

The Journal of Historical Review

Henri Roques

*From the Gerstein Affair
to the Roques Affair*

Alexander V. Berkis

Soviet Russia's Persecution of Latvia

Otto Ernst Remer

My Role in Berlin on July 20, 1944

R. Clarence Lang

*Imposed German Guilt:
The Stuttgart Declaration of 1945*

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An Update on the Dead Sea Scrolls

—Reviews—

*Shoah (The Film) • Shoah (The Book) • Rebel Patriot:
A Biography of Franz von Papen • Verschwörung und Verrat
um Hitler: Urteil des Frontsoldaten • Hollywood Goes to War:
How Politics, Profits & Propaganda Shaped World War II
Movies • Confessions of a Holocaust Revisionist*

—HISTORICAL NEWS AND COMMENT—

*West German Court Rejects Judge Staeglich's Appeal
The Mueller Document*

The Journal of Historical Review

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From the Editor

With the appearance of this first number of Volume Eight, *The Journal of Historical Review* ends its “sabbatical,” and resumes its vital mission of revising and correcting propaganda untruths disseminated in the name of history to the woe of men and women of good will everywhere. In its first seven volumes *The Journal* established itself as the world’s leading scholarly voice against the gas-chamber hoax and the other falsehoods and legends associated with the Holocaust story. *The Journal* was also able to revitalize and carry forward the program of Harry Elmer Barnes and his school, reviewing the diplomatic history of the twentieth century, examining the largely veiled war crimes of the victors, and debunking atrocities falsely ascribed to the vanquished.

This issue builds on and advances the tradition established by its predecessors. As befits *The Journal*’s primary focus, contemporary history, the articles are timely indeed, from Henri Roques’ account of the imbroglio that erupted in France two years ago when he dared subject the “confessions” of Kurt Gerstein—until then regarded as a key “proof” of the gas-chamber story—to a close textual examination, to the latest news from Germany and Austria regarding Judge Stäglich’s efforts to regain his duly earned doctorate and the explosive revelations of the Müller document. The essential characteristics of Historical Revisionism, i.e., a commitment to a spirit of critical doubt and an obligation to truthfulness as a component of personal honor, shine through in Clarence Lang’s study of the background to the Stuttgart Declaration of German Guilt as well as General Otto Ernst Remer’s account of his role in suppressing the July 20, 1944 anti-Hitler putsch, whose authors for some time have been objects of a virtual state cult in West Germany.

Dr. Alexander Berkis reminds us of the many crimes of the Soviet Union in Latvia and the other two Baltic states, crimes that advocates of *glasnost* are all too willing to sweep under the rug in exchange for promised Soviet amity, often sought by dusting off Soviet atrocity stories directed not only at Germans but at Balts, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, and other subject peoples of Eastern and Central Europe. IHR Editorial Advisory Committee member Martin Larson reports on the latest developments in the ongoing attempts to force publication of the long since deciphered and translated, but curiously withheld, Dead Sea Scrolls.

As always, *The Journal* helps readers stay abreast of historiographical developments in its *Review* and *Historical News and Comment* sections, which in this issue feature the incomparable Robert Faurisson on Shoah, Dr. Stäglich’s report, and reviews from

(continued on page 127)

From the Gerstein Affair to the Roques Affair

HENRI ROQUES

Translated by Ronald V. Percival

(Paper Presented to the Eighth International Revisionist Conference)

On February 21, 1979, the newspaper *Le Monde*, the Paris daily, published a text titled "The Hitler Policy of Extermination: A Declaration by Historians." This declaration, whose style was intended to be solemn and whose conclusions were meant to be irrefutable, had been drafted by two persons:

—Léon Poliakov, former director of research at the C.N.R.S. (the National Center for Scientific Research), an author of widely-distributed books translated into several languages and often republished, all devoted to the questions of anti-Semitism and the persecutions suffered by the Jews under the Third Reich (for example: *The Breviary of Hate*, *The Third Reich and the Jews*, *The Trial at Jerusalem*);

—Pierre Vidal-Naquet, a professor at the School of Advanced Studies in the Social Sciences at Paris, a specialist in ancient Greek history but at the same time the chief of a group of university academics who, at the time, had decided to oppose vigorously the Revisionist theses expounded in France by Professor Robert Faurisson. Pierre Vidal-Naquet published in 1980 a work under the title: *The Jews, Memory and the Present*.

Poliakov and Vidal-Naquet had obtained, in order to support their text, the signatures of thirty-two other historians. Among the latter, who worked or taught at the College of France, at the National Center for Scientific Research, in the French universities, at the School for Advanced Studies in Social Sciences and at the Practical School of Advanced Studies, one could identify the names of some academics very well-known in France as historians. Nevertheless, it should be noted that there was only a small minority of specialists in contemporary history and, more particularly, in the history of the Second World War.

The declaration began as follows:

Since the end of the Second World War, it has happened on several occasions that publicists, sometimes taking the title of historians, have cast doubt on the veracity of the evidence of the Hitler policy of extermination. This evidence had, in 1945, a glaring obviousness. The great majority of the deportees today are dead. There remain their writings and the archives of the Third Reich, but this documentation does not always prevent reactions which are in the form of a "critique" in appearance only.

The declaration ends with the following bewildering phrases:

It is not necessary to ask oneself how, technically, such a mass murder was possible. It was possible technically because it took place. Such is the obligatory point of departure for all historical inquiry on the subject. It is our concern simply to recall this truth: there is not, there cannot be, any debate on the existence of the gas chambers.

In addition, in the fourth paragraph of this text, bearing the subtitle "The Evidence," one can read the following: "A witness, a document, can always be suspected. The criticism of texts is one of the fundamental rules of our profession."

Personally, I have always remembered very specially this last sentence and I asked myself: "Has there been any critical textual evaluation of sufficient substance to deal with the rare written accounts which claim to attest the existence of homicidal gas chambers in the Nazi concentration camps?"

To this question, I have replied in the negative. Now, in this declaration of the historians, an evidence in writing was partially reproduced; it came from what was customarily called the "Gerstein Report" (in German, *Gerstein-Bericht*). The writers of the declaration, Léon Poliakov and Pierre Vidal-Naquet, presented it in these terms:

From amongst so very much evidence, which obviously cannot come from those who have been killed, is it necessary to recall that of the SS [officer] Gerstein, who tried in vain to alert, as early as 1942, the civil and religious authorities on what was happening in these camps? Written by himself, April 26, 1945, for the French authorities, in hesitant French, his account, indisputable in its essentials, of what he had seen at Belzec is only the more moving.

This preamble was followed by an extract of the Gerstein report in its most widely-known version, which carries the reference PS-1553, a total of 55 lines spread over two columns of the newspaper *Le Monde*, on page twenty-three.

Why was this evidence chosen "from amongst so very much evidence"? Apparently because Léon Poliakov and Pierre Vidal-Naquet believed it to be the most convincing of all the written evidence relating to the problem of the homicidal gas chambers. Léon Poliakov had long experience of this evidence because he had utilized it very often in his writings. As far as Pierre Vidal-Naquet was concerned, he put his trust in Léon Poliakov, who was

considered to be one of the best specialists, perhaps even the best specialist, on this question in France. As for the thirty-two cosignatories to the declaration, it is very probable that the Gerstein report was hardly known to them, and that the reputations of the two initiators of the declaration sufficed to obtain their signatures.

* * * * *

The Gerstein evidence has a unique character: it is the only evidence to have been given spontaneously by a German officer who had been a member of the Waffen SS.

Gerstein was described by his hagiographers as "a saint astray in our century," as "God's spy." For Poliakov, this German was "a righteous Gentile."

However, the Gerstein report began its career badly: it was, in fact, rejected as proof by the Military Tribunal at Nuremberg, which had called for the document during its session of January 30, 1946. Subsequently, the Gerstein account was used in legal proceedings, notably in the Doctors' Trial of November 1947 and, later, in the Eichmann Trial at Jerusalem in 1961.

If a critical review of the various published versions of the texts was indispensable, it seemed clear to me that it was necessary to begin by a critical review of the texts left by Gerstein or which were attributed to him.

I am neither an academic nor an historian. My career has been spent in administration in the private sector, and I took my retirement in 1981. It happens that, since 1945, I have been greatly interested in several historical questions relating to the Second World War; in this way I have cultivated for a very long time what you Americans, I believe, call a "hobby."

I was a friend of the historian Paul Rassinier, whom we all recognize as the spiritual father of Holocaust Revisionism. I often have to explain Paul Rassinier's work to audiences who are not fully aware or whose knowledge of his work is poor. It is, for me, an immense pleasure to speak of the great and honest man who was Paul Rassinier. But I believe that here it is quite unnecessary to recall at length the historian whom you know well and whom you admire.

I had read, during the 1950's and the 1960's, the works of Rassinier; I had long conversations with him at his home in the Paris suburbs between 1962 and 1967, which was the year of his untimely death. Rassinier certainly mentioned the Gerstein story; in regard to the witness Pfannenstiel, he even pointed out to me that his name meant "handle of the frying pan." Unaware that one day I should write a thesis on the Gerstein texts, I did not pay sufficient attention to Paul Rassinier on this subject.

