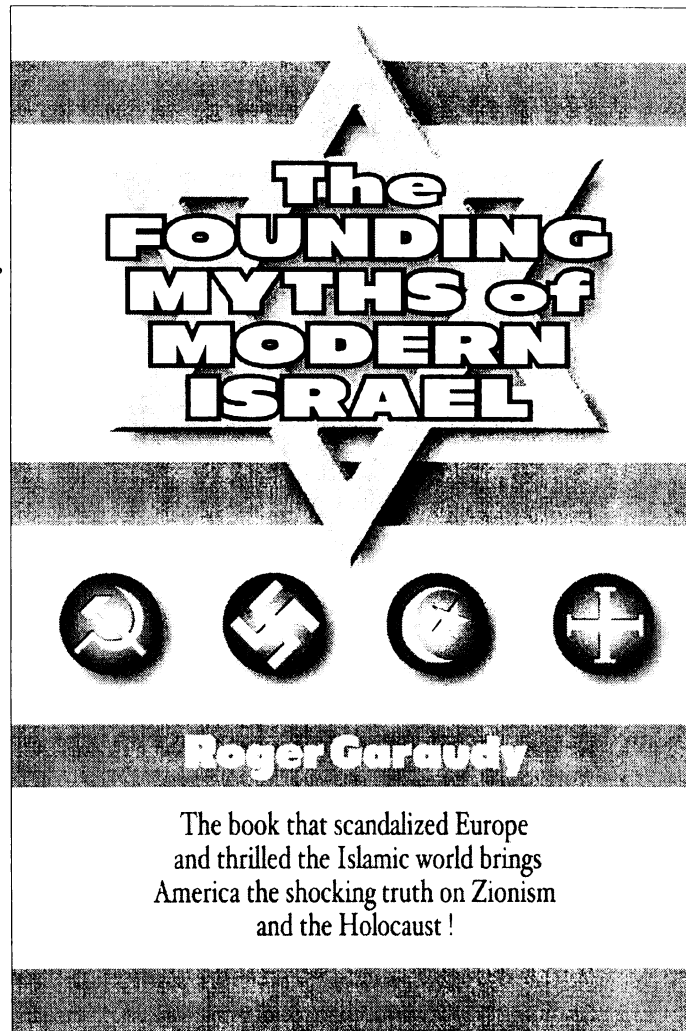
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For decades Roger Garaudy was prominent in the French Communist Party, making a name for himself as a Communist deputy in the French National Assembly, and as a leading Marxist intellectual and theoretician. Later he broke with Communism, eventually becoming a Muslim.

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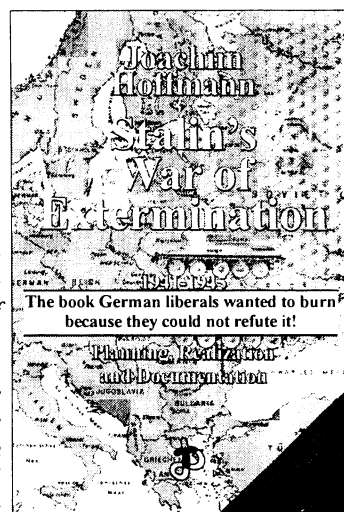
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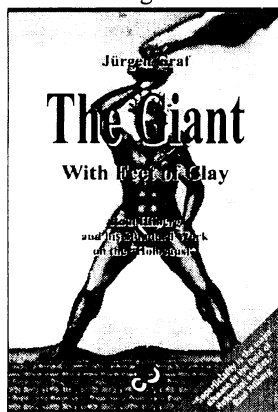
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A Holocaust Expert Moves from Moral Certainty toward Open Debate

The Case for Auschwitz: Evidence from the Irving Trial by Robert Jan van Pelt. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2002. Hardcover. Index, bibliography, illustrations.

REVIEWED BY SAMUEL CROWELL

When the British historian David Irving brought Deborah Lipstadt and Penguin Books to court for libel in early 2000, the defense submitted a number of expert opinions by historians in order to buttress the claim that Irving was a "Holocaust denier." Christopher Browning wrote a brief but professional report on the Reinhardt camps that, although arriving at conclusions revisionists would reject, avoided personal attacks on Irving. On the other hand, Robert Jan van Pelt, of the University of Canada at Waterloo, contributed a huge and diffuse opus concerning the Auschwitz concentration camp as an "extermination camp" with a highly personalized approach directed at Irving. The present book is a revised version of that text.

It must be admitted that in the revision Professor van Pelt's book has been much improved. Gone are the obscure philosophizing and the attacks on Irving. Gone too are the quotations from *Penguin Island* and *Alice in Wonderland* that gave us an Auschwitz embellished with whimsy. The report's most famous passages, concerning the "moral certainty" of its author's opinion, along with his assertion that the holes in the roof of the basement of Crematorium II had been filled in prior to being blown up, are now hard to find (though far easier to locate than the elusive holes themselves).

Nevertheless, whatever the changes in the successive drafts, it must be granted that this is an important book. First, because it represents the first serious

attempt to discuss the arguments of revisionists; second, because the treatment of the arguments, while incomplete, is thorough, civil, and touches upon the writings of a number of prominent researchers, including Faurisson, Butz, Stiglich, Rudolf, and this reviewer. (A significant omission is that of Carlo Mattogno, perhaps because Mattogno's authoritative analyses of crematories operation are not easily refuted.)

Because van Pelt indicates (p. 138) that he structured his original report as a response to my short monograph "The Gas Chamber of Sherlock Holmes" (published to date only on the Internet),¹ and because Van Pelt's structure is largely intact, I will frame my review of van Pelt's book in terms of issues of particular importance to my own research interests and writings, recognizing that other revisionist researchers will find their own points of departure.

From Baker Street to the Himmelstrasse

In early 1997 I sketched out a brief polemic that would be designed to argue on behalf of freedom of speech for Holocaust revisionists. Delayed by other research and writing throughout that year, "The Gas Chamber of Sherlock Holmes" was finally posted on the website of the Committee for the Open Debate on the Holocaust (CODOH) in December 1997. It was revised and slightly expanded a year later, pursuant to Bradley Smith's intention to mail several dozen copies to assorted historians and opinion makers in order to influence the debate then raging over censoring revisionists. Further revisions, in 2000, were made available to the French scholar Jean Plantin, who has published several chapters in French translation, but "Sherlock" remains very much a work in progress.

This background needs to be kept in mind. Notwithstanding van Pelt's opinion that my monograph "raised negationist discourse to a new level" (p. 140), it must be said at the outset that my purpose in writing it was not, in fact, to offer a comprehensive rebuttal of the mass gassing claim, but rather merely to provide a synoptic review of the problem.

The main purpose of "Sherlock" was to show that the revisionist interpretation on the subject of mass gassing was possible, and since possible, a particularly unworthy candidate for censorship. A concern for developing strategies for overcoming the taboo surrounding the Holocaust, as well as the existing censorship laws, has been the unspoken hallmark of all my

Samuel Crowell is the pseudonym of a graduate of the University of California (Berkeley). There he studied philosophy, foreign languages (including German, Polish, Russian, and Hungarian), and modern European history. Crowell continued his studies in history at Columbia University, and taught on the college level for six years.

revisionist writings.

Although "Sherlock" began as a brief polemic, I can understand that it might be seen as a more substantial piece. But while the work may be a fair survey of the gas chamber problem, it makes no claims to comprehensiveness and thus cannot be legitimately criticized on that account. Indeed, many features still indicate its primarily polemical and rhetorical origin. Its fanciful title was chosen to attract a British audience, at a time when censorship beckoned there. It was deliberately plotted to surprise the reader. And it was constructed to provide support to the two main revisionist conceptions that must be true if there were no homicidal gassings in the Second World War. First, that the manifold testimonies can be shown to be interconnected and to go back to rumors and propaganda; second, that the documentary evidence that appears to discuss mass gassings is in fact about other things.

Hence, the two main parts of van Pelt's book depend on the issues of testimony and material evidence, and I will discuss each of these in turn.

Testimonies

The Holocaust gassing claim is unusual in that it is comprised of much testimonial evidence, and a rather small sheaf of documentary evidence that is suggestive but never explicit. That is the core of the historiographical problem of the gas chambers, as Faurisson recognized long ago.

The basic rule in evaluating testimony, and indeed any historical evidence, is that it be as near as possible to the events described; it becomes distinctly less valuable the farther from the event. There are two main reasons for this: first, because there is a natural tendency to embroider and embellish memory, and, second, the possibility of cross-pollination from other accounts increases with the passage of time.

Therefore, the first thing to be done in order to examine eyewitness claims concerning mass gassings is to arrange them chronologically. The next step requires the identification of elements in the claims that might constitute evidence of such cross-pollination. I identified several of these elements, of which the shower-gas-burning sequence was the most pervasive.

The shower-gas-burning sequence is the core of the narrative: if it can be shown by other means (e.g., documents or forensics) to reflect reality, then the revisionists are wrong, and the point must be conceded. But if the claim does not reflect reality, the story must have

taken shape somehow. The question is then: where and by what means? Two possible sources occurred to me at first: a widespread anxiety about disinfection procedures, which involved simultaneous fumigation (or gassing) of possessions, and showers for their owners; and similar fears in the 1930s over the possibility of gas warfare against civilians. What I had not anticipated was my discovery that the roots of both sources for the shower-gas-burning narrative could be traced back to the beginning of the twentieth century, if not earlier. It should be added that my approach differs from that of most revisionists, for I view the evolution of, and belief in, the gassing claims as more the spontaneous result of cultural and psychological forces (such as those which generate urban legends in our own time) rather than as a consequence of deliberate falsehood.

Even if a general anxiety about poison gas and specific anxieties over what fumigation and communal showering might entail, joined to a horror of cremation, was found to have given rise to the gas chamber stories, however, that in itself would not suffice to solve the problem of how the gassing stories were disseminated. There were undoubtedly many rumors about gassings in Europe during the Second World War, but what I needed was evidence that was both specific and contemporary. This line of inquiry led me to several clues suggesting that mass gassing stories were widely reported and discussed throughout the war. Even as the Irving trial was being fought, Eric A. Johnson published a book called *Nazi Terror*, which revealed that the author had successfully located the long lost BBC broadcast transcripts from the war years. These, along with other contemporary evidence, proved conclusively that radio broadcasts concerning gassings were beamed back to Germany, Poland, and other parts of occupied Europe, beginning in summer 1942 and continuing through the war, and that rumors of gassings in general had been rife from the fall of 1940.

In researching these ideas I was generally following by my own route a path that had been blazed by Butz, Faurisson, and Berg years ago. I had no preconceived theory of delusion, nor did I take the Princeton psychologist Elaine Showalter as my inspiration, as van Pelt claims. On the contrary, I sought out Showalter's work near the end of my research, because I was looking for contemporary discussion of hysterical symptoms that would bolster my theory.

Such attributions of influence do not refute the basic idea: the priority of propaganda and rumor to any non-

anonymous account of mass gassing simply means that we cannot exclude the possibility that all subsequent eyewitnesses are simply repeating the omnipresent rumor.

Naturally, this premise could be misleading. It may be that the eyewitnesses are entirely truthful, and that the disseminated propaganda and rumor reflected that truth. In that case, however, one would first have to prove the veracity of the gassing claims by other means in order to show that the rumors and propaganda did not cause the later accounts. Second, it would have to be explained how the gassing program was carried out, as claimed, with stealth and cunning under the full glare of Allied publicity. In short, I concluded that the priority of rumor and propaganda, while not disproving the mass gassing claim, justifies revisionist skepticism.

As this is my basic argument for evaluating testimony, van Pelt attempts to work around it. In his expert report for the Irving trial, he claimed that I had failed to show any evidence of media influence, specifically, of radio broadcasts. In fact, "Sherlock" referenced several, and in the three years since van Pelt wrote his original report more have come to light, including Johnson's discovery of the BBC transcripts, and several references to gassing reports as heard by the German Jew Viktor Klemperer and recorded in his recently published wartime diary. Together these are enough to torpedo van Pelt's argument.

Thus, van Pelt's case falls back on two other arguments. One, which appeared in the original report, is van Pelt's assertion that the Allies had no need to engage in propaganda because there was a willingness to fight, a "resolve" that had not been present in the First World War (p. 134). This argument assumes that lying about one's enemy is directly correlative to the extent to which popular support is lacking for war. That contention strikes us as at once far too wide-reaching — it is the kind of argument that would require a separate study to successfully argue — and furthermore, it seems to stand the relationship of the two wars on its head. If anything, the First World War was fought with greater gusto and idealism by all combatants than the Second, which began without the enthusiasm of 1914, and for the most part was waged with little more than dogged resignation on all sides.

Van Pelt's second argument on the testimony involves the claim, repeated whenever a new witness statement is introduced, that it "independently confirms" the content of someone else's testimony. But no

evidence is advanced for the independence of these testimonies, only the assertion.

Furthermore, the thesis of independent confirmation would require that the Nazis' former prisoners, and the German POWs who testified in wartime trials staged by the Soviets, were not only oblivious to the news, broadcasts, and rumors circulating around them during the war, but even after the war, when such claims were universally trumpeted as evidence of the depravity of the Nazi regime. In addition, this thesis would require that the postwar interrogators and judges were similarly oblivious to these reports, and had absolutely no expectations of gas chamber testimony in the course of their questionings.

Next we must turn to the substance of the testimonies that van Pelt considers most accurate. In general, van Pelt's approach is to leave out the elements that tend to rebut a witness, or to explain such elements away. For example, when discussing the testimony of Ada Bimko, van Pelt's explanation of her notorious assertion that the poison gas at Auschwitz came in big round tanks is that Bimko misunderstood what she was shown (p. 234).² Similarly, in treating the diary entries of Dr. Kremer, and after discussing Faurisson's deconstruction of these texts,³ van Pelt makes the surprising assertion that if Dr. Kremer were alive today, he would contradict Faurisson's reading (p. 290).

Even if one grants that van Pelt's explanations are possible, it should be clear that he is allowing a high degree of interpretative intervention into these texts. Therefore, he cannot legitimately claim that less invasive alternative explanations are not possible.

Of course revisionism's opponents are quick to complain about revisionist techniques of text criticism. Sometimes these critics have a point: just because a witness makes unlikely claims elsewhere, or even appears to deliberately lie, does not by itself mean that the witness is necessarily making things up about homicidal gassings. On the other hand, if a witness, speaking of matters other than gassing, is shown to have said untrue things, then questions regarding the reasons, and the motives, for such false statements clearly are in order. In such cases, one must conclude that the testimony may be doubted, including the claims of homicidal gassing.

No one can read the testimonies without concluding that something terrible was going on in these camps. To be frank, some of the testimonies van Pelt cites seem more probable than others, for example, the

statements attributed to Kurt Aumeier, and the brief comments of Josef Klehr and Hans Münch in recent decades. Nonetheless, the revisionist position that testimony may be doubted, not only because of the social and judicial pressures surrounding such testimony, but also because the gassing claims themselves originated in an atmosphere of anonymous rumor which makes all testimony potentially derivative, is irrefutable.

Documents

Of course, the eyewitness testimonies only have value if they can be correlated with the material and documentary reality of the camp. Here the revisionists have made important contributions in the past twenty-five years or so, based largely on the on-site investigations of Faurisson, which in turn have led to the forensic studies of Leuchter, Rudolf, Mattozzo, and many others. The importance of the revisionist work is that the testimonies can now be evaluated in terms of the limits of the actual physical layout of the camps, and assessed in the knowledge of the scientific limits of Zyklon B usage and crematory operation. Hence, eyewitness testimonies that claim that the downstairs gas chambers were accessible to gigantic dump trucks, or describe clouds of blue or yellow poison gas, or maintain that a crematory undressing room was the length of two football fields, can all be safely set aside as being based on hearsay, or imagination, but not on reality.

The other aspect of the material approach concerns the documentary record of the camp, as it pertains to the operation of the crematories as "factories of death." Here van Pelt relies largely on his by now well-known analyses of a few key documents. Thus he claims that the much discussed "Vergasungskeller" ("gassing cellar") note was actually written by the building supervisor, Kirschneck, for signing by Auschwitz construction chief Bischoff, but that Bischoff noticed that Kirschneck had used a forbidden word ("Vergasungskeller," the interpretation of which remains contested) and therefore underlined it and sent the note back to its author, writing Kirschneck's name on it. Or he argues that the word "Sonderbehandlung" (special treatment), which occurs in a document concerning electrical consumption, must have had something to do with ventilating the gas chambers after a gassing, because "Sonderbehandlung" always means killing.

At this point I found myself becoming dissatisfied with Professor van Pelt's treatment, so superficial did his interpretations seem. I was able to discover several

Auschwitz documents with Kirschneck's name scrawled on the top, which I reproduced in a monograph published shortly after the Irving trial.⁴ By van Pelt's logic, this must mean that Kirschneck was continually being upbraided by his superiors, although of course the more likely explanation was that Kirschneck's name was simply written on his copies. As for the "simultaneous cremation and special treatment" in the electrician's memo, I can only repeat my argument that the alleged twenty minute ventilation time of the gas chamber would be meaningless within the time frame of a mass burning that would have taken at least two days, at a time when the crematory was still unequipped with a ventilation system.

Bomb Shelters

My dissatisfaction turned to disappointment on encountering van Pelt's thoroughly revised discussion of bomb shelters. During the past five years I have written three long monographs on this topic in order to advance the idea that German civil defense measures, including gas-tight doors with peepholes, are sufficient explanation for at least some of these fixtures, found at Auschwitz and other concentration camps, that are alleged to have been used for murder by gassing.

While it may surprise Professor van Pelt, the issue of bomb shelters had no place in the original scheme of "Sherlock." Rather, my bomb shelter articles were written separately, for a very specific purpose, namely, to force the establishment to credit a revisionist contribution to Holocaust historiography. Thus, even here, I was making a case against censorship: for, if the establishment was forced to concede the point, then the drive for censorship would be defeated, as the interdependence of the two positions would have been demonstrated. I was so rash as to expect in 1997 that the establishment, as well as other revisionists, would concede that the gas-tight doors with peepholes found at Auschwitz were bomb shelter doors by design and construction, regardless of whether they had been used for other purposes, say, disinfection chambers or homicidal gas chambers. That would have suited me, and the discussion could have continued from there. Yet there has been no concession. One might propose a number of reasons why the Holocaust establishment fails to concede the point, but in any case its obtuse refusal to face reality only underlines the extent to which the traditional story rests on rigid patterns of thinking that are serious need of the fillip revisionism provides.

Van Pelt's approach to the issue of bomb shelters is to be narrow and literalistic. Thus, Van Pelt argues, that because the first document concerning the construction at Auschwitz of dedicated bomb shelters comes only from November 1943, there could not have been any provision for civil defense, including gas-tight fixtures, before then. In the same way, van Pelt follows my revisionist critics in arguing that evidence for bomb shelters in 1944 is completely irrelevant, because the crematoriums had been constructed and fitted out with gas-tight materials a year earlier.

These lines of argument strike me as unnaturally narrow in scope. In the first place, van Pelt ignores the sizable amount of evidence that indicates an awareness and intention to implement civil air defense in existing buildings at Auschwitz, and points further east, in occupied Poland, beginning in the summer of 1942. It is true that we have no single document proving that the gas-tight doors from the spring of 1943 were put in place to fulfill civil defense requirements. But we don't have any documents indicating that these doors were put in place to gas people, or the objects that were unquestionably fumigated in the camps, either.

By ignoring the later documentation, van Pelt is able to ignore the fact that the gas-tight doors described from March 1944 are indistinguishable from the doors installed at the crematoriums the previous spring. Furthermore, he is oblivious to a contradiction implicit in his scenario: for he claims that doors of the same model, designed for the anti-fragmentation trenches for the guards, the workers, and even the prisoners, are supposed to have been used for homicidal purposes not only simultaneously, but at the time when the flood-tide of Auschwitz gas exterminations was supposed to have taken place, as according to the standard narrative half a million people were gassed in the second half of 1944.

Van Pelt commits another blunder by ignoring the 1944 documentation on gas-tight bomb shelters, which shows that the crematorium in the base camp, during its air raid shelter conversion, was to be equipped with gas-tight shutters, 60 cm x 80 cm. The design of these shutters is identical to that of the wooden shutters found there by Pressac some years ago, which he has claimed for Crematoriums IV and V. Pressac gave the measurements of their doors alone as 43 cm x 52 cm, corresponding to the specifications for the air raid shelter shutters, arguing that the original openings on the drawings were enlarged. Van Pelt, however, who

describes handling the shutters, nevertheless persists in claiming that the shutters are 30 cm x 40 cm, that is, half the size they appear to be, and in flat contradiction to Pressac. He also omits the fact that according to the relevant work order they were made of sheet metal, rather than wood. I must confess my perplexity here.

Convergent Remains

The balance of van Pelt's book turns on other types of evidence at his disposal, evidence that he claims converges on a gassing interpretation, and cannot be explained otherwise. These include a discussion of cyanide traces which the resulting discussions between Rudolf and Richard Green (a Ph.D. chemist working for the U.S. chemical weapons program) has rendered moot, as cyanide was widely used at the camp for non-homicidal purposes.

Van Pelt devotes much consideration to the "insertion devices" whereby the poison gas would have been introduced into the gas chambers.⁵ Yet these devices, the existence of which is supported solely by postwar depositions, are nowhere to be found. In the same way, there is no trace of these objects either in the work orders or in any of the architectural drawings, except via a contentious reading of a single inventory. Because these are the sole elements that would unambiguously point to the homicidal use of the basements of crematoria II and III, the absence of this evidence is quite important, despite van Pelt's attempt to compensate by providing numerous drawings of what the things must have looked like. Nor, in promoting the existence of these complicated wire mesh contraptions for two of the crematoriums, does van Pelt ever explain why there is no indication of there ever having been such devices in the two above-ground crematoriums, which, according to van Pelt, were purpose-built for killing.

The obverse of the claim for the wire-mesh insertion devices is, of course, the traces of the holes in the roof of the basement in which van Pelt maintains a half million people were murdered. It was on this point that Irving famously challenged van Pelt in court. To this charge, van Pelt describes first the advice Sir Martin Gilbert gave him over tea: to change the subject (p. 465), and second a report of recent date, as yet unpublished, that claims to have found three of the four holes. While van Pelt seems convinced a priori of the existence of the holes, his gestures on this topic, for whatever reason, come across as diffident and rather less than authoritative.

Toward a Respectful Dialogue

Professor van Pelt wrote this book as a historian, but when he testified at the Irving trial, he spoke not merely as a historian but as a man, a Dutch Jew who lost several family members to Nazi persecution, and for whom testifying was a way to bear witness to their memory. The anguish of van Pelt and the other members of the defense team also comes through from time to time in the pages of this book, as though revisionist criticism of the standard interpretation of what occurred at Auschwitz negates the cruelty and injustice of what the Jewish people experienced there. This attitude should be respected by revisionists, because it is a very important part of how Jews regard the Nazi persecution, and I believe that a rapprochement between traditional and revisionist interpretations cannot succeed otherwise.

Regardless of its defects, van Pelt's book is deserving of praise, even though it reaches conclusions that almost all revisionists will reject. This is due not only to his willingness to avoid offensive nomenclature (thus, "negationist" in place of "denier") and *ad hominem* arguments, but also to his readiness to look again at the evidence and debate the issues with revisionists point by point. To be sure, there are many points where, as indicated, van Pelt stopped short: he could have gone much farther with the evidence available. But the truth will not come all at once, especially concerning events, whatever the facts and whatever the dimensions, which are still a source of incalculable grief in the Jewish community.

With that in mind, I can accept criticism for my temerity in recent times in advocating the revisionist position. My efforts would not have been necessary had there not been a foolish effort to suppress, by blacklisting, prison terms, and harassment, those who dared to offer an alternative version of Nazi history.

It is to be hoped that van Pelt's book will give rise to much comment, and that his various interpretations will be subjected to a variety of critical responses by revisionists. If these commentaries, in turn, are couched in an objective and collegial spirit, as van Pelt's book generally is, then we might anticipate further development in Professor van Pelt's thinking and writing as time goes on. In that case, at least, my own purpose, so long frustrated, will have been achieved: for nothing serves as a greater bulwark to censorship than respectful dialogue.

Notes

1. "The Gas Chamber of Sherlock Holmes" has been posted to the website of Bradley Smith's Committee for Open Debate of the Holocaust and may be read at www.codoh.com/incon/inconshr123.html
2. For a dissection of the perjured testimony of Ada Bimko, who later served, under the name of Hadassah Rosen-saft, on the committee that supervised the creation of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, see Carlo Mat-togno's article "Two False Testimonies from Auschwitz" in JHR 10, no. 1 (Spring 1990).
3. See Faurisson's "Confessions of SS Men Who Were at Auschwitz," in JHR 2, no. 2 (Summer 1981).
4. This study, "Bomb Shelters in Birkenau," may be con-sulted at www.codoh.com/incon/inconbsinbirk.html My "Wartime Germany's Anti-Gas Air Raid Shelters: A Refutation of Pressac's 'Criminal Traces,'" a shorter arti-cle touching on many of the same issues, appeared in JHR 18, no. 4 (July-August 1999).
5. See Brian Renk's careful study of Van Pelt's Irving trial testimony on these, "Convergence or Divergence? Recent Evidence for Zyklon Induction Holes at Birkenau Crematory II," in JHR 20, nos. 5/6 (September-December 2001).

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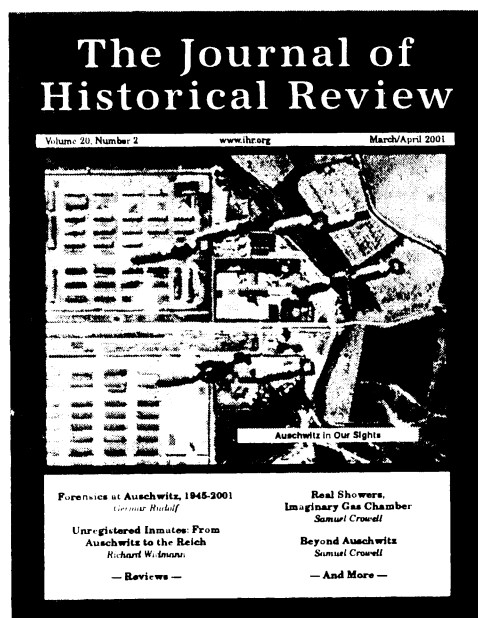
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The 'Confessions' of Kurt Gerstein

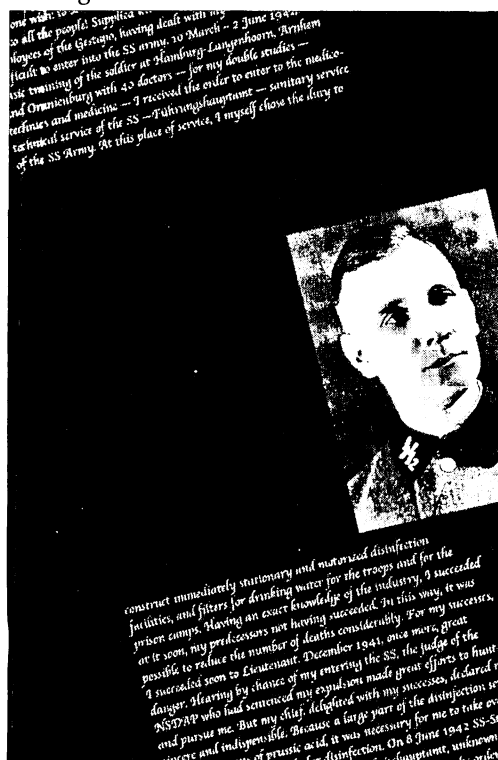
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Henri Roques



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More Letters

I recently received the second volume of David Irving's Churchill series, which looks magnificent. I now have to find the time to do justice to it.

Also, on the latest *Journal*, unless it's my imagination, the space made available for readers' letters seems to have been reduced significantly. If so, my input would be to see it restored to carrying the number of letters it used to. The mix of views and reactions was always interesting to read.

Jim Hogan
[by email]

Those Furtive Holes

Thanks for the latest *Journal* (20, nos. 5/6 [September-December, 2001]), which I read enthusiastically from cover to cover. I agree that the article by Brian Renk ("Convergence or Divergence?: On Recent Evidence for Zyklon Induction Holes at Auschwitz-Birkenau Crematory II") covers a most important "seemingly insignificant" issue. Please allow me to make one or two remarks on this very well-researched and -written piece.

Renk gives a good definition of "convergence of evidence" on p. 34: "a process of evaluation by which independent strands of evidence ... are said to indicate a common conclusion ...," and he shows how some researchers, in particular Robert Jan van Pelt, have distorted the evidence: van Pelt tries to make the openings smaller than what was stated by his favorite witnesses, Henryk Tauber and Michal Kula. The author also gives much weight to the divergence in interpretation of the evidence for the "openings" (which of course is another thing altogether from "convergence of evidence"). Nevertheless, the descriptions of the wire mesh devices given by Tauber and Kula are

pretty much in agreement and so would seem to constitute "convergence of evidence," especially if they were independent.

Russ Granata has placed Carlo Mattogno's article on the "holes" in its English version, "No Holes, No Gas Chamber(s): An Historical-Technical Study of the Holes for Introducing Zyklon B in the Roof of Leichenkeller 1 of Krema II at Birkenau," on his website (www.russgranata.com/noholes.html). Mattogno shows convincingly that not only are the claims of Kula and Tauber spurious but that fraud was most likely committed by the examining magistrate, Jan Sehn, on March 15, 1947, at the trial of Höss in Poland. I found John Ball's interpretation of the marks seen on the roofs of the Leichenkeller in the aerial photographs as possible CIA "forgeries" very unconvincing (why do this rather than show dots of "people" lined up for the "gas chambers"?). Mattogno expounds on Kenneth R. Wilson's suggestion of "discolorations": darker bitumen under the thin layer of cement shows through when the latter begins to disintegrate. Much more plausible!

There is a fair amount of overlap with Renk's article, but I think that Mattogno's, with its thorough use of sources (in particular from the *Zentralbauleitung*) is the more incisive, and it would be good to see it — perhaps after some editing — in the JHR. (For example, some details could go into the footnotes for easier reading.)

All the other articles in the *Journal* were interesting too, especially Mark Weber's on Wilhelm Höttl and the reviews. I can understand the disappointment over R. B. Stinnett's study, yet it would be most interesting to know just how much of the Japanese code the U.S. was reading on the eve of the Pearl Harbor attack. Daniel Michael's reviews of the latest

books on Barbarossa give the impression that discussion on who preempted whom in this war may enter the mainstream before Holocaust revisionism does.