I did, however, have a record in a comparative presentation made by Rassinier in his book *The Drama of the European Jews*. On ten to

twelve pages, he presented side by side:

–on the one hand, the French version of the document attributed to Gerstein by Léon Poliakov in 1951 in his book *The Breviary of Hate*;

–on the other hand, the French version of the document attributed to Gerstein by the tribunal at Jerusalem in 1961 and printed by the same Poliakov in *The Trial at Jerusalem*.

Paul Rassinier pointed out important and inexplicable differences between these extracts of the same original document.

Moreover, a remark made by the historian stayed always in my memory: “Of all the evidence relating to the homicidal gas chambers,” Rassinier had said to me, “the craziest, the most extravagant, is that of Gerstein.”

Then, in 1979, almost twelve years after the death of my friend, I found once more the evidence he had described as crazy and extravagant in a declaration by historians, signed by thirty-four French academics.

I informed Professor Robert Faurisson, with whom I was already in contact, of my stupefaction. He shared my indignation, the more so because he possessed a solid documentation on this subject. The idea of bringing matters out into the open progressively imposed itself on me; I reread the books of Rassinier, those of Léon Poliakov, of Saul Friedländer and of Pierre Joffroy. In 1981, I took my professional retirement and began my work of research and study. In the course of this same year 1981, a trial confronted Robert Faurisson with Léon Poliakov; the former having written, in one of his works, that the latter was a manipulator and fabricator of texts, precisely a propos the Gerstein story.

Poliakov, urged by his followers, brought a complaint of defamation against Faurisson. At the request of Professor Faurisson and as witness at this trial, I prepared for the attention of the judges a memorandum which showed very clearly the manipulations and fabrications of Gerstein's texts by Poliakov. But the Advocate-General recalled to the attention of the court in his summation that there was defamation in regard to a person from the moment that injurious remarks were made as to his reputation, even if those remarks were true. As a consequence, Professor Faurisson was found guilty.

Now quite determined to prepare a university thesis in order to present a critical evaluation of the “confessions” of Kurt Gerstein, I succeeded in obtaining the agreement of a professor of literature to his becoming director of studies for my thesis.

On February 5, 1982, I registered myself in the correct manner at the University of Paris IV-Sorbonne.

* * * * *

My researches were basically undertaken in two places:

1. In the Archives of the Evangelical Church of Bielefeld in Westphalia, which possesses a unique file concerning Gerstein; the majority of these documents have been sent to the archives by the widow of the former SS officer. It was in these archives that I discovered a sixth version of the "confessions," thus adding to the five versions already known but never published in full.
2. At the Direction of Military Justice in Paris, where the file on the war criminal Kurt Gerstein, accused of murder and complicity in murder on July 5, 1945 by a military examining magistrate, is preserved. The Gerstein file had mysteriously disappeared from the French military archives from November 1945 until August 1971. On the latter date, it was rediscovered "by chance." It seems that, before me, no one had sought seriously to study the documents contained in this file.

When I had collected an important number of these documents, often unpublished, I began the writing of my thesis. My director of studies at the Sorbonne advised me; I had great need of his advice, for I was not familiar with the academic methods applicable to textual criticism. I had visualized devoting one chapter to the cuts in the text made in the published versions, to the substitutions of words and figures, to the amalgams made in utilizing extracts from different versions, etc. My director of studies did not approve of this project; such a chapter would have brought into question the integrity of authors known for their Exterminationist works. I then opted for another method: throughout the length of my thesis, I have noted the inexplicable anomalies in the numerous alleged reproductions of Gerstein's texts.

My work thus took the following form:

- Introduction
- Chapter One: Establishment of the Texts
- Chapter Two: Authenticity of the Texts
- Chapter Three: Veracity of the Texts
- Chapter Four: Gerstein's "Confessions" and the Views of
 Their Readers.
- Conclusion

At the end of Chapter One, I have drawn up large tables which permit the reader to compare the principal extracts of the "confessions" of Gerstein according to the six versions, or even the eight versions, since version number five has two different texts in French and a translation in English.

My study of the authenticity of the texts led me to doubt the

authenticity of the two versions written in German; I consider, in fact, that these two German texts have been fabricated, at least partially, from the texts in French which themselves appear to have been composed by Gerstein. One of these two texts, the one dated May 4, 1945, was moreover rediscovered in the spring of 1946, in circumstances which are unclear, at the Hotel Mohren of Rottweil in the Württemberg region, where Gerstein had been interned as a prisoner of war by the French army.

In regard to the veracity of the texts, the most remarkable aspect is to be found in the enumeration of the improbabilities and unrealistic assertions which are scattered throughout the account of the SS officer. I have enumerated 29, but I am fully aware that my list is incomplete. I shall not burden you with a recital of these twenty-nine improbabilities; some are moreover very well known.

According to Gerstein, in three small camps in Poland, named Belzec, Treblinka and Sobibor, sixty-thousand persons were exterminated every day. Now, for these three camps, the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* gives the following statistics which are not, however, based on any scientific foundation: one million, six-hundred thousand persons, which is already hardly credible. According to Gerstein, the total of the victims would be twenty-eight millions, by reason of the sixty-thousand daily deaths during the periods when officially the camps were functioning. In addition, in the version of his "confessions" which carries the code PS-1553, Gerstein himself gives the figure of twenty-five million victims.

This strange SS officer, who did not lack imagination, saw piles of shoes or clothing that reached a height of thirty-five to forty meters, which is the equivalent of a building of ten to twelve floors. Was he not aware of the absurdity of such a statement? How could anyone climb such a height to deposit his shoes? Additionally, these mounds of shoes would have been visible from a very considerable distance, while at the same time Gerstein tells us that the exterminations in the camps had to be effected with the utmost secrecy.

Again, Gerstein tells us in each of the versions of his story that seven-hundred to eight-hundred persons were packed into a room of twenty-five square meters. A simple arithmetical division permits us to question the possibility of packing thirty persons or thereabouts into one square meter.

Finally, Gerstein boasts of having made his cargo of hydrocyanic acid disappear by burying it twelve-hundred meters before the camp entrance. One can already believe that the operation could not have been easy.

But, to crown the improbabilities, the SS officer pretends that no one asked him for a report on his mission when he returned to Berlin. Was it customary in the German army, or in any other army in the world, to assign an officer to an ultra-secret mission and then

not bother to inquire whether this mission had been fulfilled?

The conclusion of my thesis specifies the results I had proposed to attain:

1. to offer to historians, by my critical edition of the texts commonly called the "Gerstein Report," a solid base on which these historians could form their opinions;
2. to demonstrate that the SS officer's story does not have the value one should require of a historical document;
3. to encourage my readers to ask questions, and in particular the following question: "Why have the Exterminationists considered a text so extravagant and so crammed with improbabilities as being major evidence, as one of the best proofs of the existence of the gas chambers?"

I ended my conclusion with a saying borrowed from a French writer of Jewish origin, Raymond Aron: "the fertile spirit of doubt." This expression is very fine: it explains simply the necessity of exercising our critical intelligence in every scientific study, including, naturally, the study of history.¹

* * * * *

My work was finished at the beginning of April 1984; on that date I sent a copy of my thesis to the professor at the Sorbonne who had agreed to direct my studies.

Normally, I should have formally argued my thesis in the following weeks, at all events before June 30, 1984. But a jury composed of three professors was necessary; my director of studies, who was a professor of letters, thus had to find two colleagues, one of whom at least had to be a historian, in order to constitute this famous jury. He had warned me: by reason of the "explosive character" of this thesis, it would be imperative to have a jury "above all suspicion."

I had myself proposed as members of the jury the three professors who, the following year, constituted the jury at the University of Nantes. But the professor of Paris-Sorbonne objected to them. In effect, my director of studies in Paris was a victim of the intellectual terrorism which is rife throughout France as in the other European countries and even North America. He was frightened at the possibility of underwriting a thesis which would support Revisionist opinions.

The months passed by with the situation unresolved.

At the beginning of 1985, I requested the Paris professor to withdraw and with much delight I accepted the offer of a courageous professor of the University of Nantes to become my new director of studies for the thesis. The jury was then rapidly formed. It is a pleasure for me to give you the names of the members of this

panel. They are:

- Professor Jean-Claude Rivière, who teaches literature at the University of Nantes;
- Professor Jean-Paul Allard, who teaches German language and literature at the University of Lyon-III;
- Professor Pierre Zind, who teaches modern history at the University of Lyon-II.

The oral argument of my thesis took place on June 15, 1985, in full accordance with all the established regulations.

In the autumn of 1985, a communiqué was sent to the press and to a certain number of historians to inform them of the success of my thesis and of my duly being awarded a doctorate for research, in the Faculty of Letters. With the exception of some brief reports in some friendly newspapers, a great silence supervened until April 1986.

On April 18, 1986 (the date is worth noting), a letter was sent to me by the University of Nantes informing me that the certificate of my diploma was at my disposal; the letter suggested either that I should go personally to collect it or that I should send the small sum of money required so that the diploma could be mailed. My mind and my conscience both being quite untroubled, I did not make the journey to Nantes. Now, to be sure, I regret my decision, because the diploma would then have been handed to me and I could have shown it to you today.

About the twenty-fourth of April, that is to say some days later, Professor Jean-Claude Rivière telephoned me to tell me of his consternation: the issue of *Le Monde juif* [The Jewish World] for the first quarter of 1986 had just been profusely distributed at the University of Nantes, principally by dropping free copies into the postboxes of the teaching staff and other key personnel. This issue contained a lengthy article by Georges Wellers, who is the editor of *Le Monde juif* and, at the same time, a principal member of the managing committee of the Center for Jewish Documentation in Paris.

The Wellers article did not address itself properly to the issues raised in my thesis: academically, or historically, it was insignificant. But it was a well-calculated and quite persuasive propaganda attack; and we have to bear in mind that the vast majority of the persons who read it—in all innocence—had not read my thesis, which was then unpublished, and were thus unaware of the basic facts.

So, to give the Devil his due—or rather, in this case Georges Wellers—his article was a clever and well-planned propaganda effort. The primary purpose, obviously, was not to refute my thesis on matters of fact or interpretation but to embarrass the University: and, in this context, it succeeded. From this issue of *Le Monde juif*,

the scandal of the Roques Affair exploded, though for a further three weeks the scandal was confined to the region of Nantes.

The scandal of the Roques Affair reached Paris and the whole of France on May 22-23, 1986.

One evening, a so-called debate was organized, during a peak listening period, on a major radio channel. In the guise of a debate, it was rather more an attempt at a lynching party. I had beside me my friend and lawyer Maître Eric Delcroix: thus, we were two, confronting six adversaries who, for the most part, were experienced in radio phone-in debates. In the course of the broadcast two Ministers, one of whom, Alain Devaquet, was the Minister of Research and Higher Education, intervened by telephone. Madame Simone Veil, a member of the European Parliament and a former president of that institution, also a former deportee to Auschwitz, likewise intervened.

Maître Delcroix and I came out of this pre-arranged ambush fairly well; our adversaries lost their self-control to the extent of offering us insults. The following day, the twenty-fourth of May, all the national press was writing of the "affair," often on the front page.

On the twenty-eighth of May a demonstration was held in Paris in front of the Jewish Memorial, with the participation of several government ministers and other political personalities. On the same day, the affair was discussed with indignation at the National Assembly in Paris, as well as the Knesset in Jerusalem.

On the thirtieth of May, several persons reputed to be historians met together in front of the press at the Institute of Modern History, in order to declare my thesis "completely invalid." This round table was composed entirely of Exterminationist theoreticians. This is the first occasion in the history of French universities that a thesis accepted by a properly constituted university jury was then rejected by a sort of extra-mural and self-appointed anti-jury, not qualified by any sort of university authority and, moreover, in the absence of the doctoral candidate! For what reason did these learned critics believe it was not necessary to invite me to be present to defend my thesis? It is obvious that they had no wish to hear me cite the irrefutable fact in my favor, namely, the palpable unreliability of Gerstein's evidence.

Throughout the whole of the month of June 1986, that is to say one year after the success of my thesis, the rector of the University of Nantes was obliged to complete a strange and laborious task. Charged by the Minister of Research and Higher Education to undertake an administrative inquiry, he examined with a magnifying glass my registration at the University of Paris IV-Sorbonne, the transfer of my file to the University of Nantes, and the circumstances in which the oral argumentation on my thesis had been held. In fact, it was absolutely imperative for him to produce for his minister a report of his inquiry making it appear that there

had been some error in the formalities.

You are all aware that if you look carefully enough you can always arrive at finding some error in some formality or other; failing which, an error in the formalities can also be fabricated. In this way, a fictitious signature, one which even if authentic would have been perfectly useless, was "discovered" on the report on my oral defense for the thesis. I shall not say more on this ridiculous affair for the moment, but if a question is put to me on this matter, I shall give you every possible explanation in my reply.²

On July 2, 1986, in the course of a noisy press conference, the minister, Alain Devaquet, flanked by the rector of the Academy of Nantes and the administrator of the University of Nantes, announced to all the media the cancellation of my successful defense on the thesis.

The moral of this story is summed up in a French proverb which probably has its equivalent in the English-speaking countries: "When someone wants to drown his dog, he says it has rabies."

When questioned that same evening by the reporters on French radio, my essential words were:

I receive the minister's decision with a great outburst of laughter. Since it is impossible to attack the thesis itself, a pretext has anxiously been sought regarding some pretended error in the formalities. This course of action is ridiculous and scandalous. But my thesis exists and there are innumerable people willing to read it. As of now, I am beginning proceedings before the Administrative Tribunal of Nantes in order to regain my doctorate.

The media earthquake whose epicenter was, at the end of April 1986, at Nantes had, by July, reached your "neighbors" in Los Angeles; that is to say the famous Simon Wiesenthal Center. Upon the announcement of the annulment of my thesis, this Center published a communiqué particularly insulting to France. I quote this statement:

This measure shows that France recognizes not only its responsibility towards the victims of Nazi Germany, but also the menace threatening university standards and historical truth raised by those who attempt to deny the crimes of the Third Reich or to exonerate them.

The same day, the French prime minister, Jacques Chirac, let it be known through his spokesman that "solemnly and personally he was outraged." Do not imagine that Monsieur Chirac was outraged by the insolent communiqué of the Simon Wiesenthal Center! Not at all. He was outraged "by the subject of my thesis, its lack of seriousness and the attitude adopted." Surely it is superfluous to inquire whether Monsieur the Prime Minister had read or had had someone read my thesis for him, even in part. Certain attitudes and declarations by the

“great ones of this world” are often dictated by conditioned reflexes.

* * * * *

Exactly four weeks after this absurd ministerial decision, I held in my turn a press conference in a large Paris hotel. The association SOS-Racism, which, with powerful private and public support, militates for a French “melting-pot,” sent twenty or thirty of its members to prevent me from holding this conference. These troublemakers succeeded only in delaying the conference for about an hour and a half: when the police, who had been alerted at the start, decided to intervene, the rowdies disappeared within a few seconds and the press conference proceeded in the normal way. Paradoxically the most attentive listeners were the foreign journalists, in particular the Arabs and the Chinese. My alleged “racism” does not seem to have shocked them.

My press conference had been chaired by a young Swiss lady, a teacher of French and history at a high school in Lausanne; her name is Mariette Paschoud. She had been one of the first to pay respect to the seriousness of my thesis, in an article published by a periodical in Lausanne. Upon her return to Switzerland, Mariette Paschoud was the target of a campaign of calumny conducted by the press in her country and stirred up by certain very influential personalities, notably the Grand Rabbi of Lausanne. For more than six months the Paschoud Affair developed, at the end of which Mariette Paschoud had to resign her position as teacher and accept a transfer to an archives department; thus, no longer in contact with the students or teaching colleagues, she no longer risks “polluting them ideologically.”

Happily, the Roques Affair included some encouraging events.

On August 2-3, 1986 the newspaper *Ouest-France*, which is the regional daily with the widest distribution in France, published two articles in support of my thesis. In particular, it printed an interview with an academic of great repute, Michel de Boüard, who is an historian and a member of the Institute of France. Monsieur Boüard was deported to the concentration camp of Mauthausen for acts of resistance during the occupation; in this respect, he holds many decorations and, as a historian, is a member of the Institute of Modern History. With great intellectual honesty and great courage, in view of the climate surrounding the Roques Affair, Monsieur de Boüard declared principally: “The thesis of Monsieur Roques is a good critical publication. If I had been a member of the jury, I should probably have accorded the grade “Very Good” to this thesis.” This statement of his position by an academic as respected and as competent as Monsieur de Boüard has greatly troubled the consciences of many of his colleagues.

One other expression of support was especially precious to me:

that of an historian very well known in France, Alain Decaux, a member of the Académie Française. Alain Decaux, in a letter published by a Paris daily on September 13, 1986, expressed himself clearly on the matter. He said essentially that, after having read through the complete thesis, he maintained what he had already written on the subject, namely, that he believed Henri Roques to be the best-informed man on the subject of Gerstein and that future historians of the subject of gas chambers would have to take Henri Roques' work into account. He even described my work as "remarkable." He makes clear, however, that he does not share all my conclusions.

Everyone knows that one can judge a thesis to be a good thesis even if one disputes its conclusions. Additionally, in the interview which I have previously quoted, Monsieur de Bouïard states clearly: "A thesis is not a catechism. A thesis is to be discussed . . ."

In the last months of 1986 and the first months of 1987, there were still frequent articles and mentions of my thesis in the newspapers, on the radio and even on television.

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My critical evaluation of the texts of the "confessions" of Kurt Gerstein had been done with a view to serving historical science in a Revisionist spirit and to accord it a university label. This action, judged to be scandalous by conformists of all kinds, has given rise to a tornado in the media and in certain political circles not only in France but overseas as well, most especially in Israel.

It is appropriate to study the reactions caused by my thesis among academics, and more especially historians, with careful attention.