Costas Zaverdinos
Pietermaritzburg, South Africa

Technical Arguments

I enjoyed reading the copy of the *Journal* you sent me (20, nos. 5/6 [September-December, 2001]). Keep up the good work, especially with somewhat technical articles such as Brian Renk's. The technical arguments are the key to unraveling the hoax — and must never be sold short.

In the advertisement for Germar Rudolf's *Dissecting the Holocaust* on the inside back cover of that issue, the title of my chapter is incorrectly given as identical to the title of my 1984 essay, which appeared in JHR 5, no. 5 (Winter 1984-5). The correct chapter title is "The Diesel Gas Chambers: Ideal for Torture, Absurd for Murder." This chapter is quite different from my earlier essay, and I want people to recognize that, and to read it.

Friedrich P. Berg
Scottsdale, AZ

Revising Revisionism's Reviser

I was quite astonished to read "New Light on Dr. Miklos Nyiszli and His Auschwitz Book" (JHR 20, no. 1 [January-February 2001]) by Charles Provan, whom you describe as a "revisionist who believes in the gas chambers," or as he describes himself "a believer in the revisionist method." The work was so ridiculous as to be unworthy to be published in your journal, unless it was there to prove how pitiful even moderate exterminationists have become.

Provan clearly sets out to prove that Nyiszli has been misrepresented,

even though he suggests that he already knows the book is bogus by stating: "I was proceeding under the hypothesis that Nyiszli's book had in fact been written by someone else."

After exhaustive research Provan came to the same conclusion that revisionists had before him: the book was rubbish. Thereafter, however, he completely ignored the revisionist method to which he ascribes, and gives us the gem of wisdom that the book was not a nonsensical extravagance at all but an "historical novel." An oxymoron if ever there was one! Instead of simply admitting that revisionists were quite correct all along, he seems suddenly to feel that he has strayed from friendly territory and come too close to the revisionist camp. He almost appears to feel sorry for his exterminationist friends, and to be making an effort to soften the blow.

Revisionists have a deserved reputation for calling a spade a spade and not suddenly changing direction when research seems ready to deliver an unwanted result. I understand that Mr. Provan deserves credit for debating the undebatable, but for my money you seem so grateful for his willingness to debate that you forgive him far too much.

*Paul Jones
[by email]*

Revisionist Pied-Noir

Dr. Faurisson's mention of Germany in the Hitler years was most interesting ("An Imaginary Holocaust May Lead to a Real Holocaust," JHR 20, no. 1 [January-February 2001]). Perhaps one day it will be possible to discuss objectively what Hitler and the National Socialist regime accomplished, in six short years, on the social front.

As a pied-noir (a European from Algeria) born in 1943, I grew up in isolation from the anti-Nazi frenzy that exists in Europe to this day. From

1955 to 1962 we were also occupied with a guerrilla war against the Arab terrorists of the FLN [National Liberation Front (of Algeria) — Ed.], who had the total support of the UN and the U.S.A., so we had other concerns than living in the past.

If your readers would like to know what happened to us and to the Arabs faithful to France, they can learn by visiting the website: www.algerie-francaise.org. I have translated several pertinent documents which may be read at the site's English-language page. The website also displays photographs of the atrocities; the worst pictures will never be published.

Forty years later, we who had to leave Algeria must still endure the insults of the left, the FLN, and their fellow travelers. What brings us hope is that more and more of the generation that was born in France after 1962 or were babies at that time is interested in learning more about what we had to suffer, not only from the terrorists of the FLN but also from the secret service and police of De Gaulle's French government. This is an area of history that also needs revising before my generation dies off and there is nobody left to tell of our losses, human and material.

I have been a revisionist since 1961, when I began to read interviews of Paul Rassinier in the weekly, *Rivarol*. I already knew a lot, thanks to my father's friends, and I haven't ceased to learn.

We are grateful for the IHR and the *Journal*, since it is becoming harder and harder in France to write anything objective on the history of the Second World War. Best of luck to all of you.

*Alexander Siaus
Australia*

[The displacement from Algeria of its European colonists, many of whose families had been there for generations, and the terrible ven-

geance exacted on numerous Arabs loyal to France is one of the many tragedies of the twentieth century, and De Gaulle's policy of outwardly reassuring the pied-noirs while working surreptitiously to abandon French rule in Algeria was certainly duplicitous. It should be said, however, that Algeria's Arabs and Berbers suffered, too, and there are notable revisionists who have favored and supported Algerian self-determination, whatever the shortcomings of the FLN. What makes the situation tragic, as with so many national liberations (or rebirths) that have been intertwined with terrorist tactics, draconian reprisals, and wholesale uprootings of long-settled peoples, is that there is usually some justice on each side, and on each it is very often the innocent who have paid the biggest price. Those who would diabolize the pied-noirs of French Algeria, as has long been the custom among certain jackals of the French left, would do well to recall that. — Editor]

Likes Our Looks

The latest issue of the JHR came yesterday. I like the new typefaces, and the overall appearance is much improved. I read Mark Weber's article on [Wilhelm] Höttil with great interest and appreciate the background info on this unreliable witness. He was as bad as Tauber and Kula and Olère et al.! Again, your article shows that Butz was amazingly way out front in 1976.

*Robert Countess
[by email]*

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

"Harry Elmer Barnes is that rare phenomenon, a learned crusader. He is passionately interested in the application of scientific knowledge to the task of creating the good society. He is profoundly convinced that history, rightly understood, throws much needed light on the causes of the plight in which we find ourselves at the present moment; convinced, therefore, that historians, if they would fully emancipate themselves from antiquarianism and bring their knowledge to bear on present social problems, could contribute much more than they do to the solution of those problems."

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writing in the *American Historical Review*

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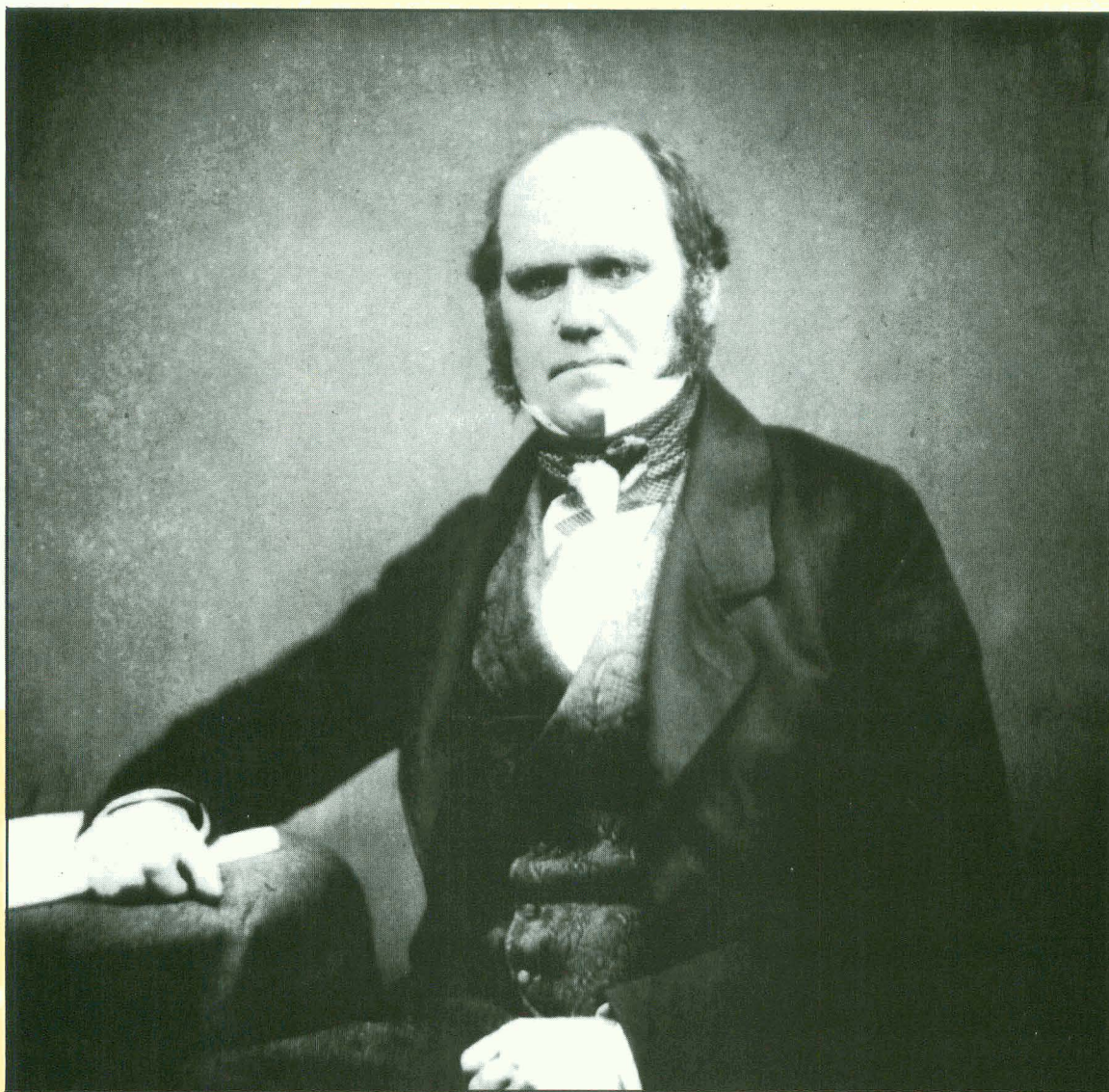
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**Subversion of Science: How
Psychology Lost Darwin**
Gladyde Whitney

My Revisionist Method
Robert Faurisson

Le Pen's 'Detail' Remark

**'Reexamining Assumptions': An
Interview with Tom Sunic**

The United States and Israel
Joseph Sobran

— And More —

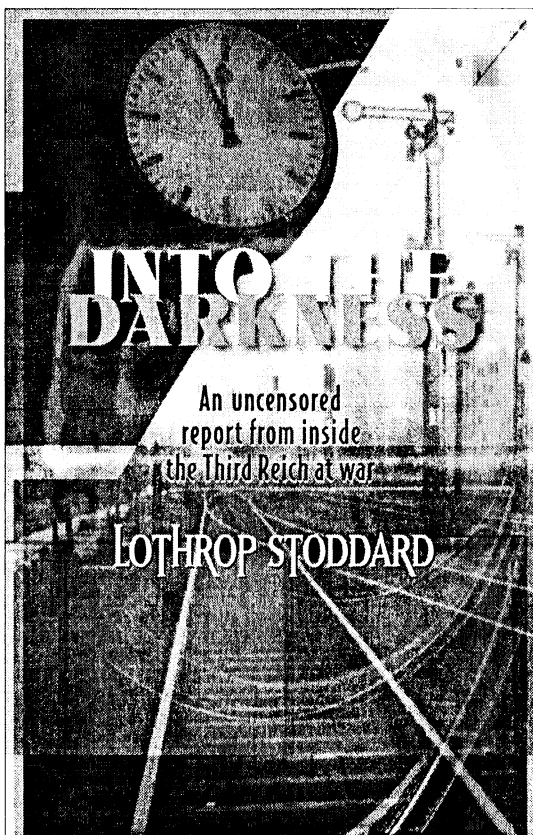
FIRST SUPPRESSED, THEN FORGOTTEN FOR SIXTY YEARS

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: Charles Darwin in 1854, age 45.

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Le Pen's Notorious 'Detail' Remark about World War II

Jean-Marie Le Pen, leader of France's National Front party stunned the world on April 21, 2002, when he came in second in the French presidential race, to challenge the incumbent Jacques Chirac. In the May 5 run-off election, Le Pen garnered 18 percent of the vote.

Press coverage of the veteran nationalist political figure has been more than unfriendly; he has been maligned with outright falsehood. It is widely claimed, for example, that he dismissed "the Holocaust" as a "detail" of history. The *Los Angeles Times*, Jan. 25, 1999, told readers that Le Pen "once dismissed the organized killing of six million Jews by Nazi Germany as a simple 'detail' of World War II." A widely published Associated Press report of April 21, 2002, informed readers that Le Pen "is notorious for describing the Holocaust as 'a detail' of history." Even the reputable BBC "World Service" has echoed this claim.

What are the facts?

On two or three occasions Le Pen has referred to Nazi "gas chambers" — not "the Holocaust" — as a "detail" or "minor point" (*point de detail*) of World War II. During an interview in September 1987, he said: "Do you want me to say it is a revealed truth that everyone has to believe? That it's a moral obligation? I say there are historians who are debating these questions. I am not saying that the gas chambers did not exist. I did not see them myself. I haven't studied the questions specially. But I believe that it is a minor point [*point de detail*] in the history of the Second World War."

Le Pen was brought to trial. In France, as in several other European countries, "Holocaust denial" is a crime. After a drawn-out court battle, he was convicted and fined \$200,000.

In a 1996 interview with a German magazine, Le Pen was asked about his infamous "detail" remark (*Der Spiegel*, No. 46, 1996, p. 176):

Q: Your remark nine years ago, that the gas chambers of Auschwitz are only a detail in the history of the Second World War II, has not been forgotten.

A: When you write a two thousand page history of the Second World War, the deportations and the concentration camps will take up five pages, and the gas chambers perhaps 20 lines. One must be crazy or perverse to regard that remark



Jean-Marie Le Pen

as disparaging.

Q: Not at all, because you give the impression of denying the uniqueness of the Holocaust.

A: Everyone sees drama from his own perspective. My father was killed by a German mine, while I lost other relatives in Allied bombing attacks. The Second World War claimed tens of millions of victims. For some the most terrible aspect of it was the deportations, while for others it was the leveling bombings or the mass deaths by starvation and cold.

Q: By comparing the genocide of the Jews with the other horrors of war, you relativize Auschwitz. In Germany this has led to a dispute among historians [*Historikerstreit*].

A: In the terrible tragedy of the war there was a unique fact: the deportation and murder of Jews and resistance fighters by the Nazis. But that lasted four years at the most. The much greater crimes of the Soviet Gulags occurred over decades and cost millions of lives. Millions also

perished in the Chinese camps, and there have been terrible genocides in Cambodia and Vietnam. None of those crimes has received the same consideration as the annihilation of the Jews, and that is a kind of one-sidedness [*Monokultur*] that shocks me.

During a visit to Munich on Dec. 5, 1997, Le Pen was again asked about his 1987 remark. He replied by saying “There is nothing belittling or scornful about such a statement,” and “I have said and I repeat, at the risk of being sacrilegious, that the gas chambers are a detail of the history of the Second World War.” He added: “If you take a book of a thousand pages on the Second World War, in which 50 million people died, the concentration camps occupy two pages and the gas chambers ten or 15 lines, and that’s what one calls a detail.”

Seventeen organizations — including the Simon Wiesenthal Center and the “Movement Against Racism and for Friendship Among Peoples” — promptly responded by filing a formal legal complaint. On Dec. 26, 1997, a Paris court sentenced Le Pen for this second “detail” remark. It ordered him to pay \$50,000 to publish the text of the court’s decision in a dozen French newspapers, and to pay a large amount of money to eleven of the organizations that had brought the complaint.

In a December 1997 interview Le Pen said that he would no longer speak publicly about Nazi gas chambers because nonconformist views on this subject are prohibited by law. “I won’t respond any more,” he explained. “It’s a taboo subject that is protected by legal and criminal law, and the only opinion one can express about it is that allowed by law.” (See “French Courts Punish Holocaust Apostasy,” March-April 1998 *Journal of Historical Review*.)

What no major newspaper or news service has bothered to mention is that Le Pen’s “detail” remark is valid. As French revisionist scholar Robert Faurisson has noted, neither Dwight Eisenhower in his 559-page World War II memoir, *Crusade in Europe*, nor Winston Churchill in his six-volume history, *The Second World War* (4,448 pages), nor Charles de Gaulle in his three volume *Mémoires de guerre* (2,054 pages), makes a single mention of Nazi “gas chambers,” or of a “genocide” of the Jews, or of “six million” Jewish victims of the war. (See “The Detail,” by R. Faurisson, also in the March-April 1998 *Journal*.)

What is “notorious” is not Le Pen’s remark about gas

chambers, but rather that he was brought before a court and punished for having made it (and on the basis of an Orwellian French law), and that the media misrepresents, without censure, what he actually said.

Weber Speaks on Jewish Power at IHR Meeting in Virginia

At a special Institute for Historical Review meeting in Arlington, Virginia, on Saturday, March 2, 2002, IHR director Mark Weber traced the rise of Jewish power in the United States over the past 60 years and emphasized the immense power and influence today of Jews in America’s political, cultural, intellectual and economic life.

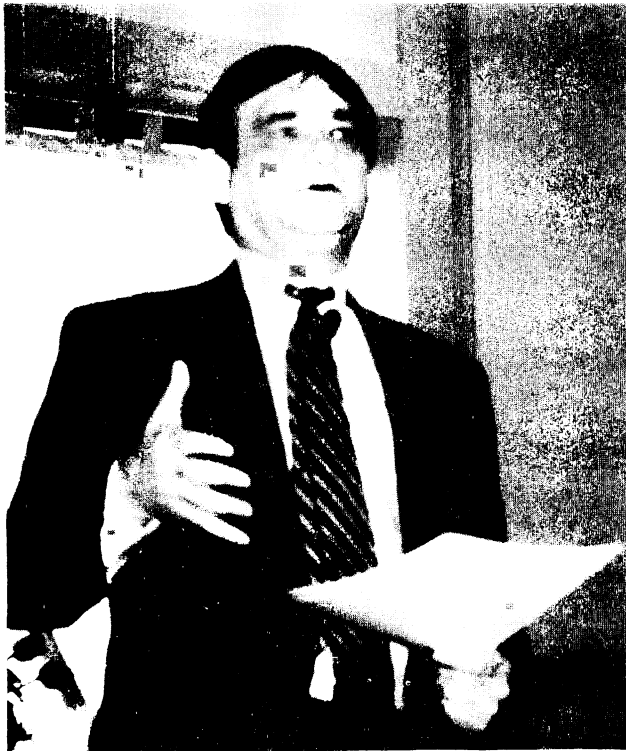
Among the 38 men and women who attended this meeting — the first IHR event in years in the Washington, DC, area — were two nationally prominent writers, several attorneys and other professionals, and a gratifying number of younger people.

Although Jews make up no more than three or four percent of the total U.S. population, said Weber, they now wield greater power than any other single ethnic, racial or religious group. In this regard he cited a private conversation in 1972 between President Richard Nixon and the prominent religious leader Billy Graham, which had just been made public, during which the two agreed that Jews have a “stranglehold” on the U.S. media, and that as a result “the country’s going down the drain.”

In his lecture, entitled “Jewish Power: Its Meaning for America and the World,” Weber said:

The most direct and obvious victims of Jewish-Zionist power are, of course, the Palestinians who live under Israel’s harsh rule. But as the IHR has made clear for years, in truth we Americans are also victims — through the Jewish-Zionist grip on the media, and the organized Jewish-Zionist corruption of our political system. We are pressured, cajoled, flattered, and deceived into propping up the Jewish state, providing it with billions of dollars yearly and state-of-the-art weaponry, and even sacrificing American lives — as in Israel’s 1967 attack on the “USS Liberty” — thereby making us accomplices of its crimes.

The truth is that if we held Israel to the same standards that we apply to Serbia, Afghanistan



Mark Weber addresses an IHR meeting in northern Virginia, March 2, 2002. (Photo courtesy of Fisheye Photo Service)

and Iraq, U.S. bombers and missiles would be blasting Tel Aviv, and we'd be putting Israeli prime minister Sharon behind bars for war crimes and crimes against humanity.

"Today the danger is greater than it's been in many years," said Weber. "Just the other week the French ambassador in London, Daniel Bernard, privately acknowledged that Israel — which he called 'that shitty little country' — is threatening world peace. 'Why should the world be in danger of World War III because of those people?', Bernard bluntly said. Influential Jewish organizations and political figures, and much of the Jewish-dominated media, in collaboration with Israel's leaders, and backed by this country's pro-Zionist 'amen corner,' are now prodding our country into new wars against Israel's enemies."

Throughout history, said Weber, Jews have time and again wielded great power to further group interests that are separate from, and often contrary to, those of the non-Jewish populations among whom they live. This creates an inherently unjust and unstable situation that, as history shows, never lasts. As Weber put it: "We

are today witnessing, and enduring, merely the most recent enactment of a great and tragic historical drama that has, through the centuries, played itself out time and time again, in country after country, in different cultures and ages."

Weber also spoke about the Institute's work and impact in recent years, including the international attention generated by the IHR's role in last year's revisionist conference in Beirut, which was canceled by Lebanese authorities under pressure from the US government and Zionist organizations. He also reported on preparations for the 14th IHR Conference in southern California, June 21-23.

Jewish Militants Arrested in Bomb Plot

Two members of the Jewish Defense League, a militant Zionist group with a long record of terrorist activities, were arrested on Dec. 11, 2001, on suspicion that they were preparing to blow up a Los Angeles mosque and the office of an Arab-American congressman. Irv Rubin, 56, JDL chairman, and Earl Krugel, 59, another JDL activist, were arrested after "explosive powder," the last component of a bomb, was delivered to Krugel's residence, a federal prosecutor said. Other bomb components were seized at Krugel's home. The two are accused of preparing to attack the King Fahd Mosque in Los Angeles and the office of U.S. Representative Darrell Issa (R.-Calif.), a grandson of Lebanese immigrants. They have been held in custody pending their trial, which is likely to begin in October 2002.

In 1985 the FBI identified the JDL as "the second most active terrorist group in the United States," linking it to 37 terrorist attacks carried out from 1977 to 1984. (*Orange County Register*, Nov. 19, 1985). Another federal agency, the Department of Energy, similarly characterized the JDL in a 1986 report: "For more than a decade, the Jewish Defense League (JDL) has been one of the most active terrorist groups in the United States." In 1987 the FBI announced that Jewish extremist groups had carried out 24 terrorist acts from 1981 through 1986, 17 of which were the work of the JDL.

The Institute for Historical Review, a dissident history research and publishing center based in southern California, was a target of systematic JDL violence and harassment during the early 1980s. The attacks included a drive-by shooting, three firebombings, van-

dalization of IHR employee-owned vehicles, 22 slashings of tires of employee automobiles, demonstrations outside the IHR office, and numerous telephone threats.

This campaign culminated in a devastating arson attack on the Institute's offices and warehouse in Torrance in the early morning hours of July 4, 1984. Damage was estimated at \$400,000. Two days later, JDL leader Rubin showed up at the site of the gutted IHR offices publicly to praise the fire-bombing. The JDL, he declared, "wholeheartedly applauds the recent devastation of the offices of the Institute for Historical review." Denying any personal responsibility himself, Rubin said that the arson had been carried out by a former JDL activist named Larry Winston (Joel Cohen). No one was ever arrested in connection with this crime.

In February 1989, JDL intimidation forced the cancellation at two hotel sites in southern California of a three-day IHR conference. The meeting was successfully held at a makeshift alternate site, in spite of further harassment by a handful of JDL thugs led by Rubin.

In a statement issued following the Dec. 2001 arrest of Rubin and Krugel, the IHR expressed the hope that the two will be prosecuted to the full extent of the law, especially during this time of heightened awareness of the dangers of terrorism.

Further information about Rubin and the JDL can be found in "The Zionist Terror Network," a detailed IHR report that is posted on the "Books On-Line" section of the IHR web site.

State Department Acknowledges Pressure on Lebanon to Cancel Revisionist Meeting

The State Department has finally acknowledged that the United States government pressured Lebanon to ban a peaceful four-day meeting that was to be held in Beirut in the spring of 2001.

Gregg Sullivan, a spokesman for the Department's Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs, confirmed during telephone conversations with IHR director Mark Weber on December 10 and 11, 2001, that the State Department had told the Lebanese government earlier this year that "it would not be in the best interests" of the country to allow the "Revisionism and Zionism" conference to take place as scheduled, March 31 through April 3, 2001, because to do so would be "perceived badly internationally." The closely watched meeting was organized

by the Swiss revisionist organization Vérité et Justice, in cooperation with the California-based Institute for Historical Review.

Shortly before the four-day conference was to begin, Lebanon's prime minister announced that it would not be permitted to take place. The cancellation followed public demands by three major Jewish organizations — the World Jewish Congress, the Anti-Defamation League, and the Simon Wiesenthal Center — that Lebanese authorities ban the meeting.

When asked to explain why the meeting would be "perceived badly," Sullivan said that conference speakers would have endorsed "terrorist aims" and "unilateral" or "extremist" solutions to the Middle East conflict. He added that the U.S. government opposes any "unilateral solution."

Weber responded by telling Sullivan that, to the best of his knowledge, none of the conference speakers would have expressed support for "terrorist aims." There is simply no basis for this charge, said Weber. This assertion is all the more remarkable considering that the conference presentations, and even the identities of several of the speakers, were not made public.

When Sullivan was pressed to provide evidence for the his assertions, he was unable or unwilling to do so.

In a letter to the State Department official, Weber wrote:

I suspect that you have no such evidence. I further suspect that the U.S. government asked Lebanon to ban this meeting in deference to Jewish-Zionist organizations and the Israeli government.

In our view, it is outrageous and arrogant for the U.S. government to tell the government of a friendly foreign country to ban a peaceful, legal meeting — one that, by the way, would be perfectly legal in our own country. As you must know, many meetings similar to the one scheduled to take place in Beirut have been held over the years in the United States.

Imagine the response in Washington if the Mexican government was to tell American authorities to ban a meeting in San Diego because it didn't like what some of the scheduled speakers might say. We would indignantly tell the Mexicans to mind their own business, pointing out that our citizens are free to express views that foreign governments, and our own government, do not approve.

We do not believe that the U.S. government should uphold one standard of free speech for the United States, while pressing for another, inferior one, for Arab countries.

The State Department campaign to pressure Lebanon was first revealed by the Lebanese daily *As Safir*, March 3, 2001. The Beirut paper's Washington, DC, correspondent reported:

The American government desires of Lebanon that it prohibit convening a conference in Beirut of groups and organizations that deny that the Nazi "Holocaust" against the Jews occurred. It expressed its concern over the negative effects such a conference would have, not only on the reputation of Lebanon abroad, but also over the effects it might have on the attitude of Congress toward Lebanon and the aid it will grant it.

This has appeared at the same time that several American Jewish organizations demanded that the Lebanese government prohibit the convening of the conference, whose sponsors these organizations accused of being racist and anti-Semitic.

Informed American sources have told *As Safir* that Washington informed Lebanon of this position via its ambassador, David Satterfield in Beirut, and in communication with the Lebanese ambassador in Washington, Farid Abboud. Sources in Congress have also conveyed their reservations about the conference to the Lebanese government.

American officials say that Iran and "Hezbollah" in Lebanon are behind the organization of the conference, although they say that they have no firm proof of that. They add that if Lebanon cannot prohibit the conference on the grounds of freedom of expression — particularly since similar conferences have been held in America and the authorities could not ban them — then Lebanon must at least declare that it has no connection with the conference. American uneasiness over the conference stems from the content of the conference as well as from its timing — coinciding as it does with an explosion of the situation between the Palestinians and Israelis and the tension that the region as a whole is experiencing.

The U.S. pressure campaign was also confirmed by the *Forward*, a well-informed, nationally circulated

Jewish weekly. "The Lebanese government called off the event under pressure from American diplomats and the Simon Wiesenthal Center," reported the New York paper in a front page article, Nov. 23, 2001.

Detailed information about the "Revisionism and Zionism" conference and the Jewish campaign to ban it is posted on the "Conferences" section of the IHR web site.

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My Revisionist Method

ROBERT FAURISSON

I'm not accustomed to receiving compliments and congratulations in my country, *douce France*.¹ Only a few days ago, in *Le Figaro* [May 26, 2000], one Gérard Slama wrote that I was "the past master at the art of blackmailing scientific truth." Recently, on the front page of *Le Monde des Lettres* [March 24, 2000], I read the following characterization of me by Pierre Vidal-Naquet:² "In the presence of the lie, of which Faurisson is the purest expression, one feels a kind of peculiarly philosophical giddiness." I hope that you will not feel giddy.

Yet there is also good news from France, in particular, the publication of a book by a young lady named Valérie Igounet. Her *Histoire du négationnisme en France*³ (Paris: Le Seuil, 2000), which is seven hundred pages long, grew out of a doctoral thesis. It is totally against us revisionists — but we are quoted so often that one could say the book is a good introduction for a layman who would like to know what revisionists have

to say. Perhaps she should be prosecuted for that.

The book ends with an astonishing interview with Holocaust researcher Jean-Claude Pressac. As you know, he is the darling of the Klarsfelds, Pierre Vidal-Naquet, and their like. But what is he saying here? Surprisingly enough, he seems to be more or less abandoning exterminationism. Pressac states that the exterminationist position is "rotten" [in French, *pourri*]. "There are too many lies" — not Jewish lies, according to Pressac, but *Communist* lies. He asks, "Can things be put right?," and answers: "It is too late." Pressac declares that there is no longer any future for the "official certainties."

Perhaps we have converted Pressac. If so, perhaps it's because in May 1995 I asked the court to order Pressac to testify at one of my many trials. Foolishly enough, he came. I was barred from questioning him, so I coached my attorney. I wanted to simplify things for him, so I told him: "You need to ask him only two questions." The first: "You recently published a book called *Les Crématoires d'Auschwitz: La Machinerie du Meurtre de Masse*⁴ that contained sixty illustrations: photos, drawings, etc. Can you show us a photo or a drawing of a gas chamber?" Pressac of course could not. Then he was asked, "What is a gas chamber? Please describe one." Pressac, as usual, talked at length about ventilation and ventilators. He so lost his way that the presiding judge, a lady, tried to help him out, observing, "But, Mr. Pressac, a ventilator is supposed to ventilate." I can tell you because I had a good seat (under the circumstances). I could see that Pressac was about to cry. He said to the three judges, "You must understand that I have only one life. You must understand that I am alone in my battle." So, you see, some things are chang-

Robert Faurisson is Europe's foremost Holocaust revisionist scholar. Born in 1929, educated at the Sorbonne, Professor Faurisson taught at the University of Lyon from 1974 until 1990. Specializing in close textual analysis, Faurisson won widespread acclaim for his studies of texts by Rimbaud and Lautréamont. After years of private research and study, Faurisson revealed his skepticism of the "Holocaust" gas chambers in articles published in 1978 and 1979 in the French daily *Le Monde*. He has written numerous articles on all aspects of the "Holocaust," many of which have appeared 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 his address, May 29, 2000, at the 13th IHR Conference, Irvine, California.

ing. Now, directly to my lecture.