The first academic requested to give his opinion was Dean Paul Malvy, Provisional Administrator of the University of Nantes. Monsieur Malvy is a professor of medicine. On May 5, 1986 he made the following statement to the daily *Ouest-France*:

I wish only to point out that the matters expressed in a thesis commit only the author of that thesis and do not commit the university in which that thesis is submitted in any way at all. I have looked through this work. There is not, alas, any ambiguity about the conclusions drawn from the analysis of the texts studied . . . Personally, this perusal has disturbed me deeply; everyone will easily understand the reasons why; I was twenty years of age in 1942 and, in 1945, I was in Poland. I held in my hands, wrapped in twists of newspaper, with or without a label, that which has a name: ashes.

Those are the exact terms used by Dean Malvy. I should explain that Monsieur Malvy, a student of medicine in 1945, was a member of a mission charged with the repatriation of deportees; and it was for this reason that he visited the concentration camps in Poland shortly after the war. The statement of the Nantes academic is, taken

as a whole, honest. He points out that my analysis of the texts led me to conclude that Gerstein's evidence has no historic value; he adds that reading through my thesis has deeply disturbed him. He recalls, at the end, a personal memory: he has held in his hands twists of newspaper containing ashes. Thus, there is no mention of the homicidal gas chambers in the remarks of the Dean Malvy; he has simply seen ashes which came from the incineration of bodies in the crematoriums.

On May 6, 1986, the following day, the national press in France reproduced Dean Malvy's statement and, naturally, the reproduction was often inaccurate. So we have sometimes been able to read that Dean Malvy had seen, in the Polish camps, "the gas chambers functioning" [sic]; we have even been able to read that Dean Malvy had held in his hands twists of newspaper containing "the ashes of his relatives" [sic]. Here we have a fine example of misinformation by the media!

The second academic who made his feelings known was the Minister of Research and Higher Education, Alain Devaquet himself. Strangely, the minister chose to present himself in the context of a radio phone-in program to which I had been invited on the twenty-third of May, a program that I have previously mentioned.

What did Alain Devaquet say on this evening? He addressed his remarks to the program moderator, Jean-Pierre Elakabach, in the following terms:

You know, Monsieur Elakabach, that the offense of freely expressing an opinion does not exist in our society. You know that the liberty of expression is a rule of French universities. But in this particular case, this freedom leads to a pseudo-science. It is genuine science which should reply and I believe, for my part, that the only true sanction, whether it be intellectual, or whether it be above all moral, is the overwhelming repudiation, the overwhelming disapproval, the overwhelming indignation of the whole scientific community. In particular, I believe that the true historians should rise as one man.

As you will notice, the minister's tone was imbued with passion and solemnity. On that day, he called for a general mobilization against the Revisionists.

Now, it is about eighteen months since the minister launched this call to arms and, in France, we still await any authentic disapproval, any repudiation by the scientific community, solely excepting the grotesque round table of which I have just now spoken. From the historians acknowledged for their competence in regard to the problems of the Second World War, we have heard nothing but total silence! And this silence still endures.

During 1987, we have well noticed a general mobilization against the Revisionist school of historians and especially French

Revisionists; this mobilization was solely a mobilization of the media; it was unleashed for the great spectacle of the Klaus Barbie trial and accompanied, on the last days of the hearings, by an evening TV transmission of the serial film *Shoah*.

I shall add a detail for those of my listeners who are not fully conversant with the ups and downs of French politics: as of early December 1986, Alain Devaquet is no longer a minister. He was obliged to resign in face of the student demonstrations against his plans for change in the universities. His enforced leisure should have eased the ex-minister's task of bringing to fulfillment his mobilization against the Revisionist movement in France. If he has tried to act to this effect then it has been almost certainly without result, as no one has heard anything further.

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In the last days of May and the first days of June 1986 the petitions and communiqués condemning my thesis flooded in. From among these petitions and communiqués, I shall mention only two:

- the communiqué from the Scientific Committee of the University of Nantes which “disassociates itself from the teacher responsible for processing the thesis,” meaning their colleague at Nantes, Professor Jean-Claude Rivière, the tutor for my thesis;
- the petition of a certain number of the teaching staff at the university of Paris-VII, in the midst of whom was Professor Pierre Vidal-Naquet, who certainly instigated this feeble petition.

As for the Israeli ambassador to France, he took the liberty of giving a lesson in morality to the French university community. The weekly magazine, *Tribune juive* [Jewish Tribune] (edition of June 6, 1986) published a declaration by him in which one reads principally:

The duty of the democracies and of the scientific community is to struggle against all forms of destabilization of the free world. Those establishments of higher learning which lend themselves to the games of ignorant students cooperate with the destroyers of civilization and liberty.

Afterwards, there was the great turn in the tide in the month of August 1986, when the historian Michel de Boüard, a former deportee, gave his support to my thesis. Latterly, Monsieur de Boüard had waged an intensive campaign among his historian colleagues and we are already noticing some happy results.

There exists in France a very official and very conformist Association of Professors of History and Geography which publishes a review titled *Historiens et géographes* [Historians and Geographers]. In the edition of July-August 1986, the professors of history gave free rein to their indignation against the “scandalous” thesis of Nantes; in the readers’ letters columns, one found a letter

written by the professors of the Academy of Nancy-Metz having as its heading "Against an untenable 'thesis'"; another letter, composed by the professors of Tulle in the south of France proclaimed: "Shame on the falsifiers of history." Let us recall that these various reactions, violently hostile, were precedent to the courageous position adopted by Dean Michel de Boüard, who is unanimously respected in the French university world.

I exercised my right of reply in respect to the review *Historiens et géographes* and my letter was published in the issue of December-January 1987.³ "Who are these alleged falsifiers of history among whom I am numbered?" I asked. I recalled that the French courts have made their position known very clearly in regard to Professor Faurisson, who was accused, some years ago, of the falsification of history. Refusing to pursue the accusation, the Court of Appeal of Paris, in its judgement of April 26, 1983, declared that by reason of the seriousness of the work undertaken by the professor "the validity of the conclusions he defends belongs solely to the appraisal of experts, of historians and of the public." I then emphasized that the objective of my thesis was defined exactly by its title; I mentioned the support of Professor Michel de Boüard and of the academician Alain Decaux; I pointed out that George Wellers himself, although very hostile, recognized that my study of the texts was "punctilious" and that I had accomplished a "considerable work."

The editors of the magazine accompanied my letter with a commentary which began as follows:

Our friends Alain Decaux and Georges Wellers have in fact acknowledged the merits of the literary work of Monsieur Roques, who has assembled, compared and evaluated all the reports concerning Gerstein. That is indisputable. But Georges Wellers and Alain Decaux do not agree with the conclusions of this study.

It is easy to remark how the tone has changed in respect to my work. There are no more insults or uncontrolled indignation. Even the merits of my "literary" work are acknowledged. There is, as yet, no mention of my "historical" work. But let us not be too hasty. There is also no mention so far of the supportive views of the distinguished historian Michel de Boüard. Patience! Truth progresses slowly, but it does progress.

Another French scientific review is called the *Révue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* [Review of Modern and Contemporary History]; it is written by teachers of history who work in the French universities. The issue for the first quarter of 1987 is devoted to a study with the title "History, Discipline and the Media. A Propos the Roques Affair." The authors of the study recapitulate, by a concise documentation, the essentials of the development of the affair; they note that my work supports Revisionist opinion. To be sure, they do

not take sides in favor of my thesis; but this time they refer on several occasions to Dean Michel de Boüard, even reproducing as an appendix the whole of the interview which the historian accorded to the daily newspaper *Ouest-France*.

From this, I can remark great progress achieved by the Revisionist school among French historians within the space of a few months.

There remains one last step to accomplish: to obtain from the Administrative Tribunal of Nantes a decision in my favor for the restoration of my diploma. So long as I maintain the respect of persons whose opinions I value, the title of "Doctor," however pleasing it is, does not matter too much to me. But I do believe, with all sincerity, that the scandalous insults offered to me, the three professors on my jury, as well as my friends and associates, should be expunged. They and I should be exonerated; and the only correct way to do this is to restore my doctorate.

My application is still under review by this tribunal and I am awaiting, with a certain confidence, the result of this application. It has already been firmly decided that if the Administrative Tribunal of Nantes does not annul the unjust action taken by the ex-minister, Devaquet, the case will be taken before the Council of State, the highest legal authority in France, equivalent to the American Supreme Court or, in Britain, to the legal committee of the House of Lords.

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It is now almost eighteen months since the Roques Affair exploded; and so it is now possible to analyze the cases and the developments with a certain perspective and detachment. How do we explain that a thesis on the critical evaluation of texts, devoted to a subject as limited as the evidence of one SS officer on killings by gas in a small concentration camp in Poland, could have set off such a tidal wave in the media and in a certain number of political circles anxious not to displease the centers of international Zionism?

The so-called "Gerstein Report" represents a fundamental proof of the homicidal gas chambers, say the Exterminationists. Let us assume this to be true. Nevertheless, these same Exterminationists affirm that they possess an abundance of proofs of these gassings. In such circumstances, why do they give way to a veritable panic when only one of these allegedly very numerous proofs is seriously challenged? The story written by Gerstein was not even retained as evidence against the accused by the International Military Tribunal of Nuremberg; this "Gerstein Report" was in fact rejected by the Tribunal in the course of its session of January 30, 1946.

An explanation for the behavior of our adversaries can only be found if we fully recognize that their behavior is, in effect, religious. A religion is founded on a dogma; a dogma has an imperative need

of support from holy scriptures. Thus, the "Gerstein Report" is taken to be Holy Writ. Consequently, the exercise of my critical faculty in regard to the "Gerstein Report" had appeared to them as a sort of sacrilege or profanation. The ideal image of Obersturmführer Kurt Gerstein has been assembled religiously by Léon Poliakov, by Rolf Hochhuth, by Saul Friedländer, by Pierre Joffroy. For Poliakov, Gerstein is a "righteous Gentile"; for Hochhuth, a militant of the Confessional Church, Gerstein is a pure Christian faithful to the Gospel, the Gospel which Pope Pius XII betrayed by his political realism, interpreted by Hochhuth as treachery; for Friedländer, the SS officer is a "saint astray in this century"; for Joffroy, Gerstein rises even higher in this celestial hierarchy: he becomes "the spy of God"; the writer-hagiographer even subtitles his book "the passion of Kurt Gerstein," as though referring to a new Jesus Christ.

The personage of Gerstein, as remodelled by his worshippers,⁴ could quite well sustain the double role projected for him:

1. to lead us, without any intellectual defenses, into the "magical gas chambers," to use the expression of a very great French writer, Louis-Ferdinand Céline;
2. to make us admit the universal culpability of all those, such as Pope Pius XII, who have kept silent before the greatest crime in the history of the world.

It is not impossible that my thesis, which is based on simple common sense, may have pulverized the ideal image of Saint Gerstein. In fact, over the past eighteen months, neither Poliakov, nor Hochhuth, nor Friedländer, nor Joffroy have stood up to defend the memory of their hero. They have been silent, with only one exception, that of Saul Friedländer. This Israeli professor, who teaches history at the University of Tel Aviv and at the Institute of European Studies in Geneva, had the chance to express himself on May 30, 1986. We should recall that Friedländer is the author of a book titled *Kurt Gerstein, or the Ambiguity of Good*. So, on May 30, 1986, Friedländer was in Paris, where he participated at the famous round table formed, as I have said earlier, as an anti-jury in order to proclaim the invalidity of my thesis. When reading a report of this stupefying conference, I learned that Saul Friedländer declared: "Gerstein was a very fragile man, scarcely prepared to be a witness." What an admission!

It is easy for me to reply that the precise objective of my thesis was to demonstrate that a very fragile witness such as Gerstein could only give evidence that was, by the same token, very fragile.

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To conclude this lecture it remains for me to thank the Institute for Historical Review for having invited me to this Eighth International

Revisionist Conference. This is an honor that certainly cannot be attributed to the wide range of my researches, as I have concentrated on one individual, Gerstein, and, in effect, one camp, Belzec. If one wishes to acknowledge any qualities, I would admit two: patience and tenacity.

Patience? I have exercised patience for forty years, while waiting for the chance to denounce a fraud perpetrated by those who, motivated by the need for propaganda at all costs, have exploited the inevitable obscurity, the inevitable anarchy of war.

Tenacity? I have needed a little tenacity to arrive at the accomplishment of this thesis; I have needed a great deal of tenacity in order to succeed in finally constituting a university jury; perhaps I have needed even more tenacity in keeping my head throughout this affair, against certain powerful forces in the world, unleashed against me personally.

As for my study, I have restricted it to one subject and I have made only a critical evaluation of the texts. Nevertheless, our adversaries have made my work known to the entire world by use of the media, of which they have almost a monopoly.

For the historical revision of the Second World War, France is the country where, side by side, we have the worst and the best. It was a Frenchman, Paul Rassinier, who, a quarter of a century past, laid the foundations of Holocaust Revisionism. But his struggle was a lonely one and rare were those of his countrymen who offered him their support. It is in France that Professor Robert Faurisson, taking over the task from Paul Rassinier, was dragged before the courts, convicted, and overwhelmed with fines: but it is also in France that the courts have refused to convict Robert Faurisson for falsifying history, even admitting the seriousness of his work. France is now a country where, since the judgement of the Court of Appeal of Paris on April 26, 1983, everyone has the right to believe, to deny or to doubt the existence of the gas chambers.

Similarly, it is in France that we have been able to find three university professors courageous enough to constitute the jury at Nantes before which I was able to argue my thesis. The pitiful and illegal decision of an ephemeral minister must not allow us to forget the moral courage of my professors. Perhaps we shall be able to acknowledge our respects, at some time, to the professional honesty of the judges of the Administrative Tribunal of Nantes, if these judges concur in the validity of my appeal that the minister acted in excess of his authorized powers.

I am proud to belong to the French Revisionist school, a school which has, moreover, now become Franco-Italian thanks to a young researcher, Carlo Mattogno. I hope that Mattogno will soon have the opportunity to reveal to you the results of his very extensive researches into the myth of the extermination of the Jews on this

same platform from which I address you today.

On June 15, 1985, in the oral argument of my thesis, I stated that the Revisionist school should open its doors wide to all those who have questions to ask, to all those who have reason to distrust the Manichean interpretations applied to the Second World War. Those who doubt cannot find their spiritual home among the Exterminationists because these latter refuse all debate which challenges their dogma. In France, our adversaries persist in trying to pour scorn upon us by treating us as a "sect of negators," as "a wretched little group who deny the Holocaust."

Our reply is simply that of the scientist, and in accord with the humanist tradition, which is based on a simple axiom: since the truth is not historically established, men not only have the right to doubt, but they also have the duty to doubt.

Translator's Notes

1. In French, the word *scientifique* is used to describe any subject of academic study, including history; whereas the Anglo-Saxons tend to apply the word only to objective sciences such as chemistry, biology, etc. However, in the sense of a logical and systematic study, a literal translation seems perfectly clear.
2. The forged "signature" in question was that of a lecturer at the University of Nantes who had been invited to participate in the oral argument of the Roques thesis as an expert witness. This lecturer had no authority to sign any document relating to the thesis, nor was he permitted to sit in on the jury's deliberations. He was not even present at the public hearing of the thesis on June 15, 1987. Whoever forged the signature, which had no bearing on the original approval of the thesis, was clearly no friend of Henri Roques.
3. In France there is an actual law which obliges, as in this instance, an editor to publish replies to personal attacks. Like most laws anywhere, it does not function perfectly; but it is a good law nevertheless. It does help to restrain the owners and editors from manipulating the media entirely in their own political or sectarian interests.
4. Worshippers. It is unfortunate that many accurate and descriptive French expressions cannot be fully translated into English. This small gloss has to suffice.

The original word in French (*thuriféraires*) denotes the cleric who incenses/sanctifies the altar—at a High Mass, for instance. That is one meaning. A second meaning, in popular use, is "sycophant" or "flatterer." Yet a third meaning arises from the fact that a *thurifer* (incense-bearer) uses a *thurible*; and a *thurible* was the vessel also used by the alchemists allegedly to turn base metals into gold. Hence a triple-entendre. "Worshippers" seems to be the best explanatory compromise.

Soviet Russia's Persecution of Latvia, 1918 to the Present

ALEXANDER V. BERKIS

(Paper Presented to the Eighth International Revisionist Conference)

The focus of this paper is the oppression and persecution which the rulers of the Soviet Union have inflicted on the Baltic nation of Latvia, from its declaration of independence in 1918 to the present day. The Red Army has invaded and occupied Latvia three times in the past seventy years; its most recent aggression, in 1944, has resulted in the continuing, illegal Soviet occupation of Latvia. Each Soviet incursion has been accompanied by mass killings and deportations of Latvians, and Soviet authorities have sought to destroy Latvian nationhood by the illegal annexation of Latvia to the USSR and through measures aimed at eradicating the Latvians' historical, cultural, and religious traditions. Nevertheless, the Latvian people, in their homeland and in exile, have fought to defend their nationhood with all the means at their disposal.

Latvia Under Foreign Rule, 1290-1918

Since the Communist regime in Russia has built upon and intensified earlier oppression under the tsars, a brief overview of Latvia's history under foreign rule is necessary. By 1290 all of Latvia had been conquered by the Teutonic Knights and the Livonian Order. From 1290 to 1561 Latvia belonged to the Confederation of Livonia, which included also Estonia. The fall of the Confederation of Livonia was brought about by the invasion of Russia under the rule of John (Ivan) IV, the Terrible. Since the Confederation was unable to defend itself, it asked for the help of Poland-Lithuania, Sweden and Denmark. As a result of the long Livonian War (1558-1582), northern Livonia, including southern Estonia, became a Polish province (1561-1629). After the Swedish-Polish succession war western Livonia, including its capital Riga, and all of Estonia became a Swedish province (1629-1721). Eastern Livonia remained a Polish province until 1772; after the First Partition of Poland-Lithuania in that year it was annexed by Russia.

The last Master of the Livonian Order, Gotthard Kettler, founded the Duchy of Courland, which endured as an almost independent state under Polish suzerainty for over two centuries (1561-1795). It is no exaggeration to say that the history of the Duchy of Courland has

been almost forgotten since 1795, although Duke James (1639-1682) and his achievements were well known in the seventeenth century. The duke owned two crown colonies, the island of Tobago in the West Indies and Gambia in West Africa, as well as mining territories in Norway, which, like his colonies in Tobago and Gambia, were colonized by his Courlanders.