I know that those of you who have attended previous IHR conferences would be disappointed if a Faurisson lecture were not in three parts. This one will be in three parts. The first part will be on my revisionist method in literature, for I was a revisionist in literature before I was a historical revisionist. Perhaps you will be a little bewildered, especially those of you who don't know French literature. Have no fear: I'll make it easy. Second, my revisionist method in history — and not only on “the Holocaust.” In the third part, I'll suggest several new investigations, investigations I can no longer undertake, but which might be carried out by a new generation of revisionists. I will suggest new types and methods of research into, first, the Anne Frank diary; second, the Einsatzgruppen problem; next, the fate of children in Auschwitz; fourth, the “brown Jews,” as we in France refer to those Jews who collaborated with the Germans during the war; and fifth, the writing and publication of a counter-guide to the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum.

My Revisionist Method

Revisionism is not an ideology. It is a method of working. It is the process of checking, and double-checking, views which are generally accepted. One may revise in any field, in physics, in history, wherever, but there are different ways of practicing the revisionist method. Your revisionist method depends on you, your character, and your education. I won't tell you that mine is the best possible method, but I shall try to describe my method, for which I had special training, and a special education.

I have searched for adjectives to describe this method. Here is what I have found: it is a method that is classical, direct, bold, daring, and severe — very severe. It is matter of fact. Sometimes I use the expression “nuts and bolts revisionism.” My method rejects big words. Be simple, which is so difficult. Go directly to the center of the center of the question, and try first to bring me the pudding. I don't want words. I'm going to taste the pudding, but first, bring me the pudding — meaning no intellectual pretensions and no pedantry.

You may have noticed that I have used the word “method.” I didn't say “methodology.” In December 1998 I testified in Toronto at the trial of my dearest friend, Ernst Zündel. A Jewish lawyer asked me, “The professor who testified on Ernst Zündel and his writings explained his methodology to us. What is your methodology, Mr. Faurisson?” My answer was, “I have

none.” You should have seen the lawyer's smile. He was so pleased. Here we had a professor — but he had no methodology! I said, “I have only a method. I believe I have noticed that, very often, people use the word ‘methodology’ as a pretentious substitute for method.” When I returned to France, I opened my cherished *American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*. I looked up “methodology,” and there I found, in a usage note: “Increasingly used as a pretentious substitute for method.” I sent a photocopy to the lawyer, and to both the judges (an odd trial that has two judges!).

My method is difficult, and risky — sometimes even physically — for it requires that sometimes I must enter places where I am unwelcome, and ask some hard questions. Employing my revisionist method may earn you a slap in the face or a trip to jail. But you can't be bashful when investigating historical problems. You can't limit yourself to paper and archives — something which is very easy to do.

At times you have to confront people face to face, as I did Anne Frank's father in his home, or Michael Berenbaum in his office at the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum. Berenbaum has recently written the foreword to a very weighty book, a copy of which a friend of Ernst Zündel has given me. I'm holding it up for the camera: *The Holocaust Chronicle*.⁵ Listen: the sound of emptiness.

Berenbaum's problem is that he's writing books which are thicker and thicker — and while they demand more and more muscles, they require less and less brains. Try to find a gas chamber in here! There are hundreds of photos. Here is one, you will observe, that shows two walls. It is the Dachau gas chamber, “never used” (as has been admitted since 1960 and is stated on a placard at the Dachau museum) except that, elsewhere in the book (on page 609), we are told that it *was* used, just a little bit (“... relatively few of the inmates of Dachau were gassed”). Here's another one, another photo, of the Belzec gas chamber. But ... oops! It's really a picture of the gas chamber in Auschwitz I, which, as we now know, is a fake.

My Revisionist Method in Literature

I began to study Latin in 1939, when I was ten years old. When I was twelve, I began the study of Greek. I think that it was then that I began to be a revisionist. I'll tell you why. I loved Latin and Greek, but mastering them was very demanding. To translate Latin into French or English is difficult; translating Greek into French or English is more so; but most difficult of all is

to translate French or English into either Latin or Greek.

Translating French into Latin and Greek taught me a painful truth: we are unable to read even our own languages carefully. We think that we can, yet we cannot. It is only when one is forced to translate his own language into another that he realizes that he has not been reading with care. Reading carefully is something that is very difficult to do. I believe that if you really want to understand something, you should put it into a language that is quite different from your own: Latin, or Greek, or Hebrew, or Chinese. Thanks to my study of Latin and Greek, I had much practice at this.

When I began teaching French literature, I had difficulty at first. In France, the practice is to assign one's students a short text to explain and to comment on. Instructors are required to provide several questions to aid the students in understanding the text. I, too, did this, at the beginning. I obeyed. One day it dawned on me that the questions were distracting my students from concentrating on the careful reading of the text itself, and I decided that I would no longer assign them the questions. I would ask them only to explain the text, and tell them not to comment on it.

My method of teaching literature was not without its perils for my students. I would tell them: "When you study a text, strive to understand its meaning. Read carefully. And now I will tell you something difficult: to accept at the start that there is either *one* meaning, or there is *no* meaning. Do not confuse meaning with commentary." I taught them a kind of technique. I would say "You must read the text, and forget the author. The author of every text will be *auctor ignotus*" [author unknown]. This way, you will have no preconceptions. Beware the title: the author uses it to influence you. It is just as if the author said, "This is pure orange juice," and you tested it, and it wasn't pure orange juice. And I told my classes to treat poetry exactly as if it were prose, which is almost a crime in France.

In France, as you know, we have a very sophisticated intelligentsia. They have devised all manner of theories, one of which is this: When it comes to poetry which is complex, like that of Gérard de Nerval, Arthur Rimbaud, Charles Baudelaire, Lautréamont, Apollinaire, and Paul Valéry, one must not try to understand it. Given my nature, however, I wanted to understand their poetry, line by line, word by word. I would sometimes spend (or waste) weeks on a short text — a difficult text — by Gérard de Nerval. Perhaps my method was good, because I often got results.

In the 1960s I made a name for myself in French lit-



Robert Faurisson addresses the 13th IHR Conference, May 29, 2000.

erature. I had a wonderful life. I once wrote that my life was in four parts: The first one was my family — my wife, my three children — and the pleasures of life. The second was my profession, teaching. The third was my research in literature. The fourth part, as you can imagine, was my historical research. Perhaps I should have stopped at the third part, and not ventured into this troublesome fourth part, but I became a revisionist in history, as well.

My Revisionist Method in History

I shall discuss my method in history at more length. I began by using a very precise method of interrogation to investigate the "Bloody Summer" of 1944, which in France we call the "Big Purge" ("L'Épuration"). As with my approach to poetry, I tried to concentrate my efforts, focusing on a small area of France. I sought to study the question of the executions carried out by the *maquis* (or French resistance). It was difficult and dangerous work. I had to find and question men who had been on the firing squads, and ask them, "Why did you take part? How were you able to?" It is a very trying way of working. You need to go see the sites where the executions took place. You have to get the names of the firing squad right. At that time, in the sixties, people were very afraid, especially of the Communists. But I investigated executions by the resistance, and I wrote about my findings.⁶ You must remember that we are told that

during the war there were “resistants” in France. We hear of “resistants” and “collaborators.” I say that there were *two* kinds of resistants during the war: resistants to the German occupation, and resistants to Communist terror.

I now come to the “Holocaust.” How did I proceed? I had heard people say that there were gas chambers. Others said, even back then, that there had been no gas chambers. What method of revising history was in accord with my nature, myself? It was to say: “Very well, I see that people are arguing over whether the gas chambers existed, but, a simple question, please: ‘What is a Nazi gas chamber? I need to see one.’”

So I went to Paris, to the Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine. I remember the archivist asking me what I wanted. I told him, “A photo of a Nazi gas chamber.” The man said “We have many books.” I said, “A photo.” He continued, “We have many testimonies.” I said, “A photo.” “We have many documents.” I said, “A photo.” Then he summoned Mrs. Imbert (I remember her name): “Come in. This gentleman wants a photo of a Nazi gas chamber.” I swear to you she said, “We have many testimonies.” The archivist, exasperated, told her, “But this gentleman wants a photo.” I was told to sit down. I sat there for sixty minutes. That poor woman rifled the shelves, opening book after book without success. At last she brought me a photo known to everybody, of the helmeted American soldier standing in front of the disinfection gas chambers in Dachau, and similar pictures. I thought to myself, “There’s a problem here.”

My method’s directness lies in going to the *center of the center*: even a Jewish documentation center. The so-called Jewish Documentation Center in Paris had a file called “Extermination Gassings.” I said, “I’m in luck! The most substantial of the accusations against Germany must be in here. I’ll start with the strongest ones.” Well, I went through the strongest accusations of gassing, and I found precisely nothing.

I decided to visit the places said to have had gas chambers. First I visited Struthof-Natzweiler, near Strasbourg, and I discovered that the “gas chamber” there was not a gas chamber at all, despite prominent signs that read: “Gas Chamber.” No sooner had I published the results of my inquiry than the “gas chamber” was closed to the public. Try and visit it! The “Gas Chamber” signs are still up, but visitors are told, “We cannot let you see it because there have been instances of vandalism,” which is untrue (and in any case hardly an acceptable explanation).

When I visited Majdanek, I headed immediately to

the site where the gas chamber is supposed to have been. This building still bears a prominent sign, put up by the German authorities who ran the camp, which reads: “Bad und Desinfektion [bath and disinfection].” I thought to myself, “Inside this building I will either find ‘Bad und Desinfektion,’ period, or ‘Bad und Desinfektion’ and something else suspicious.” What I found was nothing more than “Bad und Desinfektion,” including something quite characteristic: a little stove, close to the so-called “gas chamber,” for disinfection (for heating the air to speed the delousing process) and, in the middle of the door, a place for a thermometer. As you see, my method is not too dissimilar from the way the police investigate a crime.

I visited Auschwitz, Treblinka, and similar places. In each of them I found a disappearing gas chamber. No sooner than I drew near, the gas chamber would vanish. I would never put questions to the guides. As we all know, these poor people are reciting a lesson. Each time I visited a camp, I would ask to speak to an expert, from whom I would then request an explanation of the missing gas chamber. I never received one.

As a result I published an article in the newspaper *Le Monde* on December 29, 1978, and a letter there on January 16, 1979. I asked simple questions (always be simple): How was it possible to enter a gas chamber to collect the bodies, because that would have been like entering an ocean of hydrocyanic acid? How could the workers have handled the bodies, because touching even the skin could poison them? What about the physical exertion in removing the bodies — we know that one must not strain even to open a window in a place that has just been disinfected with hydrocyanic acid, because breathing faster will increase the chance of being poisoned?” All I asked was: “How could that be done? Tell me. Give me an explanation that makes sense technically.” Do you know how Pierre Vidal-Naquet, Léon Poliakov, and thirty-two other historians answered my questions? They had a marvelous response, which they published in *Le Monde* on February 21, 1979. They wrote, “One must not ask how, technically, such a mass murder was possible. It was possible technically because it took place.”

Perhaps I should have left off, should have said: “Very well, they can’t answer me. I’ll just wait for their answer.” I don’t know why I kept on battling and battling. I was the first to publish the plans of the alleged gas chambers. It was the other side that should have published them.

On January 19, 1995, I had the shock of my life — and I’ve had many. When I opened the weekly maga-

zine *L'Express*, I found a long article by Eric Conan, a historian who is totally against us. It was titled "Auschwitz: La Mémoire du Mal" ["Auschwitz: The Memory of Evil"]. There, on page 68, I read these words on the gas chamber in Auschwitz I: "Everything in it is false." Conan wrote in the same article about what he himself calls "falsifications": "It was easy for Faurisson to say that, all the more so because the authorities of the museum balked at responding to him." So, there it was. All along it was I who was supposed to have been the falsifier. The exterminationists were supposed to be telling the truth. Then, in 1995, an orthodox historian declares: "Faurisson was right," but adds, in effect: "So what?"

Visiting a site can yield another effective argument, one that, surprisingly, not even Fred Leuchter advanced. If you wish to show that the output claimed for the German ovens was impossible technically, you can do something simple. You don't need to write two hundred pages. Just go and see a crematory. Find out the output of today's crematory ovens, and compare that output with those alleged for Auschwitz, nearly sixty years ago. You can do the same thing to investigate a gas chamber. Go and visit an American gas chamber. Why not do it, you Americans? You would see how complicated it is to gas just one person. Now, of course, we know that certain aspects of a formal execution are something of a luxury. Just imagine how it was in 1924, when, for the first time, an execution by gas was carried out in the United States. You will see how awfully complicated a gassing needs to be, even today. You need only juxtapose an actual gas chamber at an American penitentiary, on the one hand, with a so-called Nazi gas chamber, on the other. You'll see that conducting a gassing in the alleged gas chambers of the Nazis would have been impossible.

Confrontation

Not only do you need to inspect the sites, you have to talk to people. Just as I did, you've got to go where the danger is. In 1994 I dropped in on Michael Berenbaum, at that time research director of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum. After I had toured the exhibit with two American friends, I phoned Michael Berenbaum from the lobby. I told him over the phone, "My name is Robert Faurisson. I would like to visit you." Berenbaum answered unhesitatingly: "It's a quarter to four. That means that at a quarter past four you will be in my office." It was as if he had been waiting all year for me!

As I entered his office, I saw not only Berenbaum,

but two gentlemen on a sofa. They were the directors of the museum. I was flanked left and right by my own witnesses. Berenbaum asked, "So, what are your questions?" I told him, "Downstairs, in the guest book, I wrote 'I have visited this place on August 30, 1994. [I love dates.] I have not found an answer to my challenge: 'Show me or draw me a Nazi gas chamber.'" (Although I knew there was a mock-up of a gas chamber in the museum, I wanted to hear Berenbaum tell me that it was a good mock-up. I knew he wouldn't.) He asked me, "Why should I answer your questions? Whom do you have on your side? Ernst Zündel. Bradley Smith. You should know that in the past year we have had two million visitors. So, who are you?" I said "You must answer my question in the guest book." He replied, "I don't see why." Suddenly I had an inspiration. I told him, "Yes, you are obliged to answer, because you are making an accusation against the Germans." For the first time in his life, I think, Berenbaum realized that he was accusing Germany simply by saying that the gas chambers had existed. I thought he was going to slap me in the face. Berenbaum became enraged, and for a minute I thought he would call security. I seem to recall that he stopped the tape recorder — and for the next hour I tortured the poor man.

A revisionist needs to be just a little bit sadistic. He must come back and say "Is this the tooth that hurts you?" "Yes." "Really? This one?" That's the way I've tried to conduct all my investigations.

Keep It Simple ...

When I was revising in literature, my model was Jean-François Champollion, the man who in 1822 deciphered Egyptian hieroglyphics. Champollion didn't rely on big words or grand theories. He simply tried, word by word, to understand. Do you know that before Champollion's success, there were many professors able to talk about those texts that they didn't understand? Of course, their explanations were always sublime. This text was an "invocation to the gods," that one to "the souls of whomever or whatever," and the like. After Champollion had deciphered the ancient Egyptian writing system, such texts would often turn out to be in reality lists of so many cows, so many goats, so many sheep. That's the way intellectuals come to work: always big ideas, always philosophy. I hate philosophy. I hate it because in fact I do not understand it.

My model for revisionism in history would be Sherlock Holmes. Like him, one must be courageous. And like Holmes, one must be very brief and to the point.

That is how I came up with my saying, “No holes, no holocaust,” of which you have heard. Surprisingly, perhaps, I first stated that at our 1994 conference. I remember that nobody reacted at the time. No one seemed to understand, perhaps because of my poor English. Then, two or three years later, revisionists such as Dr. Robert Countess began pointing out, “But we have to be careful. Your formulation is very short.” I can understand that objection. When something is very short, maybe it’s *too* short. Complicated things, it seems, cannot be put in few words. I can well understand why people are careful and standoffish, but sometimes brevity is a good thing.

I think “No holes, no holocaust” was a good saying. Here’s how I explain it. When you have a very big problem, you know that you cannot grasp the whole of it. That would be impossible. It’s just too big. What must you do, then? You must go, courageously, to the center of the center of the core of it. The center of the “Holocaust” is Auschwitz. Auschwitz is its capital. Thus, we have a big circle which is “H,” “Holocaust,” then, inside it, a smaller circle: “A,” as in “Auschwitz.” Now, what is the center of Auschwitz? It is “C,” the crematoria, each supposed to have contained a gas chamber to kill people. What is the center of “C”? It can only be the one crematorium that is claimed to be relatively intact, without being a “reconstruction.” Today that is crematorium number two, at Auschwitz-Birkenau. To be sure, it was dynamited by the Germans (or possibly the Russians — it doesn’t matter). Our opponents say: “This is the place.” We have to travel, then, to crematorium II, and, once there, we must seek the very epicenter of the “Holocaust”: the holes in the roof of the alleged gas chamber in crematorium II. For it is these holes through which the SS men are supposed to have dropped the Zyklon B pellets. Go to crematorium II. Search for those holes. You will not find a single one.

Yesterday Charles Provan gave me this pamphlet.⁷ He’s revising my revisionism, which is quite a good thing. Now I’m going to revise his revising of my revisionism. I’m sorry, but I haven’t finished reading it, so I must be careful. But I’m going to give you my first impressions. I told Mr. Provan that I would say something about it.

I think that it’s a good work. First, it is short. Unlike Berenbaum’s books, it doesn’t require strong muscles to hold it. So far as I can tell, it’s well done. It is precise. Clearly some hard work went into it. Yet there is a bad mistake in the method of this study. To put it simply, you mustn’t mix up the testimony with what you find on the site, that is, the physical evidence.

You began, Mr. Provan, with the testimony. But instead of separating the physical evidence for the supposed holes from the testimony, in your evaluation of the testimony you talk about what we are supposed to find at the location. That’s mixing things up. To make a comparison, instead of bringing oil, then vinegar, to make vinaigrette, you first brought the vinaigrette, and here you are working very hard to try to distinguish oil from vinegar, which is too difficult, you see? More on that later. But Charles Provan has done real work, and we have to take it seriously.

Revisionist Methods for the Future

Now, on the revisionist method for a new generation. I must say that I was quite moved, when I arrived here, to see Germar Rudolf and Jürgen Graf working very hard together. This is the new generation. One of them, Germar Rudolf, is in exile. What a shame, far from his homeland, far from his career, his wife, and his two children! Jürgen Graf, from Switzerland, has been sentenced to jail for fifteen months. Isn’t that a shame? But you should have seen the two of them. They were working joyfully, and working very hard. It is to people like this that I shall now speak, and outline several ideas for future investigations.

Let me begin with the Anne Frank diary. Perhaps you will remember that I visited Anne Frank’s father, Otto Frank, in Basel, Switzerland in the 1970s. Like all conmen, he was quite charming, very charming indeed. Sometimes you’ll hear people say, “But he was so charming. How could he have been a conman?” Conmen are always charming!

So I went to see Otto Frank. I like to look people in the eye. I told him that I had serious doubts about the authenticity of the Anne Frank diary. He said “That’s quite all right. I am ready to answer your questions.” I was fortunate that his (second) wife was present. (As you will see, she is important to the story.) Frank had said that he was prepared for my questions, but he was a bit like Michael Shermer, who interviewed me in 1994. Perhaps Otto Frank thought, as did Shermer, “Ah, a French intellectual. It’s going to be very intellectual, with considerations on the psychology of a young girl, on the interaction among eight people living hidden in the same place, on political opinions about the Jews at that time, and so on.”

Well, here I came, with my nuts and bolts revisionism. I said “Mr. Frank, you couldn’t make any noise, even during the night. If you had to cough, you took codeine. There were eight of you in those tiny rooms.

surrounded by other rooms occupied by 'enemies,' in Amsterdam for two years. 'Enemies' were listening." "Yes," he agreed. "How is it, then, that sometimes the young man, Peter, is splitting wood in the attic to show off his strength to Anne? Can you imagine the noise? Peter even makes furniture, and every morning the alarm clock rings. There's the radio, the screams as the dentist [one of the eight] works on his patients, and so forth. How do you explain all that?" He had no explanation.

Next I asked him, "What about the garbage?" Listen to the French intellectual! "What about the garbage? You say that it was burned in the stove." "Yes." "But you moved in on June 12. You say you lit the stove for the first time on, I think, the twelfth or the fifteenth of October. So, during the summer, what about the garbage, and later what about the smoke? You were living in a place that was supposed to be unoccupied. But smoke, especially at night, means that someone is there. Take a look at smoke during the night." Otto Frank had no answer.

I asked the poor man many such questions. His wife would say, "Amazing! Yes, how did you manage?" Or, "How can that have been?" Suddenly, he told her, in German, "Maul zu [Shut up]!" I continued, and all at once Otto Frank had a stroke of genius. He told me "Mr. Faurisson, I agree with you a hundred percent. Scientifically, theoretically, it is impossible, but so it happened."

I told him, "Mr. Frank, you're making things difficult for me. If you'll agree with me that a door cannot be both open and shut at the same time, then we have no need for 'theoretically,' 'scientifically,' but if you go on to tell me that you have seen such a door with your own eyes, I'm going to have trouble with that. Please answer my questions." Of course, there was no answer.

The next day he brought me to a bank. It was the first time I had ever been in the vault of a Swiss bank, or of any bank. I saw the impressive safe deposit boxes, in which one can store money, jewelry, manuscripts. Otto Frank took out the manuscripts. He said, "See, here they are." We went back to his house to look at them. I said "Mr. Frank, I am not a handwriting specialist. I'm not interested in the manuscripts. What I want is for you to explain the story to me so that it holds up — but you can't." When I returned home from Basel, I drafted a report on the question of the diary, and made it available to a German friend who was having difficulties with the German courts for having expressed doubts about the authenticity of the diary.

A German judge ordered an analysis of the handwriting of the "Anne Frank" manuscripts. Here we revi-

sionists must be careful. I often hear people say, "They discovered handwriting with a ball-point pen." Be careful! The report was totally inadequate. It concluded that everything in the manuscripts was written by the same hand. Remember that. The report stated that there was handwriting in ink from a ball-point pen, but it gave no specifics. We can't tell how much of it, in how many places, and so on. Therefore, be cautious about that German report.

Otto Heinrich Frank died in 1980. In 1986 a "critical edition" of the supposed diaries of Anne Frank was published in Amsterdam.⁸ Over the next six years a German edition, a French edition, and an English edition appeared. Each of the four was nearly as thick as *The Holocaust Chronicle* (with Berenbaum's foreword), which I've showed you. People thought "Ah, this is the answer to Faurisson." The book even says so: "This is the answer to Faurisson."

Well, you should read what the editors say about Otto Frank. They all but call him a liar. I was right! At the end of this "critical edition" they write that Otto Frank ought never to have claimed that what he published was the actual diary of Anne Frank. Nevertheless, this "scholarly edition" is just a big bluff. They show you handwriting throughout, and they say "You see, it's the same." I don't see that it's the same, but I'm not a specialist, so I have to be careful. But my question wasn't about the handwriting. My question was: "Can you explain all the problems I have with the story?" Instead of answering me, at the beginning of the book one of the editors summarized his version of what I had written. It was obviously a caricature. Had I said stupid things, of course, they would have reported my exact words.

I advise you to be careful. The question of the handwriting of Anne Frank is what you call a "red herring." I would like someone who is able, and who is familiar with Dutch and German, to make a comparison by computer between the Anne Frank diary as it was published — the popular edition — and the *new* popular edition, edited by a woman named Mirjam Pressler. I myself had discovered two or three different Anne Franks. Now, if one were to make this kind of comparison today, I think we would be up to eight or ten Anne Franks.

Now, regarding the Einsatzgruppen: I think that this is the most important of my suggestions for future research. I would like to see work done on the specific topic of those Germans who were executed by the German army for killing Jews. Yes, in Marinka, a place in Russia, the mayor of the city killed one Jewish woman.

He was court-martialed by the German army, condemned to death, and executed. I have many such examples.

Field Marshals List, von Kuechler, von Manstein; General Otto Desselloch; Field Marshall von Kleist; General Kittel: each of these men ordered the execution of a German soldier, officer, or civil servant who had killed one or more Jews. How was that possible if there was a policy to exterminate physically the Jews? In my opinion, they should plant trees for von Manstein, List, von Kuechler, von Kleist, and Kittel on the Avenue of the Righteous Gentiles in Jerusalem. And why not one for Adolf Hitler? Hitler ordered the execution of persons who had killed Jews. This is the type of question that we revisionists should be researching.

I have no time to talk about the "brown Jews," the Jewish children at Auschwitz, and what I would call the "Counter Guide to the Holocaust Memorial Museum," a revisionist guided tour of the Museum.

Perhaps you have heard of my pessimism. I want to say a few words about that. For reasons I have no time to get into, I am rather pessimistic. Let me explain. On my first visit to this country, in 1979, my friend Gene Brugger greeted me at Kennedy Airport. Yesterday he reminded me that I was carrying a copy of Arthur Butz's *Hoax* and a tennis racquet. Gene, who is of German extraction, had a question for me. He said, "You are French. Why are you doing this for the Germans?" He tells me I answered, "It's not on behalf of the Germans. A bird sings. It can't help but sing, because that is in its nature. The bird can't help it. So, even a pessimistic bird must sing."

The other day, as I was leaving France, I received a phone call from Adrien, one of my grandchildren. He said "So, you are going away." I answered yes. "Where are you going?" "To the United States." "Why?" "I have work to do." He is very gentle with me, my grandson. He told me, "Now, grandfather, you should stop. You work day and night. You are very old. Very soon, you are going to die."

As you can see, I am still alive and well. And, although I am an old bird, I think that I am going to continue to sing.

Notes

1. "Douce" meaning gentle, or clement, from France's post-revolutionary traditions of openness to dissent and affording refuge for other countries' political and intellectual dissidents. [Ed.]
2. Professor Vidal-Naquet is a noted historian of ancient

Greece, and one France's most vociferous defenders of the Holocaust claim. [Ed.]

3. Valérie Igounet, *Histoire du négationnisme en France* [History of Denialism in France] (Paris: Le Seuil, 2000).
4. Jean-Claude Pressac, *Les Crématoires d'Auschwitz: La Machinerie du Meurtre de Masse* [The Crematoria of Auschwitz: The Machinery of Mass Murder] (Paris: CNRS éditions, 1993).
5. Michael Berenbaum, introduction to *The Holocaust Chronicle: A History in Words and Pictures*, ed. David Aretha, pub. Louis Weber (Lincolnwood, Ill.: Publications International, 2000).
6. See Robert Faurisson's "A Dry Chronicle of the Purge: Summary Executions in Certain Communes of Charente Limousine," in the *Journal of Historical Review* 12, no. 1 (Spring 1992), pp. 5-30. [Ed.]
7. Charles D. Provan, *No Holes? No Holocaust? A Study of the Holes in the Roof of Leichenkeller 1 of Krematorium 2 at Birkenau* (Monongahela, Penn.: n.p., 2000). Also online at: <http://www.revisingrevisionism.com/>
8. *The Diary of Anne Frank: The Critical Edition*, prepared by the Netherlands State Institute for War Documentation, edited by David Barnouw and Gerrold van der Stromm, translated by Arnold J. Pomerans and B. M. Mooyart (New York: Doubleday), 1989.

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‘Reexamining Assumptions’: An Interview with Tom Sunic

Tomislav Sunic was born in Zagreb, Croatia, in 1953. He studied French and English at the University of Zagreb before taking a Master's degree at California State University, Sacramento, in 1985. He received a doctorate in political science in 1988 from the University of California, Santa Barbara. He has taught at California State University, the University of California, and Juniata College in Pennsylvania. He is the author of several books, including *Against Democracy and Equality: The European New Right* (reviewed in the Sept.-Oct. 1994 *Journal*). Articles, reviews and essays by Sunic have appeared in a range of newspapers and journals, including *Chronicles*, *Le Monde*, the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, and *The Wall Street Journal*. He has been interviewed many times on radio and television, including CNN and “The McNeil-Lehrer News Hour.” For a time he served as a diplomat with the Croatian foreign ministry. Currently he resides with his family in Croatia, where he works as a free lance writer. He is scheduled to address the 14th IHR conference, June 21-23, 2002, on the fate of ethnic Germans in communist Yugoslavia, 1945-53.

Q: What experiences have shaped your general outlook and career path?

A: I grew up in communist Yugoslavia, where I obtained my B.A. in literature and languages. But I think that never during my educational period did I take anything for granted: no ideology, no system, no belief, no sense of group victimhood. One needs not just to reexamine history; one must first reexamine his

often self-serving assumptions. In liberal America and western Europe, to which I immigrated, I obtained a Ph.D. in political science, and in the United States I also worked as a professor. Later on, I lived and lectured all over Europe, and for a while worked as a Croatian diplomat.

To be frank, my curricular period at schools and universities was largely a waste of time. What I was taught was mostly ideologically based drivel delivered by mediocre leftist academics — whether in Europe or in the United States, yet with remarkably similar egalitarian and freudo-marxophile affinities.

Q: The re-emergence of an independent Croatia in 1989-1991 from the ruins of Yugoslavia was seemingly a rebuke to the European order imposed after the First World War, and reaffirmed after the Second. Do you see the situation this way?

A: The emergence of an independent Croatian state, first in the wake of 1939-1941, and then in 1989-1991, was an incidental fallout of international disorder. For centuries a strong nationalist sentiment thrived among the Croat people, but it never took the form of a durable statehood. The Croatian state that emerged in 1991 filled the void left by the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of the Soviet Union, backed by the strongly anti-Versailles policies of the late Croat president Franjo Tudjman.

Q: Has political independence from Yugoslavia been good for Croatia, and is it good for Europe?

A: Making value judgments about “good” or “bad” with regard to Croatian independence, or for that matter about any historical event, is irrelevant. Looking at history, I prefer as a method of analysis Vilfredo Pareto’s cold, value-free disinterestedness. But anyway, haven’t the ruling classes in the West over the last century repeatedly carried out punitive military strikes in the name of the myths of progress and human rights?

From the point of view of much-aspired economic benefit, Croatia’s independence has proven to be a disappointment. Today, and since the death [in Dec. 1999] of President Tudjman, Croatia is an ungovernable, Western-sponsored entity in search of identity. The mass craving for quick entry into the “rich men’s club” of the European Union did not materialize. On the other hand, and viewed from a transcendental, nationalist perspective, Croatia’s independence in 1991 was perhaps an inevitable, self-fulfilling prophecy. Conversely: no multicultural entity — whether one speaks of the former Yugoslavia, the ex-Soviet Union, or today’s South Africa (or, tomorrow, multicultural France and the USA?) — lasts for long, however seductive its promise of ecumenical harmony. Nightmare always lurks on the horizon. I think that the ruling class in the USA and the EU, each with its multiracial experimentation, will learn the tragic lesson of Yugoslavia.

Q: Croatia was an ally of Germany during the Second World War. What factors influenced that policy?

A: Geography is destiny. A major factor was that Croatia is geographically close to Germany. Suppose Jefferson or Washington had to fight the England of George III to secure the independence of a country the size of Scotland or Belgium? They would have failed, and today nobody would even know their names. America’s distance from Britain was a tremendous advantage for those who worked for independence. Space helps.