Courland was also a naval power. Only the Netherlands, England, Spain and Portugal had stronger navies than Courland at the time of Duke James. The envious Dutch called Duke James the "Skipper Duke," for Courland's flourishing prosperity during the age of mercantilism made the Courlanders the rivals of the Dutch. James was likewise called "the merchant on the ducal throne."

After the Third Partition of Poland-Lithuania (1795), the Duchy of Courland and Lithuania were annexed by Russia. It should be emphasized that during the Livonian War and the Great Northern War (1700-1721), the Russians committed atrocities on a large scale in Latvia. During the Great Northern War, these Russian measures brought about a pestilence which killed two-thirds of the population of Latvia.

Systematic persecution of Latvians by Russians commenced when all of Latvia became the Russian provinces of Livonia and Courland. Not content with suppressing Latvian calls for self-determination, Russian authorities pursued an intensifying program of russifying Latvia throughout the nineteenth century. From 1883 on Russian was the only language of instruction in Latvian schools. Pupils were punished for speaking Latvian among themselves. Educated Latvians could not obtain work in their professions in their homeland; at the same time they were welcomed, for their skill and dependability, in Russia proper.

During the National Awakening (or Romantic Nationalism) which blossomed in nineteenth-century Latvia, the movement's leaders, Krisjanis Voldemars (1825-1891) and Krisjanis Barons (1835-1923), were the targets of Russian suppression. Considered politically dangerous, they were forced to live in Russia for three decades of exile from Latvia. Nevertheless, some Latvian historians reproach them for neglecting Latvia's political independence. Voldemars and Barons did not go beyond urging their countrymen to cultivate their language and national traditions, although they favored increasing Latvia's economic independence through the accumulation of wealth.

When Russia was rocked by revolution in 1905, Latvian nationalists called for political autonomy for Latvia. The tsarist authorities responded with mass killings and deportations to Siberia.

Representative of the fates of the more fortunate Latvian nationalist leaders of that time was the experience of Karlis Ulmanis, Latvia's future president. He was jailed for several months in

consequence of his activities in 1905. Upon his release from prison, tsarist authorities sought to rearrest him. With that Ulmanis went into exile in America, where he lived from 1906 to 1913.

In 1913 the Russian Duma passed an amnesty act to celebrate the three-hundredth anniversary of the Romanov dynasty. Ulmanis and other Latvian leaders in exile returned in time to experience the outbreak of the First World War, which led to the overthrow of Nicholas II and his dynasty, the Bolshevik seizure of power, and the independence of the Baltic nations.

Latvian Independence and First Soviet Occupation

It is impossible to treat the independence of Latvia (1918-1940) and the three occupations under the Soviet rule without discussing briefly the life of President Ulmanis of Latvia (1877-1942?). Foreign observers, including historians, have called Ulmanis Latvia and Latvia Ulmanis. Indeed the two names are inseparable. The writer of this paper knows no other example in history in which one person dominated so completely the history and life of a country as did Ulmanis, both as leader and as legend in Latvia.

Karlis Ulmanis was born on September 4, 1877, in Zemgale, in southern Latvia, on the territory of the former Duchy of Courland. He obtained a degree in agronomy from the Institute of Agronomy in Leipzig, Germany in 1905, and a B.S. in agriculture at the University of Nebraska in 1909 during his American exile.

In 1916, returned to Latvia, Ulmanis founded the Farmers' Union, or Party, and became its leader, a position he would retain until the fall of independent Latvia in 1940. During the next few years Ulmanis organized the leading Latvian politicians, and with them formed the People's Council. On November 18, 1918 the People's Council proclaimed the independence of Latvia. Looking to Ulmanis as the only candidate willing, able, resourceful, and courageous enough to lead Latvia, the council elected him prime minister (or minister president) of the provisional government. Political conditions in Latvia were at that time very complicated, because by 1918 its entire territory was occupied by the German army. Latvia had suffered even more devastation in the war than had Belgium. After Germany signed the November 11th armistice, the discipline of the German soldiers collapsed, and the Soviet army gradually pushed into defenseless Latvia. By February 1919 all of Latvia except the western part, which constituted less than one-eighth of its territory, had been occupied by the Soviets.¹

In occupied Latvia the Soviet authorities passed decrees nationalizing property, without compensation to the former owners. All landed property was nationalized; compulsory labor was decreed. The Communists requisitioned clothing and footwear.

They imposed confiscatory taxes; even the workers had to pay higher taxes. All these decrees grossly violated international law. Since the Soviet measures could not be carried out without terror, thousands of Latvians were murdered, tortured or died of hunger. The prisons were crammed.

By early 1919 power was largely in the hands of local councils, or "soviets." These authorities mainly concerned themselves with searching for supposed counter-revolutionaries. At night those in power met and decided whom to arrest; it was also by night that the victims were arrested. Farmers, artisans, workers and intellectuals alike were arrested; nobody could feel safe. Revolutionary tribunals were busy constantly, and pronounced numerous death sentences. The "law" that the "judges" applied was "revolutionary consciousness." Toward dawn special units would take charge of the condemned Latvians, order them to take off their clothes and then shoot them.

The crimes committed by the Soviets against the cream of the Latvian nation verged on genocide, and caused a large-scale guerrilla war against the Russian troops. Gradually the Ulmanis government, with the help of German soldiers, reconquered occupied Latvia. By the beginning of February 1920, all of Latvia had been liberated. The Soviet Union, hard-pressed in the civil war against the White Russian generals, concluded a peace treaty with Latvia on August 11, 1920.²

During the War of Latvian Liberation, Ulmanis formed three governments. At the beginning of May 1920, the Constituent Assembly convened, and authorized Ulmanis to form his fourth government. This government was able to obtain *de jure* recognition of Latvia by Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan and Belgium on January 26, 1921. A few months later the Constituent Assembly forced Ulmanis to resign, for a majority of the delegates had grown tired and envious of his strongman leadership.³

The Interwar Years

Ulmanis' influence, however, remained powerful. In 1925 he became prime minister of his fifth government, which resigned in 1926. Ulmanis formed his sixth government during the economic crisis of 1931, which was comparatively mild in agrarian Latvia. There was no unemployment; indeed, foreign farmhands were imported. Nevertheless, many Latvians blamed the parliamentary system for economic woes. It became almost proverbial to say that when Latvia had hard times Ulmanis always appeared to solve the problems. Foreign observers remarked that parliaments and their members were elected and defeated, but Ulmanis remained. In fact

coalition governments could seldom be formed without Ulmanis' agreement, even at times when other members of the Farmers' Union were chosen prime minister due to the other parties' envy of Ulmanis.

In March 1934 Ulmanis became the seventh and last prime minister under the parliamentary system. The Latvian people had at last tired of the corrupt rule of the nation's many parties. On May 15, 1934, Ulmanis carried out a bloodless coup and dissolved the parliament and all parties.⁴ He was hailed by a flood of letters and telegrams thanking him for restoring the unity of Latvia. The third president of Latvia, Alberts Kviesis, who also belonged to the Farmers' Union, invited Ulmanis and the ministers of the eighth and last of his governments to the presidential castle. President Kviesis announced that because the overwhelming majority of Latvians was behind the Ulmanis government, he considered Ulmanis' coup to have the force of a plebiscite. Kviesis thus gave his approval and blessing to the new government of national unity. This government remained in power for more than six years, until the Soviet Union invaded Latvia. The gratitude of the Latvian people was always behind the heroic and magic prime minister of the Latvian War of Liberation—Karlis Ulmanis.

Yet the personality of Ulmanis cannot be overlooked in the connection with the tragic fall of independent Latvia. After the outbreak of World War II, Latvia and the other Baltic States were isolated. Under such conditions the Soviet Union forced Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania to sign mutual assistance pacts and established Russian naval, air, and infantry bases in these virtually defenseless countries.⁵

The Second Soviet Occupation

Ulmanis hoped to gain time by signing the pact. In fact, he gained time up to June 17, 1940. The collapse of France spurred the Soviet Union to demand the total occupation of the Baltic countries and the formation of pro-Soviet governments there. Ulmanis accepted the ultimatum and refused to go into exile. He remained technically the President of Latvia up to July 22, 1940, without any power and influence. On the twenty-second of July he was deported to the Soviet Union. The place, date and circumstances of Ulmanis' death are unknown, although some sources say he died in 1942.

Thus began the second Soviet occupation of Latvia. It proved to be far more disastrous than the first one. In the first weeks following the Red Army's invasion, Latvia's political leaders, including the very popular former vice president and minister of war, General Janis Balodis, were arrested and deported.

The mass arrests took place months later, after foreign diplomatic

and consular representatives had departed Latvia and could not report to their governments on the crimes committed by the Soviets.

There is authentic documentary evidence that on October 11, 1940 the NKVD, the Soviet secret police, issued a detailed basic order on deportations of anti-Soviet elements from Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia (Order No: 001223). It was signed by the Deputy People's Commissar of Public Security, Serov, indicating that the order was issued while the Baltic States were still independent countries.⁶ Needless to say this grossly violated the basic principles of international law. The lists of so-called anti-Soviet elements had long ago been drawn up by local Communists and well-paid traitors.

Fully aware of the disaffection of Latvians, the Soviet government deemed it necessary to engineer the voluntary "approval" of its occupation of Latvia. Therefore, the Soviet authorities ordered a parliamentary election. In the staged elections of July 14 and 15, 1940, a single list of candidates, approved by Andrei Vishinsky, was permitted. The unanimously "elected" parliament declared Latvia to be transformed into a Soviet Republic and requested the Soviet "parliament" to admit Latvia to the Soviet Union. The constitution of Latvia of 1922 had stipulated that any question touching the independence of Latvia had to be decided by a plebiscite. The Soviet government dared not carry one out; therefore Latvia was never legally incorporated into the Soviet Union. Besides, according to international law, no election conducted under occupation by foreign troops can be legally valid.

Latvia's minister in Washington, Dr. Alfred Bilmanis, who had been invested with emergency powers by the legitimate government, and the Latvian minister in London, Karlis Zarins, accordingly declared the elections null and void. Their emergency powers had been issued by the government of Latvia as late as May 18, 1940, with Dr. Bilmanis appointed as Zarins' substitute, in case of the death of the Latvian minister in London. The holder of the emergency powers of state was authorized to appoint delegates to international conferences and to appoint and transfer the staff of the Latvian legations and consulates. In fact Zarins was assigned the functions of the president and the government of Latvia. The Latvian puppet government declared both men traitors and deprived them of Latvian citizenship.

The sovietization of Latvia proceeded rapidly. By the end of September, 1940, all "large" private fortunes, private industry, commerce, banks, transportation, land and its natural resources, and rental property had been nationalized without compensation to the owners. On the contrary, they were slandered and libeled as exploiters and enemies of the toiling masses. The funds in the possession of the nationalized and disorganized banks were converted to worthless paper, and equally worthless Soviet paper

rubles flooded the country. High prices in rubles were then fixed for all wares. Red Army soldiers and Soviet functionaries promptly cleared out the stores.

During the first major stage of the mass deportation program at least 35,828 persons were deported or murdered. American and other foreign sources estimate the number of persons from all walks of life deported or murdered at 60,000. After the outbreak of the German-Russian war, Latvian soldiers, included against the principles of international law in the Red Army, were withdrawn to Russia or murdered. Many civilians were carried off by the retreating Soviet authorities as well. Marked especially for extermination were Latvian government officials, members of the intelligentsia, and retired army officers.

It should be noted that intellectuals suffered most from the persecution, because during the Latvian War of Liberation almost the entire student body of the University of Latvia volunteered to fight against the Red Army. Therefore the Soviets called the University of Latvia a citadel of arch-reactionaries.

Neither among the intellectuals nor the capitalists, however, did the Soviets find their most outspoken enemies. These were the farmers, because in Latvia 62 per cent of the inhabitants were farmers and their families. In fact they were their own bosses. From the Soviet point of view the backbone of the stable middle classes had to be broken by any and all means. The outbreak of the German-Russian War prevented the Soviet regime from forcing the collectivization of agriculture.⁷

The Soviet terror was met by an uprising of officers and enlisted men from the former Latvian Home Guard, a well-trained reserve army, and other Latvian nationalists. They seized control of most of Latvia after the outbreak of the German-Russian War. The German army conquered only the major cities—Riga, Liepaja (Libau), Ventspils (Windau), Jelgava (Mitau) and Daugavpils (Dünaburg). During the first days of July 1941, all of Latvia was occupied by the German army. The war swept across Latvia like a hurricane.

Despite the German liberation, Latvians were soon disappointed as it became obvious that Hitler's government had no intention of restoring Latvia's independence.

Beginning in the middle of July 1944, the German troops gradually retreated from Latvia after heavy fighting. The superiority of the Red Army was in no small part due to its support with weapons and all kinds of materiel by the U.S. and the British Empire. On May 8, 1945, the German troops laid down their arms in accordance with the terms of Germany's unconditional surrender on both the Western and Eastern fronts.

Realizing that with Latvia's third occupation by the Red Army at hand, the Soviet terror was again imminent, many Latvian activists

saw exile as their only hope for the future. Experience had taught them that nothing is worse than Communism. According to information provided by the Latvian Red Cross, by 1947 there were 134,000 Latvian political refugees, the overwhelming majority of them in West Germany. This must be regarded as a minimum estimate.

Defeat and Reoccupation

Those Latvians who remained in Latvia had no illusions as to their fate. Within a few days the Red Army was followed by the NKVD. The Red secret police immediately interrogated the population by means of mandatory questionnaires. The Soviets declared that all who had not retreated with Soviet forces before the advance of the German Army were enemies of the Soviet Union and deserved exemplary punishment. The questions each Latvian was forced to answer included the following: "Why did you not retreat with the Soviet Army in 1941?" "What employment did you pursue during the German occupation?" "What anti-German sabotage did you carry out?" "Name three collaborators of the Germans."

Men were issued red tickets for military service, green for compulsory labor and white for deportation. People's courts, meeting in the absence of the accused, condemned Latvian patriots to long prison terms or deportation to the Gulag, while their families were picked up, separated at the entrainment points and dragged off to unknown parts of the Soviet Union. Beginning in 1948 collectivization was imposed on most Latvian farms.

The University of Latvia was thoroughly russified and sovietized.

An even more serious result of the Red Army's third occupation was the introduction of large numbers of ethnic Russians and natives of the U.S.S.R's Asiatic republics into the country to replace the deported Latvians.⁸

Latvian Guerrilla Resistance

These Soviet measures caused a very bloody large-scale guerrilla war, not only in Latvia but in Estonia and Lithuania as well, where similar policies were imposed. From 1944 to 1952, and on a smaller scale even up to 1956, fierce fighting still raged in the countryside. Only after the failure of the Hungarian revolt in 1956 did the Baltic peoples realize that the Western democracies were unable and unwilling to support them.

The guerrilla war was waged on the largest scale in Lithuania. According to Lithuanian sources, the Lithuanians lost 30,000 men; Soviet losses are put at no fewer than 80,000 soldiers and NKVD men. These estimates have been reinforced by testimony obtained from Soviet officials, who had previously participated in

suppressing the Lithuanian freedom fighters, after they themselves went into exile.⁹

Soviet authorities spoke very frankly about the extent of the guerrilla war. They estimated that there were around 9,000 Latvian national partisans, whom they resentfully referred to as "fascist bandits." The Communist regime branded the Latvians a counter-revolutionary and anti-Soviet people. It is indeed a great compliment to be called such names by the Soviets. This is, furthermore, something new, because it has consistently been standard Soviet practice to feign friendship with all peoples and to differentiate between "exploiters," the "enemies of the people," and the population as a whole.

It should be noted that Latvian sources make roughly the same estimation of the number of the Latvian national partisans. On the average, the partisans survived the fighting only for two or three years, and then were replaced by other men with military training. Up until 1949 the national partisans controlled many parts of Latvia, especially the peninsula of Courland. Their successes can be explained by the fact that about 43 per cent of Latvia is covered by forests, lakes and swamps. This terrain was exploited by seasoned fighters from the two divisions of the Latvian Legion mobilized by the Germans. At the time of the German capitulation they had taken to the forests. These Latvian troops took their weapons with them, obtaining additional arms and ammunition from the German army depots in the fortress of Courland, the last-ditch redoubt of Hitler's Army Group North. Later on they used captured Russian weapons. Above all, they enjoyed the support of the overwhelming majority of Latvians.

After the collectivization of agriculture, the Soviet authorities carried out their largest deportation, involving mainly the farm population, in 1949. This measure considerably deprived the national partisans of food supplies, civilian support, and a source of new recruits. Nevertheless, so resourceful were the partisans that they captured food and money from the collective farms and state-owned stores.

The collectivization and mass deportations, however, spelled the beginning of the end of the large-scale guerrilla war. Gradually the partisans were demobilized. They were provided with forged or purchased identification documents in the black markets to enable them to filter back into the civilian population.

The question of the fate of the former partisans is still open. Those who criticize the guerrilla war assert that it was a lost cause from the very beginning. In fact, however, the national partisans, by executing many Soviet functionaries, made many of the others fear for their lives. In many cases Soviet officials intentionally overlooked the surviving partisans, especially when they moved far

away from their former homes or to the metropolis of Riga, with its 700,000 inhabitants. Communists fear retaliation; this is the only argument that they understand. Nor should the fact be overlooked that the national partisans created a legend for the future. The only peoples who deserve independent states are those willing to fight for them!

The writer of this paper has the sad duty of pointing out that the noble aspiration and hope of President Ulmanis—to save the Latvian people from extermination by accepting the ultimatum of the Soviet Union without offering military resistance—proved mistaken. The mass deportations carried out by the government of the Soviet Union, the mobilization of over 150,000 Latvians by the Germans, and the very bloody guerrilla war caused such losses to the population that they cannot be correctly estimated at this time. These painful facts cannot diminish President Ulmanis' outstanding achievements and his glorious rule.