Another factor was that for centuries Croatia was part of the larger, yet truly European, multicultural Austro-Hungarian Empire. Moreover, its cultural and perhaps even ethnic survival during the Turkish onslaught in the 17th century must be credited to the geographically proximate Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation.

Now, in hindsight, and given the disastrous legacy of European mini-statehoods and intra-European



Tom Sunic

nationalist bickering, one may regret the passing of that supra-national imperial age. Worse, the legacy of endless intra-European squabbles among Europe’s various nation states now lends legitimacy to today’s uprooted global plutocratic system. But, perhaps, if the Holy Roman Empire had been more durable, likely it would have sooner or later spawned its own mortal enemies.

Q: Croatia’s World War II Ustashi regime is often accused of having committed terrible atrocities, even a campaign of virtual extermination, against Jews and Serbs, with the support of the

nation’s Catholic hierarchy. How valid are these accusations?

A: Facts and fiction are often intertwined in modern official history writing. And this is likewise true of every nation’s political mythology. To endure and survive, every nation resorts to its own national mythical narrative, no matter how aberrant it may seem to historians and even future generations. Georges Sorel, the French thinker, understood and described that human trait.

With regard to Croatia’s pro-fascist World War II regime, it’s worth noting that some prominent figures in the regime were married to Jews — a point that even Hannah Arendt noted. One of the founding fathers of modern Croat nationalism in the late 19th century was Joseph Frank, a baptized Hungarian Jew. So influential was he that Ustashi followers were sometimes called “frankovci.” All the same, in Croatia proper Jews played a very minor and negligible role. For centuries Croatia has been a deeply Roman Catholic country, and Catholicism and the Catholic clergy were closely intertwined with Croatian nationalism.

Serbs, by contrast, have tended to seek a negative legitimization in a national mythos of exaggerated victimhood. Through the Versailles peace treaty of 1919 they received a mandate to dominate the new Western-sponsored and multi-ethnic “Yugoslav” entity. Hence the justifiable anger of the Serbs over what they regard as abandonment and betrayal by their former allies — France, Britain and America — when Yugoslavia dissolved in 1991, and when those powers recognized Croatia, Slovenia, Macedonia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Unfortunately, no effort has been made by the Croat and Serb political and cultural elites, either of the left or the right, to jointly reexamine and cross examine

their respective historical roles, including the emotion-laden issue of casualties during and after World War II. The level of mutual suspicion is still enormous. Pseudo-historical mythology still thrives among the Balkan peoples, and very likely will generate yet another bloody but ultimately futile conflict.

Q: As commander of the Communist partisans during World War II, Tito (Josip Broz), who later ruled the reconstituted Yugoslavia for three and a half decades, was certainly involved in his own share of atrocities. Has there been any serious effort to hold Tito, who died in 1980, historically accountable for his misdeeds during and immediately after the war?

A: Tito fought with the Soviets and the Western Allied forces during the war, and was therefore on the victorious side in 1945. His role as a perpetrator of Balkans' "killing fields" in the aftermath of World War II was staggering, especially against Croats and ethnic Germans. Since then, and for obvious reasons, neither American nor European scholars or media, have conscientiously examined the violent Titoist and Yugoslav past, except in a passing fashion. The Hague Tribunal has been even less willing to take on the Titoist past. If it were to do so, many features of what we today regard as "international law," "ethnic cleansing," or for that matter modern history writing, would be exposed as a fraud.

Q: How strong is the desire among Croatians to refute, with historical facts, unfounded accusations of war crimes during the Second World War? If so, has that fostered an interest in the larger issues raised by historical revisionism, including the origins and outcome of the war, the Holocaust question, and so forth?

A: Franjo Tudjman, a communist turned Croatian nationalist, openly challenged some greater-Serbian, Yugoslav and Communist myths in his books. For his critical reassessment of World War II estimates of deaths in the Balkans, he was imprisoned during the communist era. In terms of free historical inquiry, Croatia is today probably more open than the countries of the European Union. But under pressure from various EU and U.S. interest groups, the country is now well on its way toward globalist "normalcy." Throughout European academe and media, the term "revisionism," due in part to its semantic imprecision, has now acquired a pejorative meaning, with an undertone of criminality. Many scholars refrain from open debate for fear of having their reputations attacked, including seeing their titles or expertise disparaged in quotation

marks in hostile newspaper reports. Regardless of whether one agrees or disagrees with what revisionists write, when a country's judiciary, that is, its thought police, step in — as now happens in today's France and Germany — then freedom of speech becomes an empty phrase. What we see in the European Union today is the replica of the judicial mind control that I endured as a child in Titoist Yugoslavia — even though this thought control is implemented in today's EU in a much more sophisticated manner. I do not think that any freedom loving and tolerant man or woman is a priori trying to "deny" or "assert" anything. With the passage of time, some of our ardently held beliefs or conventional platitudes must inevitably be discarded. Historical events are inevitably bound to be reexamined within new time frames, and in perpetually new causal relationships.

For my part I have difficulty accepting the often-repeated claim by anti-communists of a hundred million victims of communist rule.

Moreover, so many millions could not have perished without the active or tacit collaboration of the vast majority of communized and scared citizens. To critically reexamine the communist "terror of all against all," one must read such scholars as Claude Polin, Alexander Zinoviev, and Ernst Nolte — men who are sometimes dubbed by the media as "revisionists," or worse, "right wingers."

I well understand the anger of Serb intellectuals over the negative Western media portrayal of the Serb role during the recent wars in the Balkans. Yet both Serb nationalists and leftists continue to cherish their cultic view of Serbs as victims of World War II Croat fascists. Possibly with the help of independent foreign scholars, the great Serbian icon of World War II victimhood might be brought down to size, and perhaps even exposed as yet another example of Balkan historical mythology.

Q: What is your view of the bloody conflicts in recent years in the former Yugoslavia, especially in Bosnia and Kosovo? Were those conflicts inevitable? What can be done to lessen the likelihood of similar conflicts in the future?

A: These conflicts, including those in Bosnia and Kosovo, appear, especially in hindsight, as futile and a terrible waste of life, property and time. But the root causes of the conflicts are to be found in the post-World War I Versailles settlement, the ideology of multiculturalism, and the various forms of political romanticism that have shaped our world.

Q: What lessons do you think the United States, and the world, can learn from the breakup of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia?

A: Putting different people together into larger, unnatural entities brings disaster. Mutual vilification and name calling eventually become the norm. Among the similarities between the former Soviet Union and present-day America is a comparably linear and static view of history. In the former Soviet Union the ruling elites and their scribes fostered an artificial social order with decrees and formulas. When people lose trust in their ruling class, they inevitably seek recourse in abstract laws and practices that hardly reflect the pulse of a nation. This is manifest in the ambiguity of the much vaunted liberal “rule of law” in today’s America. For example, local and federal authorities in the USA naively seek to address the country’s deep-rooted racial problems with ever more social engineering, “affirmative action,” multiculturalism, and “integration.” Or when the economy takes a turn for the worse, the call grows for even more deregulation and cutthroat market democracy. The results, as a rule, are contrary to those expected. Exactly the opposite is what should be done.

Q: The United States now seems to be the indisputably dominant power in today’s world — militarily, culturally and politically. How permanent do you regard this hegemony, or do you see signs of fragility?

A: Contrary to the view held by many, especially in Europe, I do not think that America ever concocted a secret or conspiratorial plan for world hegemony. Every form of reductionism is a form of self-serving intellectual sloth. Even among those who embrace theories of alleged “dark forces” and “conspiratorial” elements, there is no unanimity. Historically, America has always stepped, sometimes on purpose, sometimes not, into geopolitical voids left by others. Let us leave aside whether this is good or bad. Probably it is bad, but here I am just trying to identify the process.

Europeans were incapable of stopping the recent bloodshed in the former Yugoslavia, and it is fortunate that the USA was able to do so. A similar analysis could be applied on the global level. When a nation, a race, or an individual gives up his civic courage and indulges in self-censorship or feigned guilt feelings, he signs his own death warrant. He then becomes easy prey even to an unarmed preacher, or some Oriental guru or Levantine messiah. Historical examples of this are plentiful. Those who are responsible for this state of affairs in the American and European educational systems, the media and public life today, are wealthy, spineless white

European and U.S. elites, who while saluting freedom of thought and expression indulge in grotesque fawning and thought self-control. They will hardly elicit sympathy at the hands of tomorrow’s enemy.

Q: What do you think are the most important misconceptions by Europeans of the United States and American history?

A: In many ways America, according to its founding fathers, was at the same time a rejection and a fulfillment of European dreams. I am sure that if Washington or Jefferson were to be resurrected today they would be dissidents in the country that uses and misuses their name. But which America are we talking about today anyway? A virtually vicarious, open-border, MTV America, or an America that is a remnant of the “deep south,” or something else? Present-day Europe, both East and West, is a poorly mimicked replica of this double travesty of what, in my view, America should not be.

Q: What do you think are the most important misconceptions by Americans of Europe and European history?

A: Europe is far from being homogeneous. A strange complex of inferiority exists on both sides of the Atlantic. Many French and German intellectuals tend to ridicule America’s alleged historical ignorance, but few of them have any deep understanding of what is happening even on the other side of the Rhine River. In fact, American thinkers have achieved some extraordinary insights, particularly in the realm of sociobiology, a field that is still widely ignored in Europe. What both Europe and America need is a true elite whose value system is based on non-materialistic foundations of a common Greco-Roman heritage, while avoiding tribal agendas with their suicidally destructive tendencies.

Q: In his new book, *The Death of the West*, Patrick Buchanan paints a grim and gloomy portrait of the future for Europe and European culture. Do you share his pessimism? What are the causes of this catastrophic situation, and what, if anything, can be done to reverse the trend?

A: I agree with Pat Buchanan. But unlike many conservatives, I tend to look critically at the root causes of the approaching death of the West. Was it not the Western millennium-long belief in one bizarre form of Oriental monotheism, that is, Christianity, along with its modern egalitarian derivatives, that have brought us today to our modern “love thy exotic neighbor” entropy, and self-hate? It seems to me that the only way

to stop the process of Western collective suicide is by discarding the ideology of progress, the myth of egalitarianism, and the theology of market democracy.

Q: How much do nations, or leaders, really “learn” from history?

A: They never do, because they never bother to learn. The linear concept of the “end of history,” a currently fashionable notion that holds that liberal democracy is a final or a permanent form of social order, is a willful act of intellectual stupidity. History is always open to new deliriums and hoaxes, but it is also open to new rebirth. The great problem is that many fine people get killed in the process. I have no illusions about a static world. After all who says that even in a static paradise we would not experience, after a prolonged bliss, periods of boredom? The static “end of history” view

reminds me of the “static poems” (“Statische Gedichte”) by the German poet Gottfried Benn, who was punished by literary oblivion after World War II.

Thanks

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Subversion of Science: How Psychology Lost Darwin

GLAYDE WHITNEY

Introduction

When real history is finally written, mainstream social sciences during most of the twentieth century will be exposed as consisting largely of ethnically motivated disinformation. Much has already been written about the subversion of American anthropology: the shift from legitimate science to ideological pap under the direction of the Jewish immigrant Franz Boas (Degler, 1991; MacDonald, 1998; Pearson, 1996). Much less has been written about how psychology was transformed from a branch of natural science into a section of the Marxist-influenced social sciences. In this paper I will provide information on the subversion of psychology, pointing out the role of Boas and others in the subversion of psychology.

To understand what happened to the social sciences in the twentieth century, it helps to first place it in the context of the on-going ideological and political war. In the sciences this has been strange war because it has been so one-sided. On one side are effective ideological warriors, well versed in persuasion techniques and

ruthless in the pursuit of their agenda. On the other side have mostly been naive, non-political scientists engaged in an objective search for truth about the real world. What's worse is that many on the side of objective science have never even realized that a war was being waged. Viewing honesty as an essential first requirement and highest virtue in science, they naturally, but naively, have assumed that all those who call themselves scientists share these same values and objectives. Thus, at least in the short-term, honest science has been devastatingly out-gunned by adversaries who pursue very different objectives, and with a very different rulebook.

In this regard, I refer to two general commentaries about the cultural scene in America, and, by extension, in the West, that, in their titles, catch the flavor of the great transformation. One is entitled *It's a War, Stupid!*, written by David Horowitz, Peter Collier and J. P. Duberg (1997). Horowitz is one of America's most prolific "neo-conservative" writers. "Neo-conservatives" are mostly radical-left activists from the 1960s who have adopted a "conservatism" that is characterized particularly by militant support for Israel. Horowitz is a self-proclaimed "red diaper baby," raised in the Communist party atmosphere of New York City's Jewish community. *It's a War, Stupid!* makes the point that throughout the twentieth century, socialists waged a one-sided ideological war against traditional society. As in any war, truth is one of the first casualties. Horowitz's message is that many of traditionalism's

Glayde Whitney (1939-2002), was a nationally renowned psychologist. At the time of his death, he was a full professor of psychology at Florida State University (Tallahassee), where he had taught for 31 years. This essay is adapted from his lecture on May 29, 2000, at the 13th Conference of the Institute for Historical Review, Irvine, Calif. Preparation for this paper was supported in part by a grant from the Pioneer Fund.

supporters never even realized what was going on. The title could just as aptly have been *Wake Up, Stupid!*

The other book is *America's 30 Years War: Who is Winning?*, by Balint Vazsonyi (1998). Vazsonyi escaped his native Hungary during the short-lived 1956 anti-Soviet revolution. Having lived under two socialist totalitarian regimes, the Nazi and the Soviet, he is personally familiar with the tactics of each. In his book, his main concern is that socialism is slowly transforming America. While the media happily tells us that the collapse of the Soviet Union marks the end of the Cold War, in fact the international socialists are winning a worldwide ideological war. Vazsonyi identifies four American founding principles — rule of law; individual rights; guarantee of personal property; and a shared cultural identity — that, he says, are rooted in this country's unique English, Anglo-Saxon heritage. These basic principles, he warns, are slowly being replaced by socialism. Thus, we today have government-mandated group rights, government controlled redistribution of property, and divisive multiculturalism.

It wasn't always that way.

Early Darwinian Psychology

At the beginning of psychology as a science there was Darwin. In 1844 Charles Darwin (Desmond & Moore, 1991) penned a 230-page manuscript outlining his basic theory. It was never published, although Darwin instructed his wife to have it published in case he died. In 1859 his theory was presented to the public in what Darwin described as a "short abstract" — it was 490 pages of text — entitled *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection Or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life*. The essential features of this the theory are three straightforward notions. First, Differences: individual differences in many traits. Second, Heredity: the individual differences were to some extent inherited. And, third, Selection: the individually different heritable traits could contribute to differential success in the struggle for life. If the most successful types in this struggle for life differ from the average, if superior survivors had more or less of certain traits, then a species could change, that is evolve, under the pressure of natural selection.

In the *Origin of Species* Darwin almost completely avoided mention of man. Indeed the only comment on man is a brief passage near the end: "In the distant future I see open fields for far more important researches. Psychology will be based on a new foundation, that of the necessary acquirement of each mental



Glayde Whitney addresses the 13th IHR Conference.

power and capacity by gradation. Light will be thrown on the origin of man and his history." (Darwin, 1859, p. 458, 1st edition).

It was Sir Francis Galton (Whitney, 1990), Darwin's half-cousin, who immediately pursued the implications for psychology. Galton was one of the many scientists who, upon exposure to Darwin's theory of natural selection, reacted by saying something along the lines of "Of course! Why didn't I think of that?" By 1865 Galton had published two papers dealing with the inheritance of individual differences, published under the title *Hereditary Talent and Character*, which were then elaborated in his 1869 book, *Hereditary Genius: An Inquiry into its Laws and Consequences* (Galton, 1869).

In his enthusiasm to discover the laws of inheritance, Galton originated much of biometrics, and invented many of the statistical techniques, such as regression, correlation, partitioning of variance, that are still in general use today (Stigler, 1986). Galton discovered that individual differences for many traits were distributed according to a normal distribution. Indeed, it was Galton who named the familiar bell curve "normal," in the sense of commonly observed. He also discovered that psychological traits were no less heritable than were physical traits. He coined the term "eugenics"

(well born) for the new science of human inheritance and evolution, and for the applications of this new science to the welfare of mankind (Whitney, 1990).

By the beginning of the twentieth century many social progressives were eugenicists, and the intellectual founders of the new social and psychological sciences were thoroughgoing hereditarians and Darwinists. For example William James, often called America's first psychologist, and G. Stanley Hall, the founder of the American Psychological Association, along with many others viewed psychological science as a branch of natural science. Psychology's main concerns included study of two central aspects of Darwinian evolution, first the study of heritable individual differences and second, a study of natural selection which resulted in human instincts and inherited behavioral predispositions. The major theoretical orientation in American psychology was named "Functionalism," to emphasize the study of "function" in the sense of what good was some trait — how did it function — in the struggle for survival that was natural selection (Degler, 1991; Goodwin, 1999).

After a beginning in which Darwinian evolution was central to psychological theory, during the twentieth century Darwin was lost to mainstream psychology.

A Radical Shift to Egalitarianism

By the end of the twentieth century a remarkable theoretical and ideological shift had taken place. The basic tenants of a Darwinian approach — according to which inherited differences matter in real life — are routinely attacked as being morally and ethically repugnant. (In this view, truth or falsity is irrelevant, and only "feel good" slogans matter.) In this ideologically driven atmosphere, emotion-charged terms such as "racist," "sexist," "Nazi" and "neo-Nazi," are routinely hurled at proponents of a Darwinian perspective.

Darwinian scientists are castigated for "genetic determinism," which is dismissed as being overly simplistic. But this is a dishonest criticism. The label is a "straw man." In fact, no Darwinian scientist has ever been a "genetic determinist." Today the so-called social sciences support the prevailing notions and slogans of modern liberal democracy. These notions and slogans include: egalitarianism, the leveling down of everyone in society; environmental determinism, which assumes that heredity is socially insignificant; biological equality with cultural relativism, the "Politically Correct" view according to which all cultures are equally good, except for "bad" Western Christian civilization; Marxist

socialism and Communism, which are regarded as the broadly "progressive" path to an ideal future (Hunt, 1999; Pearson, 1996; 1997; Whitney, 1997; 2000).

This radical shift from Darwinian science to an egalitarian or Marxist ideology occurred not on the basis of any new empirical evidence, but actually in opposition to many new empirical discoveries.

The anti-Darwinian ideology originated from within European social/political movements of the nineteenth century. Beginning with the French Revolution (1789) and then across Europe throughout the nineteenth century, the Jews of Europe were gradually "emancipated." The last legal restrictions on their activities (at least outside of Russia) ended with the new German constitution of 1871. Although Europe's Jews were legally treated as equal and fully integrated citizens in what was then a largely Christian civilization, much of the Jewish intelligentsia remained bitter hostile toward traditional European culture. Perhaps the most influential example was Karl Marx. Although his father was a lawyer who had been baptized as a Christian for social-business reasons, Marx was the descendent, through both parents, of a long line of rabbinical scholars.

Darwin formulated the theory of natural selection as a mechanism for evolution at about the same time that Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels issued the *Communist Manifesto*. Shortly after its publication in 1847, a wave of attempted revolutions broke out across Europe. The first volume of Marx's great work, *Das Kapital*, appeared in 1867, nine years after the publication in 1859 of Darwin's *On the Origin of Species*, and two years before Galton's *Hereditary Genius*. Marx had wanted to dedicate *Das Kapital* to Darwin, out of appreciation for Darwin's evolutionary materialism and the notion of progress in the world. But Marx was certainly no biologist.

According to Marx, mankind had evolved by Darwinian natural selection until the appearance of language and culture. Then a different mechanism of history completely replaced biological evolution. After the "means of production" came into private hands at the dawn of recorded history, Marx explained, struggle and warfare between social-economic classes became the all-decisive motor of human development. Along with nearly all educated persons of his time, Marx was, by current standards, both a racist and a sexist. But the intellectual and political movement that bears his name soon came to stand for a radical egalitarianism that is also characteristic of contemporary (and "politically correct") democratic liberalism.

Franz Boas, a German-born intellectual who lived most of his life in the United States, is rightly credited, above all others, for displacing Darwinian evolution, at least in this country. But for insight into his approach and influence, we need to start with a consideration of his uncle-by-marriage, Abraham Jacobi.

Some Major Players

Abraham Jacobi (1830-1919). His family was close friends of Franz Boas' mother's family, the Meyers of Minden. When Jacobi was sent to study at the *Gymnasium* in Minden, Westphalia, he spent most of his social time at the Meyers' household. Living there was a son his own age, as well as a younger boy whom he tutored, and the Meyer sisters, Sophie and Fanny. Sophie later married Meier Boas and become mother of Franz, while Fanny eventually married Abraham Jacobi. Uncle-by-marriage Jacobi remained a strong, life-long influence on Franz Boas.

Even while at *Gymnasium* the young Abraham Jacobi was attracted to ideas of the radical left. Later while a medical student he, along with Sophie Meyer and sister Fanny, were members of a radical political club. All three engaged in various activities in support of the Communist League during the failed revolutions of 1848-1851.

In a letter that has survived, Sophie expressed her bitter disappointment at the revolution's failure, and her frustration over the role of women in traditional society (Cole, 1999). Sophie was also active in the revolutionary movements of the 1870s. Young Franz Boas would absorb these attitudes, almost literally, at his mother's breast.

In August 1851, following Abraham Jacobi's arrest in Berlin for high treason, the police searched his sister's home in Minden. Jacobi was incarcerated for two years. After his release, but fearing another arrest, he fled to England.

Jacobi visited Karl Marx in London, and for a time was a guest of Friedrich Engels in Manchester. (Cole, 1999). Finding it difficult to practice medicine in England, Jacobi moved on to the United States, where he settled in New York. In due time he became a successful physician, a leader in New York's Jewish community, and a professor of medicine (pediatrics) at Columbia University.

Let there be no mistake with regard to Jacobi's interests and activities. While benefiting from the freedoms in the largely Anglo-Saxon American republic, Jacobi strove to undermine the very society whose freedoms



Charles Darwin in 1849, at age 40.

allowed him to thrive. Karl Marx took note of Jacobi's activities promoting revolutionary socialism in the United States. Marx wrote "Jacobi is making good business. The Yankees like his serious manner." (Putnum, 1967, p.17). And on March 29, 1917, he signed a cable of congratulations to the new liberal-democratic government in Russia. Other signatories were his fellow Jewish community leaders, Oscar Straus and Rabbi Steven S. Wise (Szajkowski, 1972).

Jacobi also helped Franz Boas. He introduced Franz to his future wife, the daughter of a successful New York physician. And it was Jacobi who encouraged Franz to emigrate, in 1886, to the United States, where he arranged for his friend a fellow "Forty-eighter" Carl Schurz to get Franz a job at a museum. (Schurz, prominent in American political and intellectual life, was for a time a U.S. Senator from Missouri and Secretary of the Interior under President Hayes.) Even with such influential backers, Franz Boas for some years drifted from one temporary or part-time position to another.) In 1896, after a full ten years in the U.S., Columbia University reluctantly offered him a part-time, and temporary, position as lecturer assigned to its Psychology Department. He landed this post only after Abraham Jacobi, the University's influential professor of medicine, personally guaranteed to pay one-half of Boas'



Franz Boas

salary (Cole, 1999).

In 1899 Franz Boas was finally appointed as a Professor of Anthropology in a newly created Department of Psychology and Anthropology (Hyatt, 1990). He secured this post, however, only after Jacobi had guaranteed, once again, to underwrite a major portion of his salary (Cole, 1999).

Franz Uri Boas (1858-1942) grew up in a radical socialist Jewish household where he early developed an enduring dislike — hatred may not be too strong a word — for the traditional Prussian Christian culture that surrounded him. Later, from his position in the United States as an anthropologist, he attacked and subverted traditional European-American heritage, norms and values.

Never a coward, as a student in Germany Franz fought numerous duels in response to real or imagined slights and anti-Semitic incidents. The tip of his nose was snipped off in one fight, and he lost a bit of scalp in another. He gained a scar above one eye, and a slash from chin to temple on one side of his face.

As early as 1894 Boas was arguing that biological race was not a factor in intelligence or ability (Hyatt, 1990). Even his sympathetic biographers make the point that Boas' work on behalf of Negroes and prejudice was merely a convenient screen; the self-serving aspects of his work would have been only too evident had he directly addressed Jewish interests. By working toward leveling whites and blacks he was directly contributing to the ascendancy of Jews, because if the whites could be convinced to accept blacks as equals, they would then accept anyone (Hyatt, 1990).

Indeed, writing in the flagship journal *American Anthropologist*, Jewish author Gelya Frank maintains that

Franz Boas' theories concerning race and culture were consistent with the assimilationist strategies of German Jews in America ... By endorsing civil rights for blacks through the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the National Urban League, David Levering Lewis notes, if perhaps too dismissively, that Jews fought anti-Semitism by "remote control." "By assisting in the crusade to prove that Afro-Americans could be decent, conformist, cultured human beings, the civil rights Jews were, in a sense, spared some of the necessity of directly rebutting anti-Semitic stereotypes; for if blacks could make good citizens, clearly, most white Americans believed, all other groups could make better ones." (Lewis, 1992: 31, in Frank, 1997, p. 735)

Numerous authors have dealt with the influence of Boas in leading anthropology and associated sciences into the egalitarian and environmentalist fallacies. Carleton Putnam, for one, has insightfully commented:

What could have been more natural than that a movement calling itself, here, Communism, there, Marxism, somewhere else Socialism (but always having a base which I found easiest to describe by the word equalitarianism) should in its strategy include subversion of sciences as well as governments? (Putnam, 1961, p. 16)

Putnam went on to write that as he read Boas,

page by page my amazement grew. Here was clever and insidious propaganda posing in the name of science, fruitless efforts to prove unprovable theories ... the pattern began to repeat itself, the slippery techniques in evading

the main issues, the prolix diversions, the sound without substance. (Putnam, 1961, p. 18)

While much more could be said here about Boas' technique, here I wish to point out explicitly the intellectual and personal ties between Boas, the Boasian approach to social sciences, and the development (or, perhaps, devolvment) of psychology.

The main propagandist for the elimination of Darwinian considerations in psychology, and their replacement with environmentalism, was John Broadus Watson, the father of so-called "behaviorism." Watson was so influential that by mid-century much of academic psychology had re-defined itself as the "study of behavior".

Among critics the shift from psychology as the study of mind to psychology as the study of behavior, led to some bitterly insightful jokes. One was that psychology — the word comes from "psyche" the greek word for soul, and "ology" which means the study of — began as the scientific study of the soul, the very basis of humanity. Then with the rise of materialistic science, psychology first lost its soul and became the study of mind and consciousness. Then came the rise of Freudian psychoanalysis with its emphasis on the importance of the unconscious; psychology lost consciousness. With Watson and behaviorism, it finally lost its mind.

John Broadus Watson (1878-1958) was born at Reedy River, South Carolina, and named by his devout mother after a famous Baptist minister, John Broadus. In the fall of 1900, J. B. Watson began graduate studies at the University of Chicago (Buckley, 1989). To understand his development as a protagonist of anti-Darwinian psychology, we need to look into what he encountered at Chicago.

A gift from John D. Rockefeller, the University of Chicago opened in 1892. Being very well endowed, it early became a leader in graduate education by hiring the best-available faculty. The so-called "functionalist" approach to psychological theory, which (as mentioned earlier) emphasized Darwinian natural selection, was often called "The Chicago School" because of its emphasis by important scholars at the University of Chicago (Buckley, 1989; Goodwin, 1999). This is somewhat ironic because it was an education provided by Chicago that led to the ridicule and downfall of "The Chicago School." To understand the formation of Watson's outlook, we must look at the influence on him of three of his professors there: John Dewey, Jacques Loeb, and Henry Donaldson.

John Dewey, famous for his endeavors in experi-

mental and progressive education, was for ten years chairman of Chicago's Philosophy Department, before moving on in 1904 to Columbia University. Although Dewey is famous for a number of things, including an emphasis on applying the results of experimental psychology to education, and for his support of so-called "progressive" movements in society and education, he was not a Communist. Indeed, although early a supporter of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), during the 1930s he resigned from the ACLU with the complaint that it had been taken over by Communists (Scruton, 1995). J. B. Watson originally applied to Chicago to study philosophy under Dewey. He rather quickly shifted to psychology, later saying that he never understood anything Dewey said. (Dewey is said to have been a terrible lecturer.) Although Watson switched his major to psychology, he kept philosophy, and Dewey, as a minor.

Jacques Loeb was a famous physiologist who emigrated from Germany in 1891. He was also one of the more outspoken socialist radicals of his time. He was bitterly hostile to Darwinian evolutionary theory because, he said, it could be used to support Christian theology and free markets. He also argued that evolution did not fulfill the true role of a science because it was not experimental enough (Pauley, 1987). J. B. Watson later emphasized that a true science of psychology would be able to "predict and control" behavior — a mantra that he acquired from Jacques Loeb. Loeb taught that the control of behavior was the ultimate object of scientific research. For Loeb, "Scientific knowledge was a tool to modify and control the behavior of existing organisms and ultimately to produce new organisms artificially through biological engineering" (Buckley, 1989, p. 41).

This was a message that the young Watson thoroughly absorbed.

The third strong influence on J. B. Watson was the well-known brain specialist, Henry H. Donaldson. Before going to Chicago in 1892, Donaldson had been on the faculty at Clark University where, at the same time, Franz Boas held a one-year-at-a-time appointment as a docent. Donaldson and Boas, with their respective wives, lived only one block apart, were of nearly the same age, and each had one child, also about the same age. Furthermore, their wives got on famously together. They quickly became fast friends. Years later Boas would describe Donaldson as his best friend in America; the Boas' even named a later baby (Henri) after Henry Donaldson (Hyatt, 1990; Cole, 1999). It was in the laboratory of this best friend and soulmate of

Franz Boas that John B. Watson did his research for his doctoral dissertation. A volume was put together to honor Boas on the 25th anniversary of his Ph.D. (Boas, 1906). The first paper in this special honorary volume was authored by Henry Donaldson, with appreciation to J. B. Watson (Donaldson, 1906). Thus Watson's indoctrination in progressive socialist environmentalism, and anti-Darwinism, came through three of his most influential teachers in his graduate education.

By all accounts Watson was a bright student and a hard worker. When he was awarded his doctoral degree in 1903 he was, at 25, the youngest person to ever earn a doctorate from Chicago up to that time. Also in 1903 Watson married a 19-year-old undergraduate student that provided another link to liberal socialism. His new wife, Mary Ickes, was the younger sister of Harold Ickes (Buckley, 1989). Watson's new brother-in-law played a major role in promoting egalitarian, socialist policies in the United States. For a time Harold Ickes was president of the Chicago branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). He later was Secretary of the Interior under President Franklin Roosevelt, who put him in charge of some of the most famous "New Deal" make-work projects (Clarke, 1996; Watkins, 1990). So dedicated was Ickes to racial egalitarianism that historian Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., described him as the Roosevelt administration's "informal Secretary of Negro Relations" (Schlesinger, 1957).

As a 65-year-old widower, Harold Ickes married a woman nearly 40 years his junior. Their son, also named Harold Ickes, later held influential posts, both official and unofficial, in the Clinton administration.

Thus did John B. Watson begin his academic career well connected, both academically and politically, to liberalism. In 1913 he was invited to present a series of lectures at Columbia University. The first was published under the title "Psychology as the Behaviorist Views it" (Watson, 1913). One of its main themes was that the "theoretical goal" of psychological science should be "the prediction and control of behavior", and that behaviorism would produce techniques for social control to improve society.

In 1915, Watson's presidential address to the American Psychological Association was entitled "The place of the conditioned reflex in psychology" (Watson, 1916). Here Watson introduced the conditioned reflex, studied by the Russians Pavlov and Bechterev, as central to all psychological development. In his view learning-conditioning was central, while inherited influences on development were simply unimportant.

Watson continued to write for decades in a provoc-

ative and propagandistic style. Here are some samples of that style, from his 1930 book *Behaviorism*:

Our hereditary structure lies ready to be shaped in a thousand different ways — the same structure — depending on the way in which the child is brought up.... Objectors will probably say that the behaviorist is flying in the face of the known facts of eugenics and experimental evolution — that the geneticists have proven that many of the behavioral characteristics of the parents are handed down to the offspring.... Our reply is that the geneticists are working under the banner of the old "faculty" psychology. One need not give very much weight to any of their conclusions. We no longer believe in faculties nor in any stereotyped patterns of behavior which go under the names of "talent" and inherited capacities. (Watson, 1930, pp. 97-99)

Give me a dozen healthy infants, well-formed, and my own specified world to bring them up in, and I'll guarantee to take any one at random and train him to become any type of specialist I might select — doctor, lawyer, artist, merchant-chief and, yes, beggar-man and thief, regardless of his talents, penchants, tendencies, abilities, vocations, and race of his ancestors. (p. 104)

Watson's view could hardly have been more incorrect. As one eminent psychologist has pointed out, "Since Watson's pronouncement, no single year has passed without publication of some evidence showing it to be wrong" (McClearn, 1962, p. 237). Against the evidence, this extreme environmentalist and anti-hereditarian view in time became the entrenched "traditional view" that is today tamely accepted by most psychologists.

This anti-hereditarian view does not differ in essence from the ludicrous "Lysenkoism" of the Soviet Union, which is often cited as a sterling example of the folly of trying to subordinate science to political ideology (Soyfer, 1994). But whereas the Lysenkoist anti-hereditarianism of the Stalin-era Soviet Union was imposed by government order, in the United States it prevails *de facto* by "consensus." Sadly, these counterfactual egalitarian and environmental determinist theories are still central to the views of many social scientists, and today underlie much social and educational policy in the United States (Whitney, 1998a).

What Watson did for psychology, another disciple of Boas did for sex. Margaret Mead (1901-1978), a bisexual graduate student of Franz Boas, went to Samoa to carry out the research for her doctoral dissertation. Upon her return she published her findings in a book entitled *Coming of Age in Samoa: A Psychological Study of Primitive Youth for Western Civilization* (Mead, 1928), which became one of the most influential works in the United States from the 1940s through the 1970s. The sub-title should have been a warning. The gist of Mead's best-selling book is that the sexual constraints of traditional Western Christian civilization *caused* the emotional difficulties of puberty and led to wars, prejudice, bigotry, and suppression of women. Mead claimed that Samoan adolescents were allowed, in fact encouraged, to engage in free, casual, promiscuous sex. The result was a society of happy, well adjusted, peaceful, open, kind people. This outlook was expressed in the popular late-1960s slogan, "Make Love, Not War," and encouraged the "sexual revolution" of that era. In the final years of her life, Margaret Mead was a cultural icon.

Cultural anthropologists loved *Coming of Age in Samoa*, who made it one of most often assigned works in the field. In the early 1980s it was exposed as a pack of lies (Freeman, 1983; O'Keefe, 1983). In the year 2000, the Intercollegiate Studies Institute of Wilmington, Delaware, named Mead's 1928 treatise the worst non-fiction book of the past century. They could have named it the worst book of fiction. On this there is now broad scholarly consensus. The main unresolved question is who was the worst liar: was it Mead herself, or was she misled by her young native informants (Freeman, 1998)? But even though it has been thoroughly discredited, some anthropologists maintain that the importance and goodness of Mead's message overrides her book's lack of veracity (Barkan, 1992; Foerstel & Gilliam, 1992; Lamb, 1994). "Mead's first husband, Luther Cressman, later recalled Mead's characteristic response upon being shown that a conclusion of hers was not true: 'If it isn't, it ought to be,' she would say." (Price, 1999, p. A17)

Among Mead's other influential works was another classic of creative writing, *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies* (1935). Here Mead tried to show that the male chauvinism of Western Civilization was a cultural phenomenon with no basis in human biology. She claimed that in other cultures, with their non-Western traditions, relations among the sexes were very different. In one, she contended, women were the sexually aggressive ones while the males played coy.



Margaret Mead

Women ran things politically, while men tended the home. In another non-Western culture, she maintained, both men and women were peaceful and ladylike, while in a third both were nasty strivers, similar to white, Western males. In the three cultures she portrayed, along with Western civilization, every possible combination of female-male dominance relationship was manifest. The conclusion was obvious: differences in the social roles of the men and women in Western and European culture must be due to the evils of traditional Western Christian civilization.

Pontifical Authoritarianism

Franz Boas and his disciples were not always bashful about proclaiming the social and political implications of their ideology. Boas received funding, in part, from the American Jewish Committee and from Jacob Schiff, the prominent Jewish banker who, it is said, helped to finance the February 1917 Russian revolution. And Boas himself was a member of more than 40 organizations identified as Communist or Communist front groups (Hyatt, 1990). (Interestingly, the daughter of vice president Al Gore, Jr., married Andrew Schiff, the grandson of Jacob Schiff.)

In October of 1935, Franz Boas wrote to Raymond Pearl requesting a statement on race that, after being

signed by prominent scientists, would be widely circulated. In demurring Pearl wrote that he questioned

the wisdom and strategy of taking the action you suggest in your letter.... I have strong aversion to round-robins by scientific men, and most particularly where the pronouncement is really, however camouflaged, about political questions or angles of political questions which have more or less relation to purely scientific matters.... I am unalterably opposed now and all times towards any attitude of pontifical authoritarianism under the aegis of science. (Provine, 1973)

Perhaps the most outstanding example of "pontifical authoritarianism under the aegis of science" was the 1950 UNESCO Statement on Race, which, after scientific protests, was modified and reissued in 1952. Among its other falsehoods, this widely cited statement declared that there was no evidence for hereditary psychological differences among races. The UNESCO declaration was the product of a committee headed by one of Boas' students, Ashley Montagu (born Israel Ehrenburg) (Provine, 1973; Pearson, 1996). Montagu had earlier authored a heavily promoted book that sought to debunk the biological reality of race, *Man's Most Dangerous Myth: The Fallacy of Race* (1942). The UNESCO statement was sent to 106 anthropologists or geneticists for comment. Of the 80 who responded, 31 had substantial criticisms, principally about the provision implying equality of mental traits among races. Twenty-six disagreed with details, while only 23 accepted the statement as presented (Provine, 1973).

Kenneth Clark, a prominent, Columbia-trained black psychologist, was secretly funded by the American Jewish Committee (Svonkin, 1997). Clark provided false and misleading testimony that the U.S. Supreme Court used in its landmark 1954 ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka Kansas*, which forced school desegregation (van den Haag, 1960).

Another Boasian, psychologist Otto Klineberg (1899-1992), spelled out the social-political agenda in his supposedly scholarly book *Race Differences* (1935):

The general conclusion of this book is that there is no scientific proof of racial differences in mentality.... There is no reason therefore, to treat two people differently because they differ in their physical type.... There is no reason to make immigration laws stricter for one people than another.... There is no reason to pass laws

against miscegenation.... There is no innate aversion of races to one another.

There is an increasing tendency to see in the race problem merely one aspect of the class war, in which those who are in a position of privilege make of unimportant differences in skin color or religion or language a convenient excuse for their own continued domination. Those who look upon race relations from this point of view see little hope of any real improvement until the present competitive system has been replaced by a new social order. They point with conviction to Russia, where the economic change has been accompanied by a more sympathetic treatment of minorities, and where the class struggle and the race problem seem to have disappeared together. (Benjamin, 1997, pp. 617-618)

Suppression of Common Knowledge

That the social sciences have been largely corrupted, mainly by Jews with a leftist ideological agenda, is common knowledge among academics in the field. An example is Franz Samelson, in his 1978 paper, "From 'race psychology' to 'studies in prejudice,'" published in the scholarly *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences*. After taking note of what some regard as a paradigm shift in psychology, "from evolutionary genetics to the culture concept, from Darwin to Boas," Samelson wrote: "It seems arguable that a change in the pattern of ethnic backgrounds among psychologists contributed significantly to the shift.... Early American science was predominantly 'Puritan' or at least Anglo-Saxon. From the twenties on, however, ethnics began to move into the profession in ever-increasing numbers, at first primarily with recruits from Jewish backgrounds." (Benjamin, 1997, p. 639).

Gelya Frank (1997), in an example of Jewish triumphalist writing, points out that cultural anthropology remains largely a Jewish endeavor that consists of training for social activism. Svonkin (1997) writes in a similar vein. MacDonald (1998) presents an extensive and excellent study of these activities.

With knowledge of behavior genetics and race differences increasing at a prodigious rate (Whitney, 1999), members of the Jewish intelligentsia are, if anything, becoming more strident in attempting to subvert Darwinian psychology. Examples include the widely praised book by Jared Diamond, *Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies* (1997), which argues

against genetic race differences, and *Alas, Poor Darwin: Arguments Against Evolutionary Psychology* (Rose, 2000).

Even though this process is common knowledge among academics, the suppression of knowledge about Jewish involvement in issues linking genetics, race, psychology is being actively pursued. In many countries “politically incorrect” discussion of these topics can get one fired, while worldwide the Anti-Defamation League, the Simon Wiesenthal Center, and allied pressure groups are pushing to criminalize any serious discussion of race differences (Whitney, 1998b). Hopefully the tide will turn before the “traditional enemies of the truth” gain total control.

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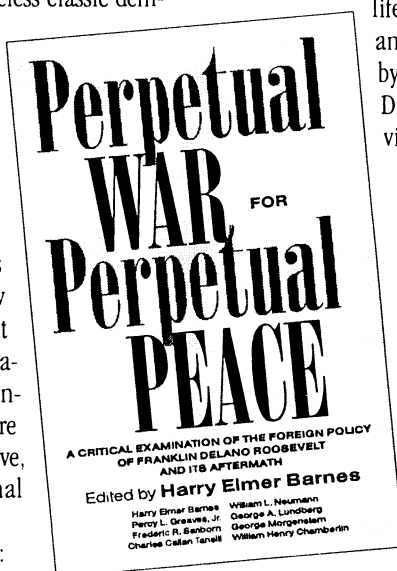
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It is the republication of books such as *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace* which does so much to discommode and annoy the beneficiaries of the New World Order.

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

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The United States and Israel

JOSEPH SOBRAN

Killing Gentiles

Ariel Sharon has finally gone too far. Israel's thugish prime minister thought he could crush the Palestinian revolt with a policy of violence, killing Palestinians until they begged for mercy. But the policy has backfired by getting lots of Jews killed too, and the violence on both sides is escalating dangerously. Even Sharon's indulgent American patrons, George W. Bush and Colin Powell, have called for a halt to the madness.

Sharon is acting according to his lights. He has never concealed his contempt for "the goy" — the gentile. Israel is based on the principle that Jews have rights "goyim" don't have. Hence its abuse of Arab gentiles and its defiance of Western gentiles.

Mark Weber, of the Institute for Historical Review, has summed up the situation in one pithy sentence: "The truth is that if we held Israel to the same standards that we apply to Serbia, Afghanistan, and Iraq, U.S. bombers and missiles would be blasting Tel Aviv, and we'd be putting Israeli prime minister Sharon behind bars for war crimes and crimes against humanity."

Unless I've missed something, even such alleged

"anti-Semites" as David Duke and Louis Farrakhan don't advocate treating Jews as Israel treats gentiles. Anyone with a spark of decency would be ashamed to treat Jews that way. Yet a gentile can be accused of anti-Semitism even for the purely verbal sin of criticizing Israel, whereas a Jew who supports Sharon's physical cruelty is accused of ... well, nothing. We have no handy word for even the most brutal Jewish treatment of gentiles.

To challenge the Jews' right to oppress Palestinians is called "denying Israel's right to exist." Apparently its "right to exist" includes the right to oppress, and is indeed inseparable from it. Even the "peace plans" that call for separate Jewish and Palestinian states seem to take for granted the right of the Jewish state to treat Arabs within its borders as inferiors.

Perish the thought that Jews and gentiles should be equal! That would be anti-Semitism.

According to Israel's "amen corner" in this country, Israel can do no wrong, except to concede too much to the Palestinians. Israel is a heroic "democracy" even when it treats its minority like dirt, and a "reliable ally" of the United States even when it steals American military secrets and sells them to Communist countries.

It's an article of faith among the Amen Corner that the Israeli spy Jonathan Pollard — a national hero in Israel, by the way — has been punished far too harshly for his crimes, since the United States should have shared those secrets with Israel anyway. And far from recoiling from Sharon's brutality, the Amen Corner defends him at every turn, just as Stalin's fellow travel-

Joe Sobran is an author, lecturer and syndicated columnist. For 21 years he wrote for *National Review* magazine, including 18 years as a senior editor. He is editor of the monthly newsletter, *Sobran's* (P.O. Box 1383, Vienna, VA 22183, or see www.sobran.com) "Killing Gentiles," March 12, 2002, and "Is It Worth It?," Sept. 20, 2001, are reprinted by arrangement with Griffin Internet Syndicate. All rights reserved.

lers in this country used to justify Uncle Joe — except that some in the Amen Corner think Sharon isn't going far enough.

Not all the members of the Amen Corner are Jewish. Many are Christians — a shameful fact, since they never raise their voices in defense of Palestinian Christians. “See how these Christians love one another!” This kind of loyalty might make Judas Iscariot queasy.

The obvious danger is that the United States will once more be drawn into war with Israel's enemies, chiefly Iraq. If that happens, we probably won't be as lucky as in the 1991 Gulf War, which ended with an easy American victory and little cost until last September 11. This time the whole Middle East could erupt in war and revolution, leaving us with countless millions of bitter enemies on top of those we already have. It will be a boon to al-Qaeda recruitment.

The U.S. Government is toying with the possibility of using nuclear weapons in the war ahead — the war that the “war on terrorism” may morph into. We can be sure that the fanatical Sharon won't object, and some of his American apologists are sounding rather interested in the idea of nuking Arabs. If the United States does it, Israel won't have to.

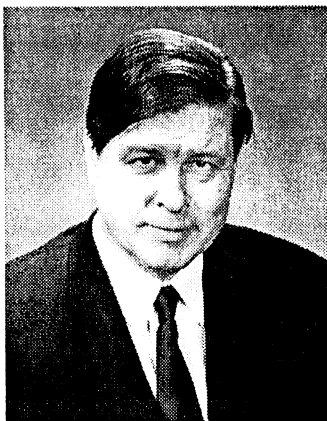
We can only hope that Bush, Powell, and the rest of the top echelon of the government — which may or may not include Congress these days — will come to their senses before they decide to strike Iraq. U.S. support for Israel has already cost us far too much, and it may yet cost us far more. Ariel Sharon leaves no excuse for blindness about what we are dealing with.

Is It Worth It?

One thing is clear: the recent horrible events in New York and Washington had nothing whatsoever, in any way, shape, or form, to do with U.S. support for Israel. Many Arabs and Muslims hate this country and would hate it just as bitterly if there were no such thing as Israel.

At least this is what we are hearing from Israel's apologists. The European press seems to assume that America's policy toward Israel helped provoke the 9/11 attack. To the naive eye this would seem rather obvious. Yet we are assured otherwise.

Writing in *The Wall Street Journal*, Norman Podhoretz asserts that “if Israel had never come into existence, or if it were magically to disappear, the U.S. would



Joseph Sobran

still stand as an embodiment of everything that most of these Arabs consider evil. Indeed,” he goes on, “the hatred of Israel is in large part a surrogate for anti-Americanism.”

According to this argument, the terrible violence we have suffered has no connection to our alliance with Israel; that alliance not only has no cost for us, but is a positive blessing. We are lucky to have such an ally.

In fact, by this logic, the cost of the alliance falls on Israel. It would seem to follow that Israel, in its own interest, should break its special ties to the United

States and reject any further American military and financial aid. Why should the Israelis, who have their own problems, take on all our enemies in addition?

Podhoretz's argument is an insult to his readers' intelligence. Of course American support for Israel has cost this country dearly. Any fool can see that, though in some quarters only a fool would say it out loud.

A personal note is relevant here. Fifteen years ago, Podhoretz and his circle tried to get me fired from my job at *National Review* for saying as much. That experience taught me a lot about the limits of free speech.

When it comes to Israel, an American journalist speaks his mind at his own risk. That helps explain why so few voices in the U.S. press are saying what European journalists may say without fear.

In the early 1980s it became clear to me that the pro-Israel lobby was trying to steer the United States into conflict with the Arab world. I saw nothing in the American interest in that; and my own two sons were approaching the draft age. Until then, I had been strongly pro-Israel myself; but sacrificing my boys for Israel was a higher price than I wanted to pay. Nor did I want other Americans to pay it.

But as soon as I began arguing publicly that the U.S.-Israel alliance was not only costly but dangerous to the United States, I became the target of Zionist vituperation and worse. Some, like Podhoretz, tried to ruin my career. And I've seen others get the same treatment.

Yet it should be clear even to those who see nothing to criticize in Israel that America pays a price for supporting it — and the price just got much heavier. No doubt there are other things that make this country hated and despised in the Arab-Muslim world, but to deny that Israel is a chief irritant is dishonest. And we must be free to say so.

My point here is not that Israel, or for that matter

America itself, is to blame. It's simply in the nature of things that, for all sorts of reasons, the interests of nations conflict; and when a nation projects force abroad, sooner or later it is going to provoke a strong reaction. What happened to us last week was only to be expected; I don't feel like a psychic for having predicted it for many years.

Now we have to ask ourselves a simple question: Is it worth it? It's a question we should have asked much earlier. Of course we have to weigh the rights and wrongs of the Middle East, but there comes a time when even taking the right side may bring unbearable costs.

It's not encouraging that the U.S. military response to the 9/11 attack has been gauchely dubbed "Operation Infinite Justice." Mercy may be infinite, but justice is always a matter of measure. And a sense of measure is just what has been missing in American foreign policy for lo, these many years.

Israel's Ariel Sharon Speaks

"Israel may have the right to put others on trial, but certainly no one has the right to put the Jewish people and the State of Israel on trial"

— Ariel Sharon, BBC News, March 25, 2001.

"Jews as individuals are great individuals — talented, ambitious, intelligent, smart. As a people [though], I would not give them as high a grade. Jews know how to hate."

— Ariel Sharon, in an interview with the Israeli daily *Yediot Aharonot*, Feb. 1, 2002. Quoted in the *Los Angeles Times*, Feb. 2, 2002, p. B3.

Is Israel Our Friend?

"Every time anyone says that Israel is our only friend in the Middle East, I can't help but think that before Israel, we had no enemies in the Middle East."

— John Sheehan, S.J.

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Myths About Britain's 'Finest Hour'

There's a myth now about the British hanging together in those dark days [of 1939-1941]. "London can take it," Ed Murrow told America in his CBS broadcasts. Actually, morale was appalling. Most people correctly had little confidence in the competence of their government and thought Germany was going to win. In the Channel Islands, which the Nazis did take over, the people greeted them hospitably and turned in Jews with zest. The British Ministry of Information employed 10,000 people to read people's mail surreptitiously, intercepting about 200,000 letters a week, and discovered that people were deeply pessimistic and thought Churchill was "played out."

A secret government report spelled out the popular lack of nerve: "Portsmouth — on all sides, we hear that looting and wanton destruction had reached alarming proportions. The police seem unable to exercise control ... The effect on morale is bad and there is a general feeling of desperation ... their nerve had gone."

Churchill's famous speeches about their "finest hour" and so forth didn't have much effect either. He delivered them in the House of Commons, and when the BBC asked him to rebroadcast them on the radio, he refused. So the BBC secretly used an actor named Norman Shelley to read them, pretending to be Churchill. Shelley's usual role was to play Larry the Lamb on "Children's Hour." Most people didn't actually know what Churchill's voice sounded like, and those who did thought it sounded funny. Letters poured into No. 10 Downing St. asking what was wrong with the PM.

Many people tried to shut out the war as much as they could. By the end of 1940, nearly a third of the population admitted to not following news of the war. When asked what depressed them most, people put the weather first, then war news, then the air raids. Life was rotten anyway for a huge slab of the population, which was malnourished, poorly housed, barely educated and deeply discontented. When they visited the [London] East End, the king and queen were soundly booed. In the summer of 1941, a woman got five years in prison for saying "Hitler is a good man, a better man than Mr. Churchill."

— Alexander Cockburn, author and columnist, who was born in Britain in June 1941, writing in "Remembrances of War and Summer," *Los Angeles Times*, May 28, 2000.

'Copenhagen': Uncertainty in Life and in Science

Copenhagen by Michael Frayn. New York: Anchor, 2000. 132 pages.

REVIEWED BY DANIEL A. MICHAELS

Peter Frayn's play *Copenhagen*, recently returned to the stage in America, speculates on what might have transpired during a meeting between Nobel laureates Niels Bohr and Werner Heisenberg in Copenhagen in September 1941, at the height of the German advance into Russia and just three months before America's entry into the war. The power of National Socialist Germany was at its pinnacle, and the Germans had just been made aware, through Swedish sources, of U.S. plans to build an atomic bomb.

The meeting was at Heisenberg's behest. As Germany's leading theoretical physicist and head of the German Uranium Club, the organ which would assess the possible war uses of nuclear energy, he was the man best situated to advise his government on the creation of an atomic bomb. The older Bohr was not only a professional colleague of Heisenberg, but a close personal friend as well. The play ponders the possible reasons for Heisenberg's visit, linking them to the failure of the Germans to develop the bomb.

The stage is set austere, with but three actors in the roles of Heisenberg, Bohr, and Bohr's wife, Margrethe. The set resembles a university physics seminar, with about two dozen members of the audience arranged in a semicircle around the circular center stage, as though participating in the seminar or sitting in judgment at a tribunal. The principals, Heisenberg and Bohr, orbit around the stage like electrons around the nucleus, Margrethe, who comments on the actions and words of her husband and Heisenberg. She is obviously disposed against the latter.

The action of the play encompasses the initial meeting of the two physicists in Copenhagen in 1941,

another encounter in 1947, and finally an imagined meeting that takes place after all three characters have died. Margrethe, Bohr's wife, is present in all scenes as interlocutor and commentator. Even after death they are unable to ascertain with certainty (thus, the uncertainty principle in human life) precisely what was said in Copenhagen in 1941, what was implied, and what was inferred. Did Bohr understand what Heisenberg intended to convey? Did Bohr misinform — intentionally or unwittingly — the Western Allies of Germany's wartime plans?

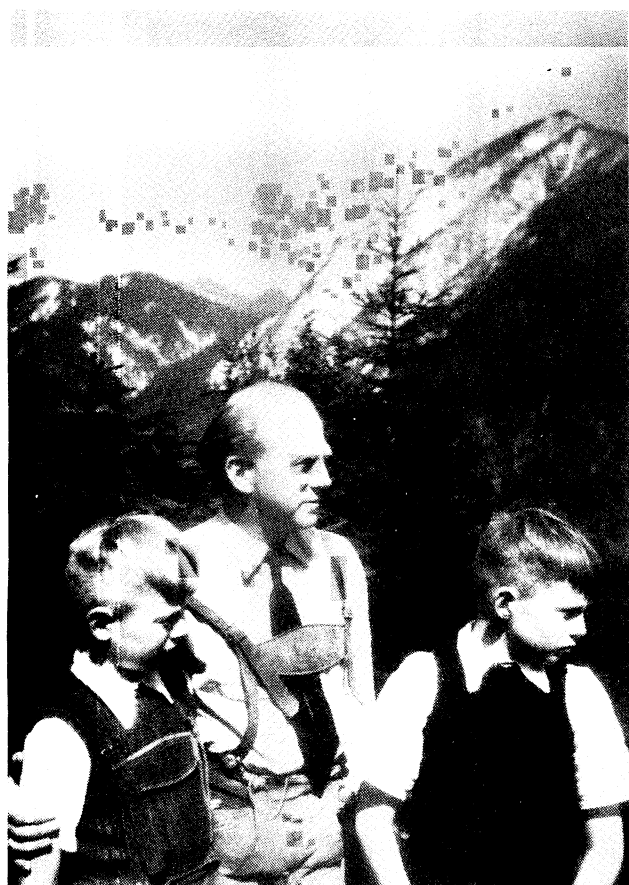
As Frayn notes (*Copenhagen*, p. 96), dialogue plays an important role in Heisenberg's own memoirs, because he wanted "to demonstrate that science is rooted in conversations." In the play Margrethe says of her husband and Heisenberg: "The first thing they ever did was to go for a walk together ... Walk, and talk. Long, long before walls had ears."

Did Heisenberg ask to meet Bohr in order to confirm the reports concerning an American effort to build an atomic bomb? Did he want Bohr to disassociate himself from the American project? Did he want Bohr to dissuade the West from developing the bomb because he, Heisenberg, intended to discourage Germany from building the bomb? Did he tell Bohr that Germany would build only a reactor — an engine — and not a nuclear weapon? Or was he attempting to mislead Bohr about Germany's real intentions?

Michael Frayn has based the historical background to his play on two major books — Thomas Powers's *Heisenberg's War* and Robert Jungk's *Brighter Than a Thousand Suns* — each of which views Heisenberg more favorably than did Allied opinion in the first decades after the war.¹ Until the appearance of these books (as well as David Irving's 1967 *The German Atomic Bomb*),² Heisenberg was treated with undeserved hostility and contempt by many of the physicists who had been involved in the U.S. Manhattan Project, some of whom were his former students or friends. On this, Frayn has Heisenberg comment: "When I went to America in 1949 a lot of physicists wouldn't even shake my hand. Hands that had actually built the bomb wouldn't touch mine."

Because it presents Heisenberg in a favorable light, *Copenhagen* has drawn the particular ire of Paul Lawrence Rose, Professor of Jewish Studies and European History, as well as the director of the Center for Research on Anti-Semitism, at Pennsylvania State Uni-

Daniel W. Michaels is a Columbia University graduate (Phi Beta Kappa, 1954) and a Fulbright exchange student to Germany (1957). Now retired after 40 years of service with the U.S. Department of Defense, he writes from his home in Washington, DC.



Werner Heisenberg with two of his sons, in the late 1940s. Awarded the 1932 Nobel Prize for physics, he headed wartime Germany's atomic research program. His meeting with fellow Nobel laureate Niels Bohr in Denmark in September 1941 is the subject of a much-discussed new play, *Copenhagen*.

versity.³ Rose finds the play to be a travesty of scientific history, a white-wash of Heisenberg's and Germany's inability to make the bomb, and (of course) anti-Semitic. (Frayn says that the true inventors of the bomb, Otto Frisch and Rudolf Peierls, were Jews.) Heisenberg, in the play, also helps arrange safe-passage for boatloads of Jews, including Bohr and his wife, from Denmark to Sweden in 1943. Furthermore, Frayn asserts, to Rose's dismay, that Churchill and Roosevelt were amoral power-wielders just like Hitler.

For years the Allies insisted that Germany had intended to build an atomic bomb but had failed because its scientists didn't understand bomb physics, hadn't made the proper calculations, had used the wrong materials, disagreed among themselves, and so on. Some American physicists accused German physi-

cists, especially Heisenberg, of concocting a false story of moral scruples that constrained them from building so diabolical a weapon.

Samuel Goudsmit, a top physicist and occasional personal friend of Heisenberg, was appointed head of the Allied wartime mission (codenamed "Alsos") charged with obtaining and evaluating scientific intelligence on the German uranium project. In its findings "Alsos" contemptuously dismissed what it called the moral pretensions of the German physicists, concluding that Heisenberg and his colleagues had never fully understood the fast-neutron reaction in the U-235 bomb, and that under the Nazi regime no such advanced research could have ever hoped to succeed.

Heisenberg disparaged the "Alsos" report, praising Irving's study of the German effort instead:

I did not like the Goudsmit book, *Alsos*. It was not a good book. I felt that he wrote it for political propaganda. I can only say that Irving really has studied the documents much better than Goudsmit has. In Irving you get the facts practically correct. He has done very careful work.

Rose objects strenuously to Frayn's attempt to establish a moral equivalency between the positions of Heisenberg and Bohr. Heisenberg, according to Rose, was a brilliant but weak man, whose shallow moral character allowed him to be easily corrupted by his nationalist German sympathies into colluding with Nazism. Most interesting, Rose has explicitly condemned *Copenhagen* for its revisionism:⁴

Thanks to the play's chic postmodernism as well as the complexity of its idea, the subtle revisionism of *Copenhagen* has been received with a respect denied to such cruder revisionisms as that of David Irving's Holocaust denial. Revisionism it is, nonetheless, and *Copenhagen* is more destructive than Irving's self evidently ridiculous assertions — more destructive of the integrity of art, of science, and of history.

It was not until 1976, the year of Heisenberg's death, that Samuel Goudsmit revised his earlier dismissal of his friend's scientific abilities and moral concerns. The former head of Alsos wrote:

Heisenberg was a very great physicist, a deep thinker, a fine human being, and also a courageous one. He was one of the greatest physicists of our time, but he suffered severely under the unwarranted attacks by fanatical colleagues. In my opinion he must be considered to have been in some respects a victim of the Nazi regime. (*Copenhagen*, p. 110)

As portrayed in *Copenhagen*, Heisenberg again and again expresses his doubts as to whether scientists should cooperate with the state in developing weapons of war. As an individual and a loyal German Heisenberg was confronted by a moral dilemma. If he chose to thwart Germany's development of the bomb, he might threaten the very existence of his country, since he knew the enemy was building a bomb. And indeed the preponderance of historical evidence suggests that Heisenberg chose to dissuade the German war office from building the bomb by providing spurious and exaggerated estimates of the materials and time required.