Donald Day, correspondent of the *Chicago Tribune* in Eastern Europe for 22 years, in his book *Onward Christian Soldiers* devotes more pages to Ulmanis than to any other statesman, including Poland's Marshal Pilsudski. According to Day, Ulmanis believed that the Latvians' best hope for a future national existence was to raise their living standard and culture to such a high level that the people, no matter what the immediate future might bring, would always treasure these memories in their hearts. In Day's opinion Ulmanis was the greatest man Latvia has ever produced.¹⁰

Karlis Ulmanis was the great president of a small country. After the Hitler-Stalin pact and the outbreak of World War II, only God could save Latvia.

One misunderstanding should be corrected. There is still a widespread belief in the Western democracies that Communism is a lesser evil than National Socialism. The former Marxist Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn, with great reluctance, recognized that National Socialism was a lesser evil than Communism. Indeed, it should be emphasized that even William L. Shirer, whose strong anti-German bias concerning all periods of German history is well known, when writing about Latvia and the other Baltic States in his book *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, stated that Stalin, in dealing with small countries, could be as crude and as ruthless as Hitler, and even more cynical.¹¹

Latvian Resistance, Soviet Oppression

After the end of the guerrilla war, the Latvians resorted to passive resistance. In spite of the well-known Latvian individualism, which has caused keen foreign observers to say that Latvians are strong as individuals and weak in cooperation, Soviet rule has fostered a

strong Latvian national unity. Now, in Soviet-occupied Latvia, Latvians help their fellow Latvians in any way they can. There are no longer any parties in Latvia: all Latvians constitute one community of suffering.

In general Latvians do their best to maintain their language, culture and national traditions. Above all, they have done and continue to do everything possible to achieve the best education for their children. In this regard they have succeeded, because the Latvians, together with the Estonians, are the best educated among the captive peoples and by far more educated than the Russians.

In spite of all the Latvians' efforts to survive as a people, the outlook grows more bleak with each passing year. To be sure, after the major deportation of 1949, no new mass deportations have occurred. On the contrary, an amnesty for certain categories of political prisoners was proclaimed after Stalin's death in 1953. Several thousand Latvians returned to their native land, most of them as invalids, broken in body and spirit. But deportations from Latvia still continue, as young people are inveigled into volunteering for the cultivation of virgin lands or for mining in Central Asia and Siberia.

The Russian eight years' war in Afghanistan provided the government of the Soviet Union with a new opportunity to deport Latvian youth. Latvians, Lithuanians, Estonians, Ukrainians, Georgians, Armenians and other subject peoples are sent as soldiers to Afghanistan to eliminate the Afghans and at the same time to spare, as much as possible, the pro-Soviet Russians. Losses among Latvian soldiers are very high because the Soviet authorities deliberately engage them in the riskiest military operations.

The Latvian organizations in exile have to some extent succeeded in reaching agreements with the fighting Afghans to spare Latvian prisoners of war. But these measures can only be of a limited scope, because the various Afghan tribes lack both a united military command and common organization abroad which could function as a government-in-exile.

The Chernobyl nuclear plant disaster, caused by the gross negligence of the Soviet authorities, presented the Soviets with yet another pretext to deport Latvians, Estonians, Lithuanians, and other subject peoples. Those drafted to clean up the Chernobyl mess were told that they would have to work for only three months at the site. Yet those who survived the nuclear clean-up, under the most miserable conditions, were not allowed to return to their homes. The cheapest thing in the Soviet Union is human life.

The Soviet authorities in occupied Latvia have engaged in the systematic destruction of graves, entire cemeteries, churches and many other historical monuments. For instance, the graves of President Karlis Ulmanis's family were destroyed by the Russian

barbarians. The monument and memorial museum of the first Latvian commander-in-chief, Oskars Kalpaks, were likewise destroyed by the Soviets.

Destruction of church property has been extensive. The historic Lutheran Dome of Riga—the cathedral of the archbishop—has been turned into a concert hall, the historic St. Peter's Church into a museum and the Greek Catholic Cathedral into a planetarium. Numerous other churches have been transformed into warehouses, cinemas, clubs, or meeting halls, or have been burned down.

Many Latvians known for their outspoken anti-Communism have been killed in "accidents," not only in Soviet-ruled Latvia, but also in the United States, Canada and West Germany. Latvians are not safe from Russian persecution, even in exile.

The Fight Goes on Abroad

The Baltic exiles have not, however, allowed themselves to be intimidated. The diplomatic and consular representatives of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia, in conjunction with the worldwide organizations of the Baltic peoples, function as governments in exile. A new generation of Baltic young people, provided by their parents with educations in the finest universities of America, Canada, Australia, and Western Europe, has moved into the leadership of the exile organizations. More important, they have succeeded in bringing their fight for justice and the liberation of their fatherlands into international forums.

As a result of their endless activity and effort, on January 13, 1983 the Parliament of Europe in Strasbourg passed a resolution that strongly condemned the occupation of the Baltic States by the Soviet Union. The resolution calls the Soviet Union the last colonial empire and demands that the issue of the Baltic States be brought before the United Nations. The European resolution is firmly based on numerous treaties, including those concluded and subsequently violated by the Soviet Union. The language of the resolution stresses that the three Baltic peoples waged a large-scale guerrilla war against the Russian troops for eight years (1944-1952) and that about 665,000 Latvians, Lithuanians and Estonians have been deported by the Soviet authorities to forced labor camps since 1940.

Encouraged by this success, on July 25 and 26, 1985 the Latvian, Lithuanian, and Estonian exile organizations held an international tribunal against the government of the Soviet Union, charging it with genocide and other crimes against humanity in the three Baltic states. A panel of internationally known authorities in the field of human rights issued its verdict, the Copenhagen Manifesto, which found the Soviet government guilty as charged.¹²

Meanwhile a Baltic ship, symbolizing the ideal of peace based upon freedom, sailed along the coasts of Denmark, Sweden and

Finland. Impressive demonstrations against the Soviet Union took place in Copenhagen, Stockholm and Helsinki. West European TV networks and major newspapers gave these events good coverage. It is regrettable that only *The Wall Street Journal*, among major American papers, gave these stories any notice at all.

"Useful Idiots" Against Baltic Freedom: The OSI

As might have been expected, the Soviet Union answered these initiatives by organizing so-called war crimes trials. Unfortunately, the Justice Department's Office of Special Investigations (OSI) entered into collaboration with the Soviet secret police. Karl Linna, an Estonian-born resident of Long Island who was stripped of his citizenship by a federal court for participating in alleged war crimes committed by Hitler during World War II, was implicated by "evidence" compiled by the Soviet KGB. Their evidence was forged, fabricated and fraudulent. As a result, Linna was deported by the U.S. government to illegally occupied Estonia, where he had been already condemned to death by Soviet courts. On his arrival the Soviet prosecutor informed him that the Soviet Union had no case against him due to statutory limitation. Soon afterward, the Soviets announced his death.

The Linna case was an outrageous violation of the U.S. Constitution. Linna and other U.S. citizens of Eastern European origin in the so-called war criminal cases have been treated as third-class citizens, deprived of due process, a trial by jury, and protection from the application of *ex post facto* laws. The statutory basis for these outrages is a special law passed by Congress during the Carter administration. The writer of this paper believes that this is a bill of attainder, and thus forbidden by the U.S. Constitution. Congress has likewise grossly violated the constitutional principle of separation of powers of the three branches of government.

To do justice to President Reagan, it should be noted that he fired Allan A. Ryan, Jr., who was not covered by the civil service laws. Ryan's answer to the President was a book, *Quiet Neighbors: Prosecuting Nazi War Criminals in America* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Jovanovich, 1984). In this book Ryan shows great zeal to justify the activities of the nefarious OSI. Characterizing Latvians, Lithuanians, and Estonians in general as collaborators with the Germans, he engages in character assassination of the three peoples as a whole. He seems irritated that the U.S. government does not recognize the Soviet annexation of the three Baltic countries. Since colonialism has come to an end in Africa and Asia, Ryan and his Soviet accomplices are no longer in the mainstream of twentieth-century ideas. His book amply demonstrates that he and the OSI owe their allegiance to the Soviet Union, as evidenced by their instigation of ethnic and sectarian hatred and their attempts to intimidate

outspoken anti-Communists.

Even in this regard, they have miserably failed. They are blind to the fact that young Latvians, Lithuanians, and Estonians are well-educated, resourceful, and courageous. Baltic young people will only increase their struggle against the Soviet Union and its leftist fifth column in the U.S. The Baltic youth of today cannot and will not allow itself to be legally or morally burdened with war crimes committed before their births. They do not hate Ryan, they despise him. Only a misfit like Ryan fails to see this. Lenin called such persons "useful idiots."

The pro-Soviet elements in the U.S., including the OSI, suffered a great setback in September 1986, when the superpowers met in a conference at Jurmala, Latvia. There, on the eighteenth of September, White House adviser and ambassador Jack Matlock told the conference, in the Latvian language, that the U.S. has never recognized and will not recognize the legitimacy of the forcible incorporation of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia into the Soviet Union.

This declaration was twice carried on local television and has spread throughout Riga the capital of Latvia. Matlock immediately became a national hero