The *New York Times* reviewed *Copenhagen* just before the play opened on Broadway, with an emphasis on the staging and scientific content rather than the moral issues. The review particularly emphasized the "elegance and clarity" with which director Michael Blakemore presents the complexities of Heisenberg's uncertainty principle (the more precisely you measure one variable, the less precise your measurement of the related variable can be), complementarity (perceiving something from two incompatible standpoints), Bohr's quantum mechanics, and other advances in physics. The reviewer gives particular note to the ways in which these findings in physics are echoed in human behavior: for one, uncertainty surrounds the reasons and motives for Heisenberg's position regarding a German attempt to build the atom bomb.⁵

In *Copenhagen* Bohr describes his complementarity principle thus:

Particles are things, complete in themselves. Waves are disturbances in something else. We must choose one of the two ways of seeing, but as soon as we do we can't know everything about them.

In illustration of the principle of complementarity in life, during a heated discussion between the two principals Heisenberg says:

You thought I was trying to arm Germany with nuclear weapons. It was a war. You were absolutely entitled to kill me. Of course, this didn't even occur to you because while I'm your enemy, I'm also your friend. I'm an enemy to mankind, but I'm also your guest. I'm a particle but I'm also a wave.

It must be stated that although a German patriot, Heisenberg never joined the Nazi Party, and always got along with his Jewish colleagues. "I am not a Nazi, but a German!" he often said. Because of his unprejudiced views on theoretical physics, he was accused by some

Party members of being a "white Jew," a gentile who took Einstein's relativity theory seriously. In the drama Heisenberg expresses his attachment to Germany:

Germany is where I was born. Germany is where I became what I am. Germany is all the faces of my childhood, all the hands that picked me up when I fell, all the voices that encouraged me and set me on my way, all the hearts that speak to my heart. Germany is my widowed mother and my impossible brother. Germany is my wife. Germany is our children.

Tortured by the importance of his recommendations to the German government on whether or not to build an atomic bomb, Heisenberg is torn between his own personal reluctance and moral compunction about building the bomb, and his concern for his homeland and family if he recommends against it. In Frayn's dialogue, Heisenberg looks back to the consequences of Germany's defeat in 1918, including Communist uprisings and the Allied hunger blockade:

I have to know what I am deciding for them! Is it another defeat? Another nightmare like I grew up with? Bohr, my childhood in Munich came to an end in anarchy and civil war. Are more children going to starve as we did? [referring to the postwar British blockade] Are they going to have to spend winter nights as I did when I was a schoolboy, crawling on my hands and knees through enemy lines, creeping out into the country under the cover of darkness in the snow to find food for my family? And maybe I'm choosing something worse even than defeat. Because the bomb they're building is to be used on us. On the evening of Hiroshima Oppenheimer said it was his one regret that they hadn't produced the bomb in time to use on Germany.

When Bohr interrupts him to say that Oppenheimer also tormented himself afterwards, Heisenberg retorts:

Afterwards, yes. At least we tormented ourselves a little beforehand. Did a single one of them stop to think, even for one brief moment, about what they were doing? Did Fermi, or Teller, or Szilard? Did Einstein when he wrote to Roosevelt in 1939 and urged him to finance research on the bomb? Did you, when you escaped from Copenhagen two years later, and went to Los Alamos?

Bohr replies that at least he and the Los Alamos group weren't supplying the bomb to a Hitler. To which Heisenberg responds:

You weren't dropping it on Hitler, either. You were dropping it on anyone who was in reach. On old men and women on the street, on mothers and their children. And if you'd produced it in time they would have been my fellow countrymen. My wife. My children. That was the intention. Yes?

Bohr: That was the intention.

Much has been made of the comments by a number of Germany's leading physicists (referred to as the Farm Hall transcripts) during their detainment in Britain for six months after the war. It was during that time that they learned that an atomic bomb had been dropped on Japan. Since they unquestionably assumed that their remarks were being recorded, the German scientists no doubt said one thing for the ears of the British and other things among themselves during their daily walks. Jeremy Bernstein has made a fair and objective analysis of the transcripts, concentrating mostly on scientific considerations. He does not believe that Heisenberg ever made the crucial calculations necessary to determine the critical mass of the bomb, although he obviously knew quite well that a bomb would require fast (U-235) rather than slow (U-238) neutrons. Of the man Heisenberg, Bernstein writes: "He had the first truly quantum-mechanical mind — the ability to take the leap beyond the classical visualizing pictures into the abstract, all-but-impossible-to-visualize world of the subatomic."⁶

The main reason for Heisenberg's visit to Copenhagen in 1941 appears to have been his hope that Bohr in the West, and he in Germany, would be able to discourage work on a bomb. In Germany Heisenberg argued that building a nuclear-fission bomb when the war was still raging would be beyond Germany's technical capabilities. Moreover, he incorrectly informed the German war office that more than a ton of fissile material would be required.

Heisenberg chose to build instead an *Uranmaschine* (a nuclear reactor). He drew a simple sketch of the reactor for Bohr, but at the time the Dane apparently did not yet understand the difference between a reactor and a bomb. Bohr assumed that Heisenberg's drawing was a bomb sketch and passed his opinion on.

In *Copenhagen* Heisenberg tells Bohr explicitly that he is not working on a bomb, but on a reactor. "A machine to produce power! To generate electricity, to drive ships!"

Theatrically, the most dramatic moment in the play occurs as Heisenberg, at Bohr's urging, performs the crucial calculation for the critical mass of U-235 that

would have given Germany the key to the bomb:

Bohr: Why are you confident that it's going to be so reassuringly difficult to build a bomb with 235? Is it because you've done the calculation?

H: The calculation?

B: Of the diffusion in 235. No, it's because you haven't calculated it. You haven't considered calculating it. You hadn't consciously realized there was a calculation to be made.

H: And of course now I have realized. In fact it wouldn't be all that difficult. Let's see ... The scattering cross-section's about 6×10^{-24} , so the mean free path would be ... Hold on ...

At this point an explosion, white light, and thunderous noise fills the stage, simulating the burst of an atomic bomb.

As to Frayn's accuracy in depicting the principals in the play, Heisenberg's son, Jochen Heisenberg, currently professor of physics at the University of New Hampshire, has criticized the playwright's representation of his father: "You can't try in a play to reproduce real people. There are many differences between how Heisenberg is presented and how the real person is. He was a rational person, not outwardly emotional. His emotions came through when he played music. That last part when his long monologue regrets the destruction of his country — my father would never have done something like that."

On the other hand, Bohr's grandson, Vilhelm Bohr, currently a researcher at the U.S. National Institutes of Health, called the play "a wonderful piece of drama, very exciting" and agreed that "some of the character of my grandfather comes through. In many ways it is accurate about my grandfather's personality."⁷

No relatives seem to have expressed themselves on the portrayal of Bohr's wife, Margrethe, but to this reviewer she comes across as a querulous woman unable to conceal her disdain for Heisenberg.

The central question of whether Heisenberg willingly refused to calculate the amount of the U-235 isotope necessary to sustain a chain reaction, or whether he deliberately fudged his estimate to discourage the German war leaders, or whether he simply was unable to make the calculations, is not answered in *Copenhagen*. In response to Bohr's direct question as to why he didn't make the crucial calculation, Heisenberg answers simply but convincingly.

Frayn's dialogue:

H: Why didn't you calculate it?

B: Why didn't I calculate it?

H: Tell us why you didn't calculate it and we'll know why I didn't.

B: It's obvious why I didn't.

H: Go on.

M: Because he wasn't trying to build a bomb!

H: Yes, thank you. Because he wasn't trying to build a bomb. I imagine it was the same with me. Because I wasn't trying to build a bomb. Thank you.

In several interviews after the war, Heisenberg stated explicitly that he and a few colleagues had calculated the critical mass quite accurately but chose not to inform the German government. In 1967 he stated: "The German physicists knew from their calculations how many kilograms were needed to build an atomic bomb — and these figures agreed well, as was shown after the war, with the American ones."⁸ And in 1970, in a letter to Ruth Nanda Anshen, the editor of his memoirs: "Dr. Hahn, Dr. von Laue, and I falsified the mathematics in order to avoid the development of the atom bomb by German scientists."

To summarize the uncertainty surrounding Heisenberg's wartime decisions and actions, Frayn has the German physicist say, somewhat sarcastically: "Everyone understands uncertainty. Or thinks he does. But no one understands my trip to Copenhagen."

Ironically, paradoxically, it was Bohr who, in a small way, contributed to the bombs that were dropped on Nagasaki and Hiroshima. Heisenberg's wartime activities contributed to no one's death.

It is this reviewer's opinion that some of the uncertainties about Heisenberg's role in the German wartime nuclear research program can be removed by reconstructing the war situation and by questioning the basic assumption upon which U.S. physicists have doubted Heisenberg's integrity and competence. U.S. scientists, led by Einstein in 1939, were the first to begin work on an atomic bomb, justifying the need for it on the assumption that the Germans were working, or would be working, on the bomb. Heisenberg repeatedly stated that at that time he and the Uranium Club were attempting to build a reactor — an engine. In the absence of any physical evidence of attempted bomb construction, or of any official German documents authorizing the building of a bomb, Heisenberg must be taken at his word.

Werner Heisenberg's entire life was exemplified by excellence: in classical studies, in music (he was an accomplished pianist), and of course in theoretical

physics. Before the war he was generally considered by his colleagues to be the most gifted mathematician in the field. His personal integrity has only been questioned out of political enmity over his alleged wartime role.

Professor Rose, in deriding *Copenhagen's* subtle revisionism, speaks for many of Heisenberg's (and Germany's) critics. Their agenda, of course, is all too patent: to begrudge the physicist and the Germans their humanity, while obscuring the inhumanity of the Allied leaders and scientists. Years after the meetings with Bohr, Heisenberg all too charitably remarked of his detractors: "After a great war, history is written by the victors and legends develop that glorify them."⁹ By its unraveling a key such legend that glorifies the victors and smears the vanquished, *Copenhagen*, though a drama, gives substantive impetus to the revisionist quest for a fair and accurate picture of the Second World War.

Notes

1. Thomas Powers, *Heisenberg's War: The Secret History of the German Bomb* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993), 610 pp. Robert Jungk, *Brighter Than a Thousand Suns: A Personal History of the Atomic Scientists* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1958), 369 pp.
2. David Irving, *The German Atomic Bomb: The History of Nuclear Research in Germany* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1967), 329 pp.
3. Paul Lawrence Rose, *Heisenberg and the Nazi Atomic Bomb Project: A Study in German Culture* (Berkeley, Cal.: University of California Press, 1998), 352 pp.
4. Paul Lawrence Rose, "Frayn's 'Copenhagen' Plays Well, at History's Expense," *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, May 5, 2000, B4-B6.
5. *New York Times*, April 9, 2000, "From Physics to Metaphysics and the Bomb."
6. Jeremy Bernstein, "The Farm Hall Transcripts: The German Scientists and the Bomb," *New York Review of Books* 13, no. 14 (August 13, 1992), pp. 47-53.
7. Ann Geracimos, "'Copenhagen' Descendants Differ Too," *The Washington Times*, March 4, 2002, p. B6.
8. Cited in Rose, *Heisenberg*, pp. 58-59.
9. Cited in Rose, *Heisenberg*, p. 55.

A More Accurate Picture

May I congratulate you on the excellent *Journal of Historical Review* and your Institute's publications, which permit a free and more informed discussion of issues relating to the so-called "Holocaust." Together with others publications, such as *Dissecting the Holocaust* (E. Gauss, ed.), a truer picture is slowly seeping through the filters of official censorship, which permit people to gain a more accurate picture of those years. While I do not necessarily agree with all the views expressed, I am gravitating toward a revisionist view of the 1939-1945 Holocaust.

N. M.
Ireland

Polite Suggestion

I want to make a polite suggestion. So many of my friends and relations personally saw the Nazi death camps during the last days of World War II that I myself am convinced that there was a deliberate policy of extermination of Jews, Poles, gypsies, and homosexuals by the Nazi leadership. Numbers of the specific events can be challenged, but it is my personal view that the IHR would be far more effective if it were to concede that a holocaust *did* occur and focus on the ADL's distortions of truth. Andy Killgore's and Dick Curtiss' publication would be an ideal example to follow.

Paul N. McCloskey, Jr.
Redwood City, Calif.

Crackdown Against VHO in Belgium

The Foundation Vrij Historisch Onderzoek was dissolved by court on Feb. 22, 2002, and the VHO post office box address was closed. Our new postal address is: Postbus 46, B-2600 Berchem 1, Belgium.

Some people are putting pressure

on the government to stop our activities altogether and because of legal problems this is likely to happen this year. Nearly five years ago half of our stock was seized, and since then we have not had an opportunity to defend our case in any court. We have also had to contend with minor seizures, interrogations, and so forth.

In fact, VHO activities are being continued under the similar name Vogelvrij Historisch Onderzoek (www.vho.org). The Dutch word "Vogelvrij" has two meanings: "free as a bird" and "living like an outlaw," which is how revisionists in Europe today are obliged to live.

With regard to the article by Brian Renk in the Sept.-Dec. 2001 *Journal*, "Convergence or Divergence?," p. 43, col. 1, final sentence: Renk writes that Germar Rudolf had earlier established that the three objects on the roof are all on the southern half of the roof. Actually, it was not Rudolf, but rather Jean-Marie Boisdefeu, a Belgian revisionist researcher, who discovered all this. He also described this extensively, with illustrations, in his two-volume book *La Controverse sur L'extermination des juifs par les Allemands*, published by VHO (1996 and 1998).

S. Verbeke
Berchem, Flanders, Belgium

Unfounded Assertion

Samuel Crowell's article, "Beyond Auschwitz" (March-April 2001 *Journal*, Vol. 20, No. 2, pp. 26-35) is spoiled by his totally unfounded assertion that "some portion of non-working Hungarian Jews *could* have been killed," but that their number "could not have been more than a few tens of thousands at most" [p. 33].

While it can not, of course, be excluded that some Hungarian Jews were executed for real or alleged violations of camp regulations, the kill-

ing of "a few tens of thousands" would have been possible only as part of a limited extermination policy. Obviously, the first victims of such a policy would have been those unable to work, but as Crowell himself admits, many Hungarian Jews unfit for labor, including children and old people, survived the war at Auschwitz and other camps. So who were the magical "tens of thousands" who "could have been killed"? As Crowell does not believe in the gas chambers, such mass killings would have had to have been carried out by methods other than gassing, most likely by shooting. But if so, how come there is no eyewitness testimony at all to such mass shootings?

Equally absurd is Crowell's claim that up to 55 percent of the deported Hungarian Jews may have perished before the end of the war is equally absurd. Raul Hilberg, who supports the gas chamber and mass extermination claims, puts the number of Hungarian Jewish victims at 180,000, which means that the majority of the Hungarian Jewish deportees must have survived. Therefore, how does Crowell, who rejects the gas chamber legend, arrive at this impossibly high percentage? In reality, the number of Hungarian Jews who died in the camps can not possibly have exceeded some tens of thousands.

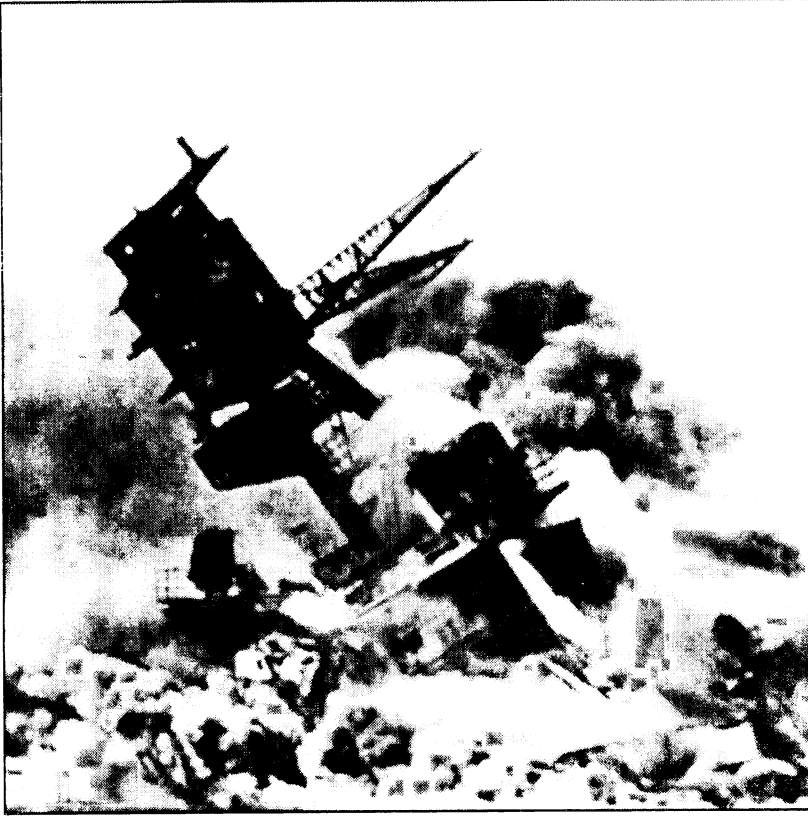
Being well acquainted with the documents, and having remarkable linguistic skills, Crowell could make a substantial contribution to revisionist research. He should therefore refrain from making irresponsible statements that damage his credibility.

Jürgen Graf
[by e-mail]

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

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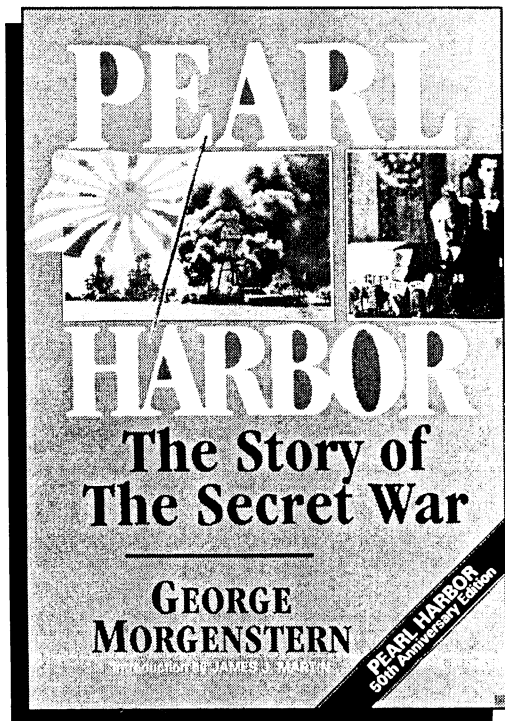
In his introduction to this attractive IHR edition, Dr. James Martin comments: "Morgenstern's book is, in this writer's opinion, still the best about the December 7, 1941, Pearl Harbor attack, despite a formidable volume of subsequent writing by many others on the subject."

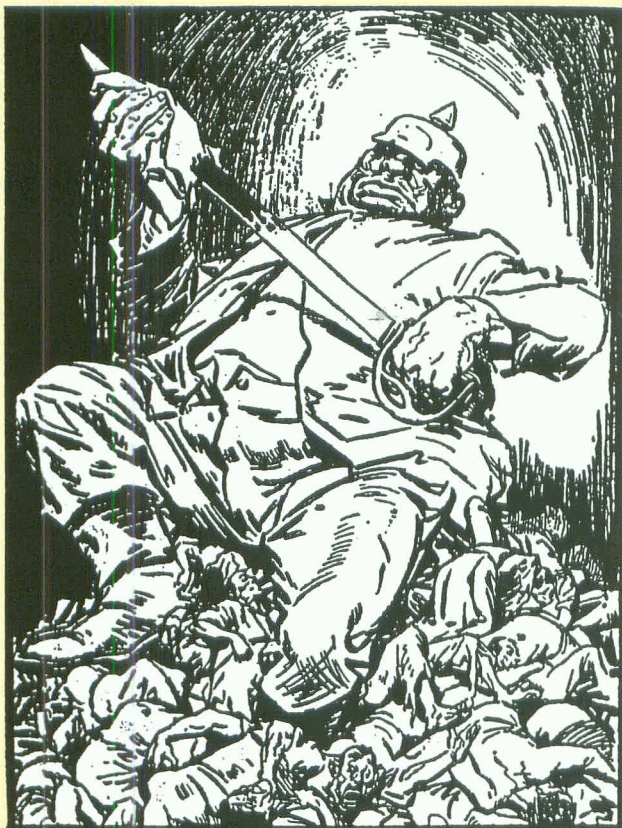
Admiral H. E. Yarnell, former Pearl Harbor naval base commandant, wrote: "Mr. Morgenstern is to be congratulated on marshalling the available facts of this tragedy in such a manner as to make it clear to every reader where the responsibility lies."

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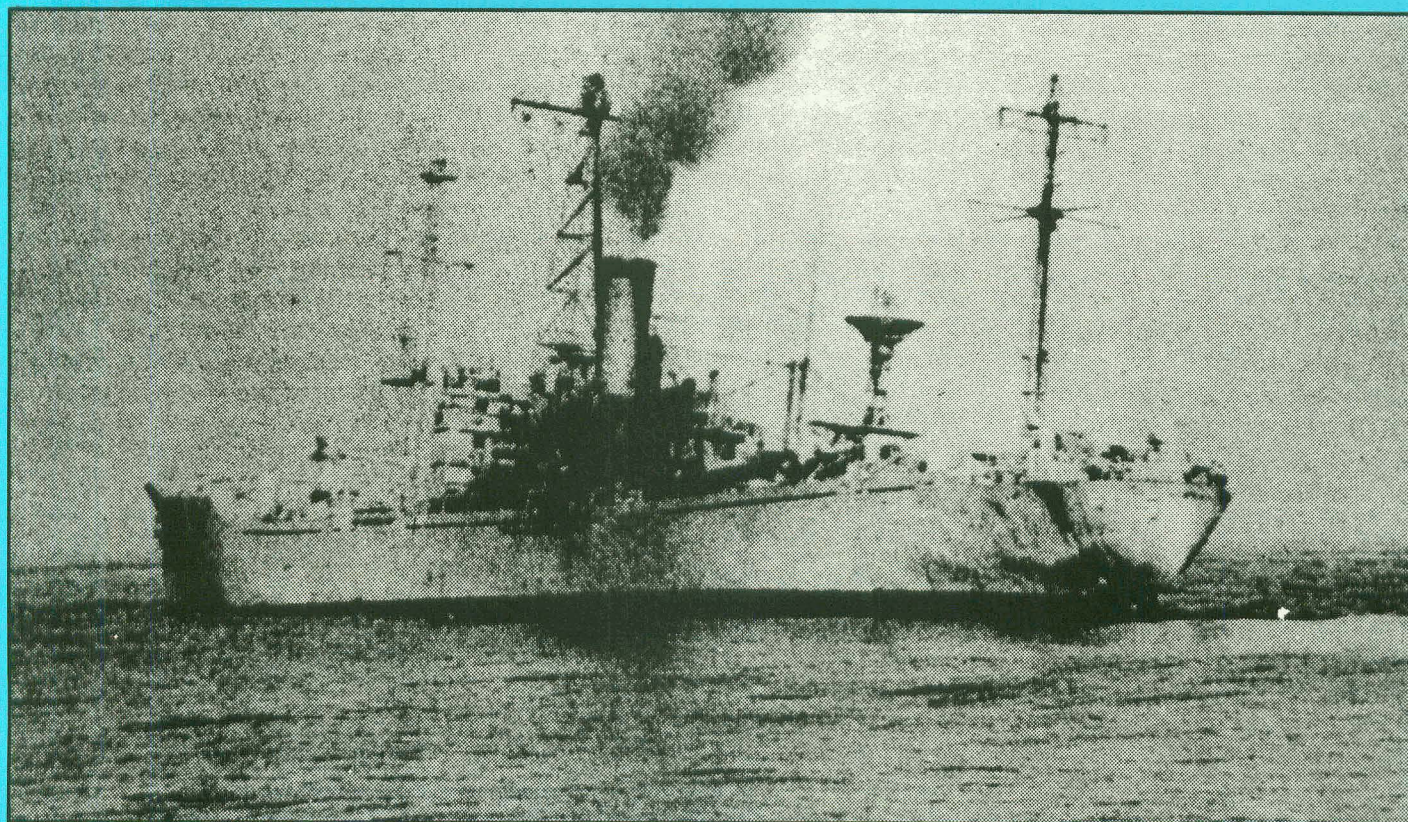


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May/August 2002



**Israel's 'Sneak Attack'
on the *USS Liberty***
Phillip Tournay

**New 'Official' Changes
in the Auschwitz Story**
Mark Weber

**The 14th IHR Conference:
A Report**

'For Fear of the Jews'
Joseph Sobran

— And More —

Editor: Mark Weber

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On the cover: The USS *Liberty* limps toward safe harbor following the ferocious Israeli attack on June 8, 1967.

Photo credit: The photo of Tony Martin on page 6, and the photo of Joseph Sobran on page 7, are courtesy of LAH.

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The 14th IHR Conference: Confident Spirit Marks Successful Meeting

Outstanding speakers and an upbeat spirit marked the 14th Conference of the Institute for Historical Review, June 21-23, in Irvine, California. Among the high points of the successful three-day meeting was the witty, thought-provoking banquet talk by columnist Joseph Sobran, and the rousing keynote address by IHR Director Mark Weber.

More than a hundred men and women — some coming from as far away as Australia, Argentina, Switzerland and Britain — came together in a shared passion for intellectual freedom and truthful history, scorn for the enemies of free expression, and a healthy skepticism of “official” history.

Greg Raven opened the Conference on Friday evening with a welcome to attendees and speakers, and then, serving as MC during the next two days, capably kept the proceedings on track and provided succinct, informative introductions of the speakers. In a brief welcome of his own, Mark Weber praised Greg’s dedicated performance during his ten years with the IHR. For the past seven years, said Weber, Greg has quietly shouldered the primary responsibility for handling the Institute’s complex financial, business and legal affairs. Greg also played a major role in organizing this conference.

Phillip Tourney

Thirty-five years ago, Israeli warplanes and torpedo boats carried out a surprise attack against the *USS Liberty*, an American intelligence ship operating in the

eastern Mediterranean. Among the 172 American seamen wounded in the murderous attack on June 8, 1967, was Phil Tourney, who spoke on Friday evening. He impressed attendees with his calm earnestness and obvious sincerity and good will. Tourney, who was awarded the Bronze Star for his heroism under fire, is now President of the USS Liberty Veterans Association. He is also co-producer of a stunning new video about the 1967 attack, “The Loss of Liberty,” which was presented at the Conference.

The 1967 Zionist attack, said Tourney in a recent Open Letter to President Bush, is “probably the most shameful day in American history.” Copies of this Open Letter, published as a full-page advertisement in *The Washington Times* (June 6, 2002), were distributed to all Conference attendees. “Israel’s premeditated, sneak attack, on the *USS Liberty* was a direct attack on America,” Tourney continued. “The disgraceful refusal of unpatriotic American governmental officials of dubious allegiance to defend America and come to the aid of brave Americans under attack can only be characterized as treasonous.”

Joseph Sobran

Syndicated columnist and author Joe Sobran was in top form on Saturday evening. In his stimulating banquet address, entitled “For fear of the Jews,” he presented a witty and effective critique of the US-Israel “special relationship.” He deftly dissected the Zionist state’s familiar pretensions, and detailed how the Holo-

caust story is used to justify support for Israel. Sobran praised the IHR's *Journal of Historical Review* for its "calm virtue of critical rationality." And after referring to Mark Weber, whom he has known for years, as a "polite, good-humored, scholarly man," he remarked: "If they can't tell the truth about 'Holocaust deniers,' how can they tell the truth about 'the Holocaust' itself?"

Acknowledging that he is not a specialist of "the Holocaust," Sobran said that he does not consider himself either a "Holocaust denier" or a "Holocaust affirmer." Instead, he said, he is a "Holocaust stipulator." During the question and answer period he spoke of his years-long relationship with *National Review* and its publisher William Buckley, and about how the influential magazine has changed drastically over the decades.

Robert Faurisson

Since he addressed the first IHR Conference in 1979 — 23 years ago — Dr. Faurisson has been a steadfast friend of the Institute. On this occasion, the French scholar presented numerous specific examples of punishments during the Second World War of Germans, by German authorities, for mistreatment of Jews. Such cases cannot, of course, be reconciled with the familiar "Holocaust" extermination story.

He cited, for example, a case in 1944 in German-occupied France involving two German soldiers who, together with French criminals, intimidated French Jews in Nice and forced them to hand over money and jewels. A German military court sentenced one of the soldiers to death and the other to twelve years imprisonment. In its judgment of April 11, 1944, the German court declared: "the fact that the violence in question was directed against Jews in no way excuses the perpetrators... the German reputation has thereby suffered."

Faurisson said that his presentation should not be considered conclusive, but is rather meant to encourage further research on a subject that has been ignored for too many years. "The silence with which this topic has been met up to now, by official Holocaust historians and revisionists alike, is astonishing." This silence is all the more remarkable given that the evidence he cited is not difficult to find. Indeed, some is published in the official 42-volume "blue series" record of the postwar Allied "International Military tribunal" of Nuremberg, 1945-1946.

Mark Weber

In his keynote address the IHR Director began by



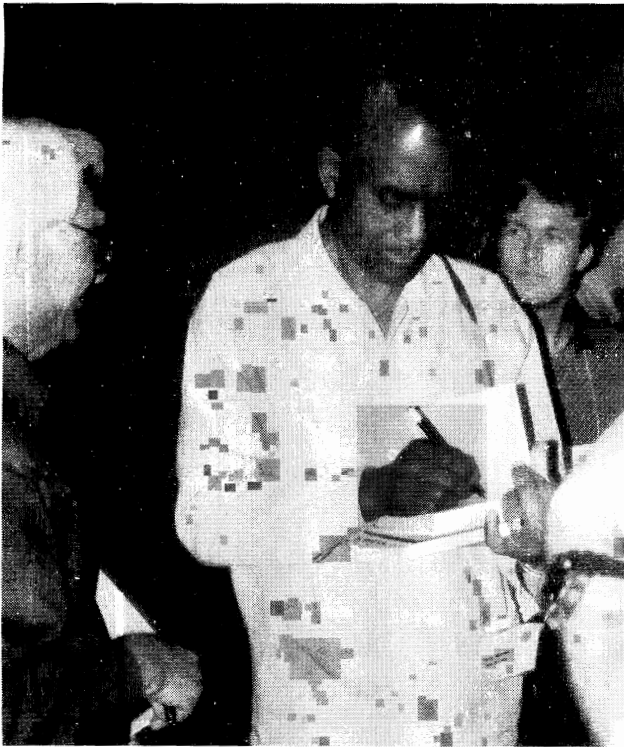
Phillip Tourney

reviewing some highlights of the Institute's work and impact since the 13th Conference, in May 2000. These include the tremendous worldwide media attention garnered last year for the Institute and revisionism through the IHR's role in organizing the "Revisionism and Zionism" conference in Beirut, Lebanon, which was banned shortly before it was to begin by authorities bowing to pressure from the US government and Jewish organizations.

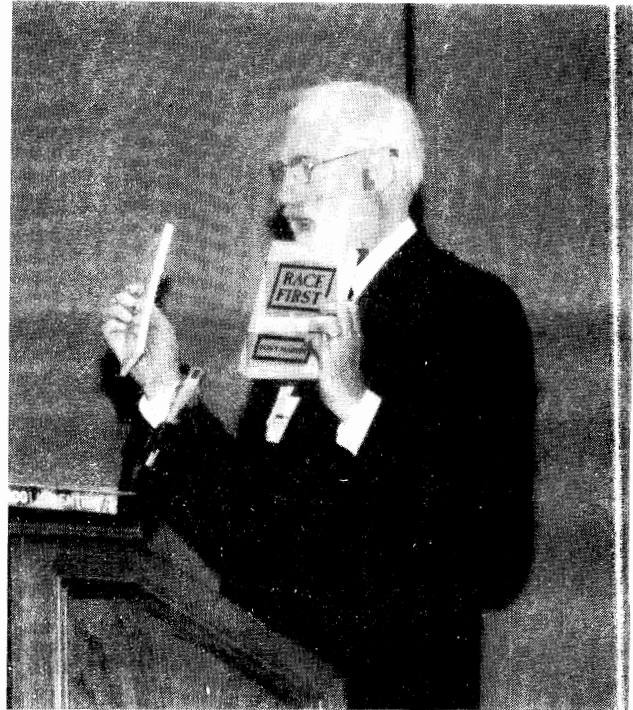
Most of Weber's Saturday afternoon address was devoted to a penetrating look at the origins, nature and impact of Jewish-Zionist power. Citing almost exclusively Jewish sources, Weber stressed the immense power and influence wielded by Jews in today's America. "Throughout history," he said, "Jews have time and again wielded great power to further group interests that are separate from, and often contrary to, those of the non-Jewish populations among whom they live. This creates an inherently unjust and unstable situation that, as history shows, never endures."

"Exposing this insidious power — in its many manifestations — will continue to be an important task of the IHR," Weber concluded. "In this new century as well,

Scenes from the 14th IHR Conference



Tony Martin autographs a book for an admirer.



Conference MC Greg Raven holds up two books by Tony Martin.



Mark Weber makes a point during his keynote address.



Tom Sunic



Joseph Sobran



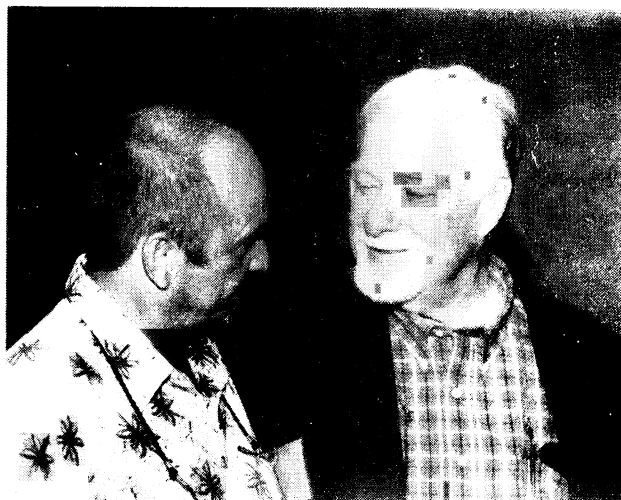
Jürgen Graf speaks with Robert Faurisson during a break, as Fredrick Töben and others look on.



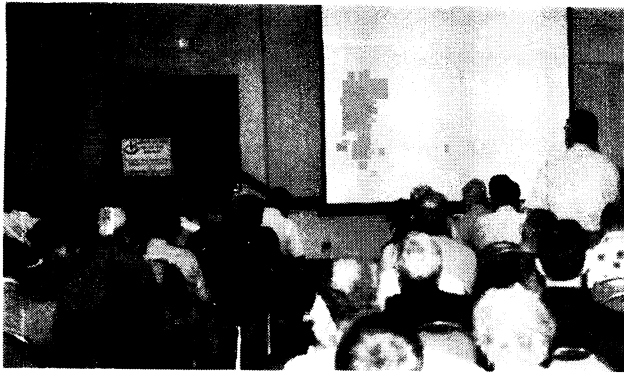
Michele Renouf and Joe Sobran



Said Arikat stresses a point.



Walter Mueller, left, publisher of the northern California monthly *Community News*, with Bradley Smith.



A conference attendee directs a question to speaker Said Arikat.

we pledge to carry on our educational work of truth in history, for the sake not only of our own nation and heritage, but for all humanity." The address was enthusiastically received, with the audience giving it a standing ovation.

In a second address delivered on Sunday afternoon, Weber dealt at length with the future of the IHR and revisionism. The Holocaust story, he said, has become less socially and politically important in recent years, and especially since the September 11 terrorist attacks. At the same time, he added, people everywhere are showing greater interest in, even a craving for, truthful information about the origins of the Israel-Palestine conflict, Zionism, Israel, the US-Israel relationship, and the "Jewish question."

While stressing that the IHR will not abandon its long-standing commitment to revisionist scholarship on "the Holocaust," he said that broadening the IHR's focus is essential if the Institute is to survive and prosper. "The changing world situation offers new opportunities for the IHR, which is almost uniquely positioned to deal candidly and forthrightly, and in a serious way, with topics that are of intense worldwide interest."

Tony Martin

Dr. Martin, a professor of African studies at Wellesley College (Massachusetts), presented a closely reasoned look at the techniques used by Jewish groups to marginalize, discredit and silence those whom they regard as harmful to their interests. He cited numerous specific examples, including outright lying and misrepresentation, use of *ad hominem* and "straw man" arguments, and arranging for pliant stooges to front for Jewish groups. Martin, who has authored or compiled/edited eleven books, came under tremendous attack from organized Jewry in 1993 because he had included

a book on the Jewish role in the trans-Atlantic slave trade in a course he was teaching. He recounted the astonishing ordeal in his book, *The Jewish Onslaught*.

Tom Sunic

Dr. Tom Sunic, a one-time professor of political science in the United States, and, until recently, a diplomat in the foreign service of his native Croatia, provided a detailed look at the little known mistreatment and mass killings of German prisoners of war and ethnic German civilians in the former Yugoslavia, 1945-1953. He displayed maps showing the network of prison camps in Communist-ruled postwar Yugoslavia, in which many thousands perished.

Said Arikat

A seasoned writer and commentator who has often appeared in American television gave a moving and insightful Palestinian perspective on the seemingly intractable Israel-Palestine conflict. Taking aim at the hypocrisy of US policy in the Middle East, Said Arikat said that US support for Israel's brutal oppression of Palestinians is a betrayal of that ideals that Americans claim to uphold. The US routinely holds Arab and other countries to one standard of conduct, while holding the Zionist state to another. For example, he pointed out, US political leaders demand that Palestinians adopt a new constitution, one that is more acceptable to Israel, even though Israel has never had a constitution of any kind.

Robert Countess

In a spirited and sometimes humorous address, Robert Countess took a look at the new anti-revisionist study by Robert Jan van Pelt, *The Case for Auschwitz: Evidence from the Irving Trial*. Countess called van Pelt a "superficial Holocaustian," and said that his life and career "is inextricably bound to his religious philosophy of good and evil, with Auschwitz and Nazis as absolute evil and Jews as representing ultimate goodness." As an example of the mystical outlook that, Countess said, is manifest in this book, he cited van Pelt's statement that "the gas chambers changed the whole meaning of architecture."

Fredrick Töben

In his wide-ranging address spiced with humor and

philosophical insights, the director of the Adelaide Institute, a leading Holocaust revisionist center in Australia, provided a detailed update on his drawn out legal ordeal. Six years ago, the Executive Council of Australian Jewry, the country's main Jewish community organization, filed a complaint with the federal "Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission," demanding that Dr. Töben remove allegedly "offensive" material from the Adelaide Institute web site. In 2000 the Commission found the material to be "insulting" and "offensive" to Jews, and a violation of the "Racial Discrimination Act." Töben has sought to comply with the ruling, but refuses to issue an apology, as the Jewish group demands. Unable to hire an attorney, Töben been obliged to represent himself in this costly legal battle.

Bradley Smith

One of the most dedicated of revisionist activists, Bradley Smith, traced his intellectual odyssey over the years in a personal, anecdote-filled talk. Referring to his passionate, life-long commitment to free speech, he mentioned, for example, his arrest during the 1950s for selling a book by Henry Miller at his Los Angeles bookstore. Smith spoke about his new, autobiographical work, *Break His Bones: The Private Life of a Holocaust Revisionist*.

Canceled Press Coverage

This Conference was not marred by disruption or incident, even though a major local radio station broadcast an excited report about it on June 21. (In 1989 Jewish activist Irv Rubin and his thuggish Jewish Defense League used threats, intimidation and harassment to disrupt the Ninth IHR Conference, forcing it to move from two hotels. This year, Rubin is in jail, pending his trial on charges of preparing a bomb attack against a mosque in Los Angeles and the office in southern California of a US Congressman of Lebanese ancestry.)

Slightly fewer people than usual attended this 14th IHR Conference because it was held on a weekend that unexpectedly caused scheduling conflicts for quite a few regular attendees, and because this year's conference was organized more hastily than usual, which meant that there was less time to publicize and promote it.



Bradley Smith at the podium

A large-circulation local daily paper, the *Orange County Register*, assigned staff writer Barbara Kingsley to cover the Conference. In preparation for her report, she interviewed the IHR Director for two hours, and the paper sent a staff photographer to the IHR office. Kingsley also attended sessions on the opening night and on Saturday. Her report, which was expected to be lengthy and rather fair, was set to run on the Sunday morning edition.

On Saturday evening editor Tonnie Katz read Kingsley's article, and then decided to kill it. Katz' decision not to publish the story, in spite of the time and effort the paper had invested in it, was apparently motivated, at least in part, by concern that it would give positive publicity to the IHR's work and views.

The decision by the *Register* to make no mention whatsoever of the 14th IHR conference is all the more remarkable considering that the last IHR conference — the 13th, in May 2000 — was covered by the rival *Los Angeles Times* in 40-column-inch story, and that even this year's conference was mentioned in the June 14 issue of the *Forward*, a prominent, nationally-circulated Jewish community weekly, in a front-page story about the IHR and its work.

Audio and Video Tapes from the 14th IHR Conference *An Outstanding Line-Up of Speakers!*

Welcoming and Concluding Remarks

Greg Raven

Israel's Attack on the USS Liberty

Phillip Tourney

Germans Punished for Mistreating Jews

Robert Faurisson

Greg Raven, MC for the Conference, opens with a witty, upbeat welcome to attendees and speakers. And two days later, he concludes with closing comments. IHR Director Mark Weber also makes some brief welcoming and concluding remarks.

Phillip Tourney was one of 172 seamen wounded in the murderous surprise attack on June 8, 1967, by Israeli warplanes and torpedo boats against the *USS Liberty*, an American intelligence ship in the eastern Mediterranean. With calm earnestness and obvious sincerity, he comments on what he has called "Israel's premeditated, sneak attack, on the *USS Liberty* [which] was a direct attack on America." Tourney, who was awarded the Bronze Star for his heroism under fire, is now President of the USS Liberty Veterans Association. He is also co-producer of a stunning new video about the attack, "The Loss of Liberty" (available separately from the IHR), which he introduces to the Conference.

Robert Faurisson, French professor and leading European revisionist scholar, presents — with his usual flair and exactitude — numerous specific examples of punishments during the Second World War of Germans, by German authorities, for killing or mistreating Jews. Such cases cannot, of course, be reconciled with the familiar "Holocaust" extermination story.

Video (#V137) \$19.95

Audio (#A158) \$9.95

'For Fear of the Jews'

Joseph Sobran

The Israel-Palestine Conflict: A Palestinian Perspective

Said Arikat

Joseph Sobran, syndicated columnist and author, is in top form in this stimulating banquet address. In this witty and effective critique of the US-Israel "special relationship," he deftly dissects the Zionist state's familiar pretensions, and details how the Holocaust story is used to justify support for Israel. Calling himself a "Holocaust stipulator," he praises the IHR's *Journal of Historical Review* for its "calm virtue of critical rationality." During the question and answer period he speaks of his years-long relationship with William Buckley and *National Review*, and about how the magazine has changed drastically over the decades.

Said Arikat, a seasoned writer and commentator who has often appeared in American television, gives a moving and insightful Palestinian perspective on the seemingly intractable Israel-Palestine conflict. Taking aim at the hypocrisy of US policy in the Middle East, he says that US support for Israel's brutal oppression of Palestinians is a betrayal of that ideals that Americans claim to uphold.

Video (#V138) \$19.95; Audio (#A159) \$9.95

Keynote Address: Origins and Impact of Jewish-Zionist Power

New Challenges for Revisionism and the IHR

Mark Weber

In the first of his two conference addresses, the IHR Director warms up by reviewing highlights of the Institute's work and impact since the 13th Conference, including tremendous worldwide media attention garnered for the IHR and revisionism.



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sionism. Most of Weber's keynote address is devoted to a penetrating look at the origins, nature and impact of Jewish-Zionist power. Citing almost exclusively Jewish sources, he stresses the immense power and influence wielded by Jews in today's America. In the address, which was given a standing ovation, he says: "In this new century as well, we pledge to carry on our educational work of truth in history, for the sake not only of our own nation and heritage, but for all humanity."

In a second address, Weber speaks frankly about the future of the IHR and revisionism. The Holocaust story, he says, has become less socially and politically important in recent years, and especially since the September 11 terrorist attacks. At the same time, people everywhere are showing greater eagerness for truthful information about the origins of the Israel-Palestine conflict, Zionism, Israel, the US-Israel relationship, and the "Jewish question." While stressing that the IHR remains committed to revisionist scholarship on "the Holocaust," he says that broadening the IHR's focus is essential if the Institute is to survive and prosper.

Video (#V139) \$19.95; Audio (#A160) \$9.95

Tactics of Organized Jewry in Suppressing Free Speech

Tony Martin

History is as History Does

Bradley Smith

Tony Martin, a professor of African studies at Wellesley College, takes a closely reasoned look at the techniques used by Jewish groups to marginalize, discredit and silence those whom they regard as harmful to their interests. He cites numerous specific examples, including outright lying and misrepresentation, use of *ad hominem*

and "straw man" arguments, and arranging for pliant stooges to front for Jewish groups. Dr. Martin, who has authored or compiled/edited eleven books, came under tremendous attack from organized Jewry in 1993 because he had included a book on the Jewish role in the trans-Atlantic slave trade in a course he was teaching.

Bradley Smith, one of the most dedicated of revisionist activists, traces his intellectual odyssey over the years in a personal, anecdote-filled talk. He speaks about his new, autobiographical work, *Break His Bones*.

Video (#V140) \$19.95; Audio (#A161) \$9.95

Mass Killings and Mistreatment of German Prisoners of War and Ethnic Germans in Postwar Yugoslavia

Tom Sunic

Van Pelt's 'Case for Auschwitz'

Robert Countess

Tom Sunic, author and one-time professor of political science in the US, provides a detailed look at the little known mistreatment and mass killings of German prisoners of war and ethnic German civilians in the former Yugoslavia, 1945-1953. Dr. Sunic refers to the network of prison camps in Communist-ruled postwar Yugoslavia, in which many thousands perished.

Robert Countess, in a spirited and sometimes humorous address, takes a look at the new anti-revisionist study by Robert Jan van Pelt, *The Case for Auschwitz: Evidence from the Irving Trial*. Countess calls van Pelt a "superficial Holocaustian," and says that his life and career "is inextricably bound to his religious philosophy of good and evil."

Video (#V141) \$19.95

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‘For Fear of The Jews’

JOSEPH SOBRAN

The news that I would be addressing the Institute of Historical Review came to some people as, well, news. It was mentioned in the Jewish newspaper *Forward* [June 14] and on the Zionist *Wall Street Journal OnLine*. The editors of two conservative magazines called and wrote me to express their concern that I might damage my reputation, such as it is, by speaking to “Holocaust deniers.”

I’m not sure why this should matter. Even positing that I was speaking to a disreputable audience, I expect to be judged by what I say, not whom I say it to. I note that my enemies have written a great deal about me, yet they rarely quote me directly.

Why not? If I am so disreputable myself, I must at least occasionally say disreputable things. Is it possible that what I say is more cogent than they like to admit?

My enemies are always welcome to quote anything I say, if they dare. I would say the same things to them, and they may consider my remarks to the IHR as addressed to them too. I wasn’t just speaking to “Holocaust deniers,” but also to Holocaust believers.

Because I’ve endured smears and ostracism for my criticism of Israel and its American lobby, some people credit me with courage. I’m flattered, of course, but this compliment, whether or not I deserve it, implies that it’s

professionally dangerous for a journalist to criticize Israel. That tells you a lot.

But if I’m “courageous,” what do you call Mark Weber and the Institute for Historical Review? They have been smeared far worse than I have; moreover, they have been seriously threatened with death. Their offices have been firebombed. Do they at least get credit for courage? Not at all. They remain almost universally vilified.

When I met Mark, many years ago, I expected to meet a raving Jew-hating fanatic, such being the generic reputation of “Holocaust deniers.” I was immediately and subsequently impressed to find that he was just the opposite: a mild-mannered, good-humored, witty, scholarly man who habitually spoke with restraint and measure, even about enemies who would love to see him dead. The same is true of other members of the Institute. In my many years of acquaintance with them, I have never heard any of them say anything that would strike an unprejudiced listener as unreasonable or bigoted.

It was their enemies who were raving, hate-filled fanatics, unable to discuss “Holocaust deniers” in measured language, without wild hyperbole, loose accusation, and outright lies. I began to wonder: if they can’t tell the truth about “Holocaust deniers,” how can they tell the truth about the Holocaust itself?

Even if the Holocaust had really happened, as I assumed, maybe it should be studied with a critical rationality most of its believers obviously lacked. After all, even Stalin’s crimes might be exaggerated, quite understandably, by his victims. As Milton puts it, “Let truth and falsehood grapple; who ever knew truth put

Joseph Sobran is an author, lecturer and nationally syndicated columnist. For 21 years he wrote for National Review magazine, including 18 years as a senior editor. He is editor of the monthly newsletter Sobran’s (P.O. Box 1383, Vienna, VA 22183, or see <http://www.sobran.com/>). This article is adapted from his address at the 14th IHR Conference, June 22, 2002, in Irvine, California. It is published in the August 2002 issue of Sobran’s newsletter.

to the worse in a free and open encounter?" Even those in error might have something to say, some marginal clarification to offer. Why stop our ears against them?

Why on earth is it "anti-Jewish" to conclude from the evidence that the standard numbers of Jews murdered are inaccurate, or that the Hitler regime, bad as it was in many ways, was not, in fact, intent on racial extermination? Surely these are controversial conclusions; but if so, let the controversy rage. There is no danger in permitting it to proceed. It might be different if denying the Holocaust could somehow affect the course of events, as the denial of Stalin's crimes by the *New York Times* in the 1930s helped him to continue committing them. Why is the Institute for Historical Review notorious, while the *Times*, despite its active support of Stalin at the height of his power, remains a pillar of respectability?

The Holocaust has never been a consuming interest of mine. But as I read the *Journal of Historical Review* over the years, I found in it the same calm virtue of critical rationality I'd found in Mark himself. And it was applied to many other subjects besides the question of whether Hitler had tried to exterminate the Jews. An article it carried about Abraham Lincoln some years ago caused me to revise my entire view of Lincoln and stimulated me to write a book about him. [Robert Morgan, "Abraham Lincoln and the Issue of Race," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Sept.-Oct. 1993.]

The IHR's mission can't be fairly summed up as "Holocaust denial." Its real mission is criticism of the suffocating progressive ideology that has infected and distorted the telling of history in our time. But of course its specific skepticism of the standard Holocaust story is regarded as blasphemy, and has earned it the dreaded epithet of anti-Semitism.

Not long ago the only label more lethal to one's reputation was that of child molester, but, as many men of the cloth are now discovering, there is this difference: a child molester may hope for a second chance.

There is also another difference. We have a pretty clear idea what child molestation is. Nobody really knows what "anti-Semitism" is. My old boss Bill Buckley wrote an entire book called *In Search of Anti-Semitism* without bothering to define anti-Semitism.

At the time I thought this was an oversight. I was wrong. The word would lose its utility if it were defined. As I observed in my own small contribution to the



Joseph Sobran

book, an "anti-Semite" used to mean a man who hated Jews. Now it means a man who is hated by Jews.

I doubt, in fact I can't imagine, that anyone associated with the IHR has ever done harm to another human being because he was Jewish. In fact the IHR has never been accused of anything but thought-crimes.

The same is true of me. Nobody has ever accused me of the slightest personal indecency to a Jew. My chief offense, it appears, has been to insist that the state of Israel has been a costly and treacherous "ally" to the United States. As of last Sep-

tember 11, I should think that is undeniable. But I have yet to receive a single apology for having been correct.

If I were to hate Jews *en masse*, without distinction, I would be guilty of many things. Obviously I'd be guilty of injustice and uncharity to Jews as human beings. I would also be guilty of willful stupidity. More personally, I'd be guilty of ingratitude to my benefactors — which Dante, in his *Inferno*, ranks the worst of all sins — since many of my benefactors, in large ways and small, have been Jewish.

Moreover, I would be becoming exactly the man my Zionist enemies would like me to be; a man like them, in whom ethnic hostilities take priority over all other values and considerations. I would justify them in treating me as an enemy. In fact I'd go so far as to say that I would be helping to justify the state of Israel. I consider that if I fight these people on their terms, they have already won.

What, exactly, is "anti-Semitism"? One standard dictionary definition is "hostility toward or discrimination against Jews as a religious or racial group." How this applies to me has never been explained. My "hostility" toward Israel is a desire not for war, but for neutrality — out of a sense of betrayal, waste, and shame. Our venal politicians have aligned us with a foreign country that behaves dishonorably. Most alleged "anti-Semites" would wince if Jews anywhere were treated as Israel treats its Arab subjects. Moreover, Israel has repeatedly betrayed its only benefactor, the United States. I have already alluded to the place Dante reserves for those who betray their benefactors.

These are obvious moral facts. Yet it's not only politicians who are afraid to point them out; so are most journalists — the people who are supposed to be independent enough to say the things politicians can't afford to say. In my thirty years in journalism, nothing

has amazed me more than the prevalent fear in the profession of offending Jews, especially Zionist Jews.

The fear of the label anti-Semitic is a fear of the power that is believed to lie behind it: Jewish power. Yet this is still pretty much unmentionable in journalism. It's rather as if sportswriters covering pro basketball were prohibited from mentioning that the Los Angeles Lakers were in first place.

There has been a qualitative change that is downright eerie in American conservatism generally. The "fear of the Jews," to use the phrase so often repeated in the Gospel according to John, seems to have wrought a reorientation of the tone, the very principles, of today's conservatism. The hardy skepticism, critical intelligence, and healthy irony of men like James Burnham, Willmoore Kendall, and the young Buckley have given way to the uncritical philo-Semitism of George Will, Cal Thomas, Rush Limbaugh, and of course the later Buckley — men who will go to any lengths, even absurd and dishonorable lengths, to avoid the terrorizing label anti-Semite.

It was once considered "anti-Semitic" to impute "dual loyalty" to Jews — that is, to assert that most American Jews divide their loyalty between the United States and Israel. This is now passé. Today most politicians assume, as a matter of course, that Israel commands the primary loyalty of Jewish voters. Are they accused of "anti-Semitism" for doing so? Does this assumption cost them Jewish votes? Not at all! Dual loyalty nothing! Dual loyalty would be an improvement!

Once again, it's a practical necessity to know what it would be professional suicide to say. No politician in his right mind would accuse Jews of giving their primary loyalty to Israel; but most politicians act as if this were the case. And they succeed.

You can read Jewish publications like *Commentary* for years, and you'll read interminable discussions about what's good for Israel, but you'll never encounter the slightest suggestion that what's good for Israel might not be good for America. The possibility simply never comes up. The only discernible duty of Jews, it seems, is to look out for Israel. They never have to choose between Israel and the United States. So much for the "canard" of dual loyalty.

I've often noticed how eager and desperate mainstream conservatives are to avoid Jewish wrath. Again, they don't just speak favorably of Israel: they refuse to acknowledge any cost to American interests in the U.S.-Israel alliance. They treat the two countries' interests as identical; when they scold either government, it's

always — always — the U.S. Government for failing to support our "reliable ally. They are in headlong flight from reality. They have none of the realism of James Burnham, whose writings and style of thought would be wholly unwelcome in today's conservative movement.

They are frightened. You can sense this in their bluster, in the vicarious jingoism with which they address Israel. Their fear produces a peculiar intellectual thinness that pervades all their thinking on foreign policy. Individualists have been replaced by apparatchiks. Zionism has infiltrated conservatism in much the same way Communism once infiltrated liberalism.

Here I should lay my own cards on the table. I am not, heaven forbid, a "Holocaust denier." I lack the scholarly competence to be one. I don't read German, so I can't assess the documentary evidence; I don't know chemistry, so I can't discuss Zyklon-B; I don't understand the logistics of exterminating millions of people in small spaces. Besides, "Holocaust denial" is illegal in many countries I may want to visit someday. For me, that's proof enough. One Israeli writer has expressed his amazement at the idea of criminalizing opinions about historical fact., and I find it puzzling too; but the state has spoken.

Of course those who affirm the Holocaust need know nothing about the German language, chemistry, and other pertinent subjects; they need only repeat what they have been told by the authorities. In every controversy, most people care much less for what the truth is than for which side it's safer and more respectable to take. They shy away from taking a position that is likely to get them into trouble. Just as only people on the Axis side were accused of war crimes after World War II, only people critical of Jewish interests are accused of thought-crimes in today's mainstream press.

So, life being as short as it is, I shy away from this controversy. Of course I'm also incompetent to judge whether the Holocaust did happen; so I've become what might be called a "Holocaust stipulator." Like a lawyer who doesn't want to get bogged down debating a secondary point, I stipulate that the standard account of the Holocaust is true. What is undisputed — the massive violation of human rights in Hitler's Germany — is bad enough.

What interests me is the growth of what Norman Finkelstein has called "the Holocaust Industry." True or not, the Holocaust story has been put to many uses, some of them mischievous. It is currently being used to extort reparations and to blacken reputations, for

example. Daniel Goldhagen is soon to publish a book blaming the Holocaust on the central teachings of the Catholic Church. This is only the most ambitious project of a school of thought, largely but not exclusively Jewish, that sees Christianity as the source of all “anti-Semitism.”

So if you want to avoid being called “anti-Semitic,” the safest course is to renounce Christianity. Whether this is a safe course for your immortal soul is a question Goldhagen doesn’t address. The important thing is to avoid Jewish censure. Obviously this sort of thinking presupposes Christian fear of the Jews. Jews themselves are not unaware of Jewish power; some of them have rather exaggerated confidence in it.

But the chief use of the Holocaust story is to undergird the legitimacy of the state of Israel. According to this view, the Holocaust proves that Jewish existence is always in danger, unless the Jews have their own state in their own homeland. The Holocaust stands as the historical objectification of all the world’s gentiles’ eternal “anti-Semitism.” Jewish life is an endless emergency, requiring endless emergency measures and justifying everything done in the name of “defense.” Jews and Israel can’t be judged by normal standards, at least until Israel is absolutely safe — if even then. Their circumstances are forever abnormal.

But the daily news reports suggest that Israel may not really be the safest place for Jews. Theodore Herzl’s original dream was of a Jewish state where Jews could at last live the normal lives they were denied in the Diaspora. Yet today it’s Diaspora Jews who live relatively normal lives, at least in the West, while they must worry about the very survival of Israel. And far from being the independent state Herzl hoped for, Israel depends heavily on the support not only of Diaspora Jews but of foreign gentiles, especially Americans.

Israel insists that its “right to exist” is nothing more than the right of every nation on earth to be left in peace. This right is allegedly threatened by fanatical Arabs who want to “drive the Jews into the sea,” as witness the recent wave of Palestinian terror. But in truth, Israel’s claimed “right to exist” is much more than it seems at first sight. It means a right to rule as Jews, enjoying rights denied to native Palestinians.

We are told incessantly that Israel is a “democracy,” and therefore the natural ally of the United States, whose “democratic values” it shares. This is a very dubious claim. To Americans, democracy means majority rule, but with equal rights for minorities. In Israel and the occupied territories, equal rights for the minority are simply out of the question.

Majority rule itself has taken a peculiar form in Israel. The original Arab majority was driven out of their homes and their native land, and kept out. Meanwhile, a Jewish “majority” was artificially imported. Not only the first immigrants from Eastern Europe, but every Jew on earth was granted a “right of return” — that is, “return” to a “homeland” most have never lived in, and in which none of their ancestors has ever lived. A Jew from Brooklyn (whose grandfather came from Poland) can fly to Israel and immediately claim rights denied to an Arab whose people have always lived in Palestine. In recent years Israel has been augmenting its Jewish majority by vigorously encouraging Jewish immigration, especially from Russia. Ariel Sharon has told a group of American senators that Israel needs a million more Jewish immigrants.

Israel rejects demands for a “right of return” for Palestinians exiled since 1948. Its reason? This would mean “the end of the Jewish state.” An Arab majority would surely vote down Jewish ethnic privileges. If Israel remained democratic, it wouldn’t long remain Jewish. It must be the only “democracy” whose existence depends on inequality.

American gentiles, bemused by the propaganda claim that a beleaguered little democracy is fighting for its very right to exist, still haven’t figured out that Israeli “democracy” is essentially and radically different from — even repugnant to — what they understand as democracy. Put otherwise, Zionism is a denial of the “self-evident truths” of the Declaration of Independence. To acknowledge those truths, and to put them into practice, would mean the end of Israel as a Jewish state. Again, honest and rigorous Zionists have always seen and said this.

With the verbal sleight-of-hand at which they are masters, the Israelis always appeal to the Holocaust. Maybe they have nuclear weapons, but their existence is threatened — once more! — by rock-throwing Arab boys. The Arabs are the new Nazis, repeating and perpetuating the eternal peril of the Jews. Israel is determined to prevent another Holocaust and must crush the Arab threat by any means necessary, including harsh measures.

Israel without the Holocaust is hard to imagine. But let’s try to imagine it.

Suppose the Holocaust had never occurred, had never been alleged, had never been called “the Holocaust.” Imagine that no great persecution had provided the Jewish state with a special excuse for oppressive emergency measures. In other words, imagine that Israel were forced to justify itself like any other state.

In that case, Israel's treatment of its Arab minorities would appear to the world in a very different light. Its denial of equal or even basic rights to those minorities would lack the excuse of a past or prospective "Holocaust." Civilized people would expect it to treat those it ruled with impartial justice. Special privileges for Jews would appear as outrageous discrimination, no different from insulting legal discrimination against Jews. The sense — and excuse — of perpetual crisis would be absent. Israel might be forced or pressured, possibly against its will, to be "normal." If it chose to be democratic, its Jews would have to take their chance of being outnumbered, just like majorities in other democracies. Nobody would suppose that losing elections would mean their annihilation.

In short, the Holocaust has become a device for exempting Jews from normal human obligations. It has authorized them to bully and blackmail, to extort and oppress. This is all quite irrational, because even if six million Jews were murdered during World War II, the survivors are not entitled to commit the slightest injustice. If your father was stabbed in the street, that's a pity, but it's not an excuse for picking someone else's pocket.

In a peculiar way, the Holocaust story has promoted not only pity, but actual fear of the Jews. It has removed them from the universe of normal moral discourse. It has made them victims with nukes. It has made them even more dangerous than their enemies have always charged. It has given the world an Israel ruled by Ariel Sharon.

Benjamin Netanyahu has written that Israel is "an integral part of the West." I think it would be truer to say that Israel has become a deformed limb of the West.

Corrections

In the March-April 2002 *Journal of Historical Review* (Vol. 21, No. 2), on page 5, right (second) column, fourth paragraph, the single sentence there should read "When Sullivan was pressed to provide evidence for his assertions, he was unable or unwilling to do so."

On page 27, a sentence in the first paragraph, left (first) column, should begin "Mead claimed that Samoan adolescents were ..."

"The first casualty when war comes is truth."
— Senator Hiram Johnson, 1917

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.

"Organized American Jewry has exploited the Nazi holocaust to deflect criticism of Israel's and its own morally indefensible policies," charges author Norman Finkelstein. The Holocaust campaign serves "to deligitimize all criticism of Jews."

This powerful book takes aim at the sanctimonious Elie Wiesel and other Holocaust "secular saints," and debunks such Holocaust hoaxers as Jerzy Kosinski and Benjamin Wilkomirski. "Given the nonsense churned out daily by the Holocaust industry, the wonder is that there are so few skeptics," writes Finkelstein.

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'."

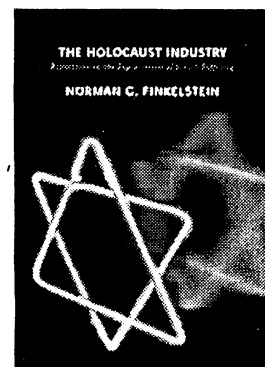
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Israel's 'Knife in the Back' Attack Against America

PHILLIP TOURNEY

Here is the text of the open letter by Phillip Tourney, President of the USS Liberty Veterans Association, published in a full-page advertisement in the daily Washington Times, June 6, 2002 (p. A11).

**U.S.S. LIBERTY VETERANS ASSOCIATION
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June 1, 2002

President George W. Bush
Commander in Chief, White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President,

Saturday, June 8, 2002 marks the 35th anniversary of probably the most shameful day in American history. That day America's banner and honor were treacherously trashed by our so-called ally, Israel. Thirty-four Americans were brutally slaughtered, 172 wounded, including myself. America's most sophisticated intelligence ship was so badly damaged it had to be scrapped. Israel deliberately attacked America's virtually unarmed *USS Liberty* in international waters, knowing full well our identity, in an assault that lasted as long as the attack on Pearl Harbor.

On that bright, sunny, infamous day, the *Liberty* had a large American flag flapping in the wind and ten foot high I.D. markings on her hull, which were clearly visible during the full six hours (6:00 a.m. to 12:00 noon) that low-flying, slow-moving, propeller recons, distinctly marked with Stars of David, reconnoitered our ship. Overheard radio transmission of the pilots confirmed that the Israel had positively identified the *Liberty* as American.



Phil Tourney, addressing the 14th IHR Conference, June 21, 2002, holds up the full-page newspaper ad with his open letter to President Bush.

Suddenly at 2:00 p.m., the government of Israel put a knife in the back of America. In a diabolic attempt at deception, the Israelis began the attack with unmarked jet fighters using rockets, cannons, and napalm on our unprotected ship. Then three motor torpedo boats arrived on the scene and fired six torpedoes at us, one hitting its mark, midship on the starboard side, instantly blowing to bits 25 of America's finest young men. The torpedo gunmen shot at our firefighters and stretcher-bearers, using us as target practice, maiming and murdering as many of America's sons as they could.



The *USS Liberty* a few days after the June 8, 1967, attack by Israeli war planes and torpedo boats. Although it was flying a large American flag, the US Navy intelligence ship was repeatedly attacked by Zionist forces, killing 34 and wounding 172 of the crew of 294. The vessel was scarred by napalm, a torpedo explosion at the water line, 3,000 armor-piercing bullets, and 851 rockets. Israeli machine-gun fire destroyed the ship's life rafts.

The captain ordered us to prepare to abandon ship, as the ship was in grave danger of sinking from a torpedo hit that left a 40 foot by 40 foot hole in her. There were only three life rafts left that they hadn't already destroyed. We put them over the side to put as many wounded in as possible. The torpedo boats machine gunned the life rafts and sank two of them and took one aboard their boat — no survivors were to be taken! Helicopters were overhead to board our ship with Israeli commandos at the ready to finish us off.

Responding to an S.O.S. from the *Liberty*, the *USS Saratoga* launched their jets approximately 15 minutes

into the vicious Israeli attack. Within minutes after the launch, incredibly and inexplicably, Washington shamefully and unconscionably recalled the jets, abandoning helpless American sailors under fire, and subjecting them to an additional two hours of barbaric Israeli bombardment and butchery.

Fortuitously, when the Israelis picked up an invalid message that U.S. help was on the way, Israel reluctantly was forced to terminate its ongoing assault. Without that break, I would not be alive writing this letter.

Ironically, help did not arrive until 18 hours after the attack, when it was only 15 minutes away. When an American rescue ship finally arrived, what they found was shocking: the *Liberty* was in shambles, death on the water. There were 821 rocket and cannon holes in her hull, thousands of 50 caliber armor-piercing bullets riddling her skin, a tunnel size torpedo cavity in her broad side, and the residue of napalm that had been dropped to burn us up. Blood and body parts were strewn across the deck. A sad, outrageous story, but unfortunately true.

The crew of the most decorated naval ship in American history was ordered to remain silent under threat of court martial, imprisonment or worse, and we all knew what worst meant. The U.S. government has never challenged the obviously phony Israeli excuse of "mistaken identity," nor have they attempted to expose the dishonorable cover-up that continues to date. Truth and America's honor were ignominiously sacrificed to provide cover for Israel's transparent lies and despicable act of perfidy.

Israel's premeditated, sneak attack on the *USS Liberty* was a direct attack on America. The disgraceful refusal of unpatriotic American governmental officials of dubious allegiance to defend America and come to the aid of brave Americans under attack can only be characterized as treasonous.

Mr. President, on behalf of the courageous crew of the *USS Liberty*, dead and alive, I respectfully request that you commission a presidential panel to finally investigate the attack and cover-up of the *USS Liberty*, and report the truth to the American people.

Thank you, Mr. President. God bless you! God bless America!

Respectfully,
Phillip F. Tourney, President
USS Liberty Veterans Association

Israeli Attack on the *Liberty* Was No Accident: An Interview with James Ennes

Question: When did you join the *USS Liberty* and what position did you serve on June 8, 1967?

Answer: I joined the ship in April 1967. I was a lieutenant and was assigned to be the ship's Electronic Materiel Officer, responsible for the maintenance and repair of all of the ship's electronic equipment. I also stood watches on the bridge as Officer of the Deck.

Q: There have been many cases of "friendly fire" and misidentification in wartime. Unlike other cases, the attack on the *USS Liberty* has lingered for 35 years and still remains unresolved. Israelis claim that the attack on the *Liberty* was also a case of mistaken identity, and that they misidentified the *Liberty* for an Egyptian horse carrier, *El Quseir*. One of the reasons that they present for their argument is that the attacking jets circled the ship three times looking for a flag, but no flag was flown. Do you agree with that statement?

A: "Friendly fire" is a brief, accidental attack. This was a prolonged, carefully coordinated attack. It has been called the most carefully planned "accident" in the history of warfare. The Israeli account of the attack is untrue. We flew a flag at all times, and it stood out clearly displayed in a good breeze. Israeli jets circled us

13 times during the several hours before the attack, and during that period we heard their pilots informing their headquarters by radio that we were American. When the attack started, the attacking jets passed high overhead once, then turned 180 degrees and came down the centerline firing without any attempt to identify us. Long after the attack I was contacted by an Israeli pilot who told me that on his first flight over the ship he saw our American flag and informed his headquarters that we were American, but was told to ignore the flag and attack anyway. He refused to do so and returned to base where he was arrested. I was told by an Israeli in the war room that they knew we were American. I have been told by several American intelligence analysts who read, or in some cases heard, the messages between the pilots and their headquarters that these messages make it very clear that the pilots and their headquarters knew we were American.

Q: You have written a book titled *Assault on the Liberty*. What are some of the most convincing reasons or evidences you presented in that book to prove that the Israelis knowingly attacked the *Liberty*?

A: Among other things, the extensive reconnaissance, the fact that the attack continued for 75 minutes, and the fact that they compiled a totally false account of what happened. After the torpedo explosion the torpedo boats examined our name in English on the stern and our American flag on the mast from less than 50 feet away, and continued to fire from close range for another 40 minutes. As US Secretary of State Dean Rusk said later, an accident may occur for a few minutes, but there is no way our very distinctive-looking

James M. Ennes was serving as a US Navy lieutenant on board the *USS Liberty* when it was attacked by Israeli forces on June 8, 1967. He is the author of *Assault on the Liberty*, a detailed account of the attack published in 1980 by Random House. Born in 1933 and now retired, he served with the US Navy during most of his adult life. This interview, published in the Iranian newspaper *Jam-e-Jam*, July 27, 2002, was conducted by Ali Jafar. The text is posted on-line at <http://www.ussliberty.org/jamejam.txt>

ship could have been fired upon for 75 minutes from close range without it being recognized as American.

In the hours after the attack a "consensus report" was written reflecting the view of all American intelligence agencies that the attack was deliberate. This report was circulated, but was withdrawn and cancelled and all copies destroyed because it was too embarrassing politically to be allowed to stand.

Q: Being small in size and population, Israelis have always relied on spying to get intelligence information. They have spied on many Arab and non-Arab countries including the US. In October 1954 quite a few of the Israeli spies were arrested and two of them were executed in Egypt. Elias Cohen was the Israeli spy who was caught in 1965, and later executed in Syria, and I am sure you know about Jonathan Pollard, the Israeli spy whose spying activities cost the lives of America's most loyal and best agents in the Communist world. Generally speaking, how could the Israelis not have known that *El Quesir* was not even there?

A: They could not have made such a mistake. Israeli naval officer have told me they are embarrassed by the claim that they could be so incompetent as to make such a mistake.

Q: It has been reported that after the *Liberty* radioed for help, two aircraft carriers in the Mediterranean responded by launching fighter aircraft, but they were recalled before reaching their destination to help the *Liberty*. Can you tell us who gave the orders, and why they were recalled?

A: Secretary Robert McNamara ordered the recall of rescue aircraft. He has refused to discuss the matter. The recall order was confirmed by President Lyndon Johnson. President Johnson later said that he would not risk shooting down Israeli aircraft, even if Americans died as a result.

Q: Quite often the American government is referred to as a "government of the people, for the people, by the people." In 1967 your responsible officials, by recalling the launched aircraft, left you practically unprotected, and since then, your government not only blocked every effort to launch an investigation, but in fact did everything it could, to cover it up for 35 years. Is there any doubt in your mind that the very government, that you put your life on the line to protect, betrayed you and your shipmates?

A: Someone in our government certainly failed to



James Ennes

protect us after promising that we would be protected.

Q: There are certain motives behind any crime that is committed. If indeed, as you believe, the Israeli attack on the *Liberty* was premeditated, what was their motive for attacking the *Liberty*?

A: The *USS Liberty* was an intelligence ship. Clearly someone in Israel feared that we would learn something that Israel did not want the US to know. Some American intelligence experts have said that they believe this was the pending invasion of Syria to capture the Golan Heights.

Q: In recent years an impressive number of American officials, including Admiral Thomas Moorer, who was chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) at the time of the *Liberty* incident, have gone on record insisting that the Israeli action was, in fact, deliberate. Are you optimistic that after 35 years of cover up, the truth may finally come out?

A: No. I fear that Israel has so many friends in the Congress and the White House that no effective investigation is ever likely to be conducted. But we can continue to report the facts so that the world may learn the truth. In 1956 President Eisenhower forced the Israelis to cease their advance toward Suez. This was still a bitter memory in Israel in 1967. The Israelis did not want to risk having to withdraw from the Golan Heights as they had from Suez, so they disabled the *USS Liberty* in the hope that the US could be kept in the dark until the Heights were in Israeli hands.

This week a *Navy Times* survey of its readers showed that about 90 percent support a call for a new investigation of the attack. Yet few members of Congress are likely to support an inquiry, as it would certainly prove embarrassing to Israel.

Q: Generally speaking, in an incident like the *Liberty* attack, one would feel that the most valuable, viable and valid sources of information would be people such as yourself, who were present on the battlefield on June 8, 1967. A. Jay Cristol, a pro-Israeli federal judge and one of the most outspoken critics of the *Liberty* story, is the author of a book titled *The Liberty Incident*. He supposedly has done extensive research, and has interviewed many of the survivors. It has been reported that you refused to cooperate with him. Was there any particular reason that caused you not to cooperate?

A: After a brief telephone conversation, I did not trust him to treat the subject fairly or objectively. His dissertation and his later book proved that judgment to

be valid, in that he has distorted many of the facts.

For instance, his book makes much of what he claims is the visual acuity of fighter pilots, yet experienced pilots tell me that pilots can see much more than Cristol claims, and could easily have seen our flag. Cristol discounts as untrue the unanimous eyewitness reports of American survivors, but accepts as true virtually every false claim by the Israelis. He relies upon the Court of Inquiry, which is itself false and has been discredited by its own legal counsel. He claims *Liberty's* radio intercept range was only 25 miles, which is dead wrong. He claims the *Liberty* had no radio telephone contact with Washington, which is untrue. He claims only a few survivors regard the attack as deliberate, yet the truth is that survivors are unanimous in calling the attack deliberate. He claims our radios were not jammed, when even the corrupt Court of Inquiry says they were. He claims he came to Seattle to interview me, and that I broke a promise to see him, which is untrue. In fact, he had asked only to talk to me by telephone during a layover in Seattle, and I chose not to take the call because I realized that his intent was to try to discredit us, not to report our story objectively.

In fact, Cristol claims to have made numerous trips to Israel and to have interviewed over 200 people for his book, but his research is very unbalanced, drawing primarily from Israeli sources while ignoring or discounting most eyewitness reports. He has interviewed few survivors, and those only very briefly. He brands *Liberty's* senior intercept officer a liar, yet made no attempt to interview him. His research appears to be aimed entirely at attempting to discredit survivors, not to investigate the attack objectively. He claims to be the world's foremost expert on the attack, but I have never heard from a survivor who believes he can be taken seriously.

Q: Upon returning to the US, the *Liberty* crew members were ordered and in fact threatened to be silent. Who gave the order and why?

A: Survivors were visited in hospitals all over the US by many different officers and warned to be quiet. Aboard the ship, Admiral Kidd called men together in groups and warned them never to talk about the attack with anyone, not even their wives and mothers, or risk being sent to prison.

Q: In November of 1979 the Iranian students in protest to the US government policy of letting the former Shah of Iran in the US for medical treatment, stormed the US embassy in Tehran and held 52 American hostage for 444 days. ABC news almost immediately launched a new [television] program by the name of

"Nightline," with correspondent Ted Koppel reporting on the condition of the hostages as well as the developments of the story itself, night by night. The title of the nightly report was: "The Iran Crisis: America Held Hostage." As I am sure you know, the hostages finally came home safe and sound, and were given a hero's welcome, and "Nightline" has continued its special reports on important events, including many interviews with former hostages. By comparison, the brutal and tragic Israeli attack on the *USS Liberty*, in which 34 innocent young Americans were killed and 171 others were badly wounded, is something that most Americans, who are well-informed about President Bill Clinton's affair with Monica Lewinsky, may not even be aware that it ever took place. You know, Mr. Ennes, one wonders why there wasn't a similar program like "Nightline" launched for the *Liberty* and her survivors? What would have been wrong if ABC news had a nightly report with a title such as "The Middle East Crisis: Israeli Attack on the *USS Liberty*"? It seems as if the mainstream mass media had a tacit agreement with the US government to keep the public in dark about the *Liberty* and the plight of its survivors. Don't you feel that they have acted very selectively, and in fact unfairly, in regards to the *Liberty* incident?

A: There is much opposition in this country to this story being told. Ted Koppel is an interesting case. In 1982 Ted Koppel invited several survivors to his studios in Washington, DC, where we filmed a full report on the attack. It was edited and scheduled for broadcast, and then on the very day it was to be broadcast Israel invaded Lebanon, and that bigger story replaced the *Liberty* story. Later, when broadcasters planned to present the *Liberty* show, the films had mysteriously vanished from the file room, never to be found.

Q: Jean-Paul Sartre, the famous French philosopher, has said, and I quote, "Man is a product of time and place." By reading chapter six of your book, one can see that on June 8, 1967, you experienced perhaps the worst day of your life. The political officials who were supposed to help you, betrayed you. The president and military officials who were supposed to rescue you and your shipmates, recalled the aircraft and left you unprotected against the attacking Israeli jets. The mass media, which was supposed to give extensive coverage to the *Liberty* and the plight of its survivors, has acted with deafening silence, and finally, taking your experience with A. Jay Cristol into consideration, one could say that the pen that should have elicited the facts and told the truth, has distorted it. Can you please tell us how the *Liberty* incident has affected your life?

New 'Official' Changes in the Auschwitz Story

MARK WEBER

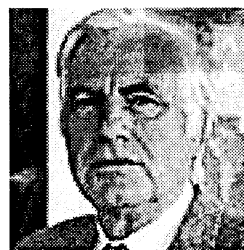
Since the end of World War II, authoritative claims about the character and scope of killings at the Auschwitz concentration camp have changed drastically. One particularly striking change concerns the various "official" estimates of the number of victims — a number that since 1945 has been steadily declining.

Today, more than half a century after the end of the war, the process of "establishment" revisionism still continues. It finds recent expression in a lengthy article, "The Number of Auschwitz Victims," published in the May 2002 issue of the scholarly German journal *Osteuropa*, issued by the prestigious Society for Eastern European Studies. The article is written by Fritjof Meyer, a respected foreign policy analyst, author of several books, and managing editor of Germany's foremost weekly news magazine *Der Spiegel*.¹

Drastic Reductions

The Auschwitz camp complex, located in what is now south-central Poland, was set up by German authorities in 1940. Large numbers of Jews were deported there between 1942 and mid-1944. The main camp, or *Stammlager*, was known as Auschwitz I. Birkenau, or Auschwitz II, is regarded as the main extermination center.

At the postwar International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg (1945-1946), the victorious Allied powers charged that the Germans exterminated four million people at Auschwitz. This figure, which was given in a report produced by a Soviet government commission, was uncritically accepted for many years, and often appeared in major American newspapers and magazines.²



Fritjof Meyer

Other figures, both higher and lower, were sometimes also claimed during the decades after the end of World War II.³

One of the most widely read books on the German wartime camp system is a detailed study written shortly after the end of the war by former Buchenwald inmate Eugen Kogon. This much-praised work, published in the United States under the title *The Theory and Practice of Hell*, reports that at Auschwitz alone there were "at least 3,500,000 victims, probably 4,500,000."⁴

The 1955 French documentary film "Night and Fog," which is still widely shown in France, and has been seen by many in the United States, claims that nine million people lost their lives in Auschwitz.⁵

In his *Osteuropa* article, Meyer writes that Gerald Reitlinger, a prominent Jewish specialist of this subject, estimated in his 1953 book *The Final Solution*, that a total of one million people perished in Auschwitz, of whom as many as 750,000 were murdered by gas.⁶

Until 1989, notes Meyer, it was forbidden in eastern Europe to dispute the official finding that four million were killed at Auschwitz. At the Auschwitz State Museum, staff members who expressed doubts about this figure were threatened with disciplinary measures. In 1989 Israeli Holocaust historian Yehuda Bauer said that it is time to finally acknowledge that the familiar four million figure is a deliberate myth.⁷ In July 1990 the Auschwitz State Museum, a Polish government agency, along with Israel's Yad Vashem Holocaust Center, announced that altogether perhaps one million

people (both Jews and non-Jews) died at Auschwitz.⁸

Franciszek Piper, director of the Auschwitz State Museum, in an essay published in a semi-official 1994 American anthology, put the number of Auschwitz victims at 1.1 million.⁹ More or less consistent with that, prominent American newspapers in recent months have been telling readers that “more than a million” Jews lost their lives at Auschwitz.¹⁰

In a book published in 1994, the French anti-revisionist writer Jean-Claude Pressac estimated 631,000 to 711,000 deaths at Auschwitz, of which 470,000 to 550,000 were from gassing.¹¹

In his recent *Osteuropa* article, Fritjof Meyer presents a further revision downwards. He writes: “These considerations are the basis for the conclusion here that in Auschwitz half a million people were murdered, about 356,000 of them with gas.” Similarly, Meyer ends his article by concluding that 510,000 lost their lives in Auschwitz, of whom 356,000 “probably” were killed by gas.

The Höss ‘Confessions’

For decades key evidence cited for mass killings at Auschwitz has been the postwar testimony of Rudolf Höss, who was commandant of the camp from May 1940 until December 1943, and again between May and July 1944. Since the end of the war, his statements of March and April 1946, and his testimony in April 1946 as a witness at the main Nuremberg trial, have been widely cited in numerous history books, newspapers, and magazine articles.¹² In those statements, and in that testimony, he declared that three million died at Auschwitz, of whom two and a half million were killed “there by gassing and burning.”¹³

In a detailed 1985 essay, Prof. Robert Faurisson established that the Höss “confession” is a false document that was extracted under torture.¹⁴ Fritjof Meyer, echoing arguments and points made 17 years earlier by Faurisson, writes that Höss’ “confession” was wrung out of him after “three days of sleep deprivation, torture, beatings after every answer, being held naked, and forcibly intoxicated,” and, finally, with the use of a whip.

Martin Broszat’s Deceit

In his *Osteuropa* article, Meyer refers to the deceit of Martin Broszat, one of Germany’s most prominent postwar historians. From 1972 until his death in 1989 Broszat was deputy director, and then director of Germany’s semi-official Institute for Contemporary His-



Rudolf Höss as a prisoner of Allied forces, April 1946.

tory in Munich. “The unreliability of Höss’ million-large figures,” writes Meyer, “is so serious that Martin Broszat simply left out some of them in the publication of the Höss papers that he edited.”

Specifically, Meyer notes, Broszat deleted from Höss’ “memoir” statements about millions of non-existent Jews who were scheduled for extermination, including “about four million Jews from Romania,” as well as “an estimated two and a half million Jews from Bulgaria.” In fact, Meyer writes, in 1940 there were only about 342,000 Jews in Romania altogether, and the total number of Jews in Bulgaria, according to more or less reliable estimates, was between 48,000 and some 63,000. Höss had exaggerated the actual number of Jews in Romania by more than ten times, and in Bulgaria by about 50 times.

So far, anyway, no public outcry has arisen against Dr. Broszat, who consciously falsified an important historical document, or against the prestigious scholarly institute he directed. Similarly, no one has yet apologized for this deception — or even demanded that an apology be made.

Downplaying the Birkenau ‘Kremas’

For decades it has been authoritatively claimed that mass killings of Jews were carried out at Auschwitz —

before the end of the war. Raul Hilberg, who supports the gas chamber and mass extermination claims, puts the number of Hungarian Jewish victims at 180,000, which means that the majority of the Hungarian Jewish deportees must have survived. Therefore, how does Crowell, who rejects the gas chamber legend, arrive at this impossibly high percentage? In reality, the number of Hungarian Jews who died in the camps can not possibly have exceeded some tens of thousands.

Being well acquainted with the documents, and having remarkable linguistic skills, Crowell could make a substantial contribution to revisionist research. He should therefore refrain from making irresponsible statements that damage his credibility.

Jürgen Graf
[by e-mail]

A Born Skeptic

I am either a propaganda victim, or I'm becoming one. While searching the internet for a good revisionist critique of the Roosevelt/Pearl Harbor controversy, I found "Pearl Harbor: Fifty Years of Controversy" [Winter 1991-92 *Journal*] — which I thought was useful. I knew nothing of the IHR, or the IHR's views on the Holocaust. When someone on an internet message board pointed out your Holocaust articles to me, I was shocked. And then I read, and read.

One problem I have with your views — other than the obvious fact that, like most everyone else, I have been heavily indoctrinated with "exterminationism" — is your seeming lack of concern for the cruel and inhumane things that Germans unquestionably did to Jews during World War II. In my opinion you should acknowledge up front that the Jews were subjected to systematic discrimination, forcible rounding up, imprisonment, slave labor, exe-

cutions, theft of property, and so forth.

Without such an acknowledgment, revisionism sometimes sounds like Nazi apologetics. If atrocities or crimes were in fact carried out against Jews, why not acknowledge that up front?

I first encountered the exterminationist view as a child, and it has been hammered into my head ever since. But even when I was young I questioned it. I guess I'm a born skeptic. My own critique always went something like this: One, If the Germans wanted to kill all the Jews, why didn't they just walk into their houses, shoot them there or on the edge of town, take their property, and bury them in nearby mass graves? That would have been much simpler. The exterminationist view that Jews were instead transported by rail clear across Europe in order to kill them seems illogical and wasteful, given the essential strategic importance of rail transport.

Two, If it was common knowledge in the camps that the Jews were being exterminated, as survivors now claim, why didn't the Jewish camp prisoners try to escape en masse? It seems obvious to me that knowing of systematic mass slaughter would cause most people to act desperately to get out, trying anything, regardless of guards and the unlikelihood of survival.

Three, How is it that any Jews were left alive in German concentration camps at the end of the war? The fact that many did survive, even in camps, seems inconsistent with a policy of systematic extermination. Four, Why do we always hear that "six million" Jews were killed? That strikes me as a suspiciously convenient, rounded figure. Why not 4.8, 5.7, 6.5, or 7.235 million? The "six million" should at least be qualified with an "approximately."

I am writing this merely tell you that I do not want to be a victim of

propaganda, mainstream or otherwise. I pride myself on being able to accept "truth," no matter how inconvenient.

As a second generation Polish-American, I have always been equally interested in both Nazi and Soviet atrocities. I have always wondered why Soviet atrocities are largely ignored, while German ones are played up in the media, seemingly on a daily basis. Aware of the often propagandistic nature of everything we hear about World War II, and now that I have seen many of the extensive sources cited by the IHR, I have become defamiliarized and upset. I no longer know (if I ever thought I did) what the real story is, and I fear I may never know for sure. I guess I now think that the truth is somewhere between the traditional exterminationist view and yours.

Every historical topic, even the Holocaust, should be subject to debate. Whatever the validity of your arguments, you are without question courageous in going against the grain.

C. J.
[by e-mail]

A Suggestion

I suggest replacing the term "Holocaust" with the term "Auschwitz tragedy," because the extent of a tragedy can be investigated, whereas a religious "holocaust" defies academic research.

P. D.
Boeblingen, Germany

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 Startlingly Dissident Look at World War II, From an American Journalist who Sided with Axis Germany

A seasoned American observer of the European scene who refused to compromise his integrity and principles provides an informed, outspoken view of World War II and its origins that contrasts sharply with the familiar, official accounts.

For 22 years Donald Day (1895-1966) was the only American journalist stationed in Europe north of Berlin. From Poland, Finland, Latvia, Sweden and elsewhere in northern and central Europe, he covered events as correspondent for the *Chicago Tribune*. His dispatches were read by millions of readers of the *New York Daily News*, the *Chicago Tribune*, and dozens of other American newspapers. He was also an authority on the Soviet Union. But unlike many of those who reported on Soviet affairs, he was undeceived about the true character of the Stalin regime.

As war approached in March-August 1939, Day lamented Britain's anti-German policies and the sharply anti-German tone of the British press, which he attributed to Jewish power and influence. In early 1939 the authorities in Warsaw barred him from verifying the rapidly accumulating reports of Polish persecution of the country's ethnic German minority, which was an important factor in the rising tension between Germany and Poland that culminated in the outbreak of war on September 1, 1939.

In 1940 Day reported from Latvia on the brutal Soviet subjugation of the Baltic lands. He was virtually the only western journalist to provide frank, first-hand coverage of this great human tragedy. Similarly, he accompanied Finnish troops as they advanced into Soviet territory in the summer and fall of 1941.

He wrote *Onward Christian Soldiers* in late 1942 and early 1943, at a time when, he believed, the future of Western civilization hung in the balance. Convinced that Third Reich Germany was Europe's only bulwark against Soviet tyranny, Day resolved actively to enlist in what he regarded as the West's crucial struggle for survival.

In the summer of 1944, at a time when the tide of war had already shifted decisively to the Allies, he moved to Berlin to work for German radio. From September 1944 until April 1945, he broadcast from the beleaguered capital city, speaking out against President Roosevelt and America's military-political alliance with Stalinist Russia, and the ruthless Allied war against Germany and Christian Europe.

What moved this middle-aged veteran journalist to risk being branded, and punished, as a traitor? In this valuable memoir, Day reveals the character and thinking of an American who decided to enlist with Axis Europe.

Onward Christian Soldiers

by Donald Day

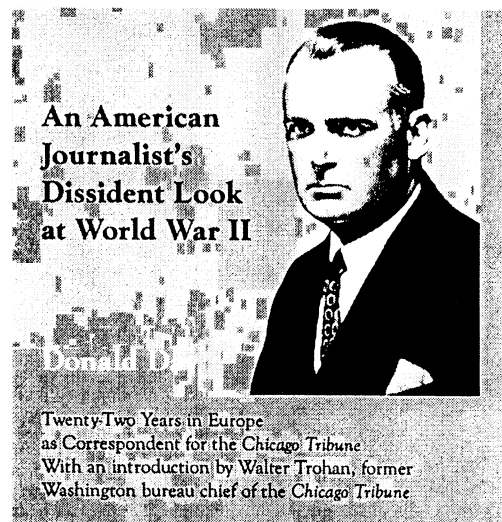
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ONWARD CHRISTIAN SOLDIERS



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.

Relying on a vast range of Zionist, Soviet, American and

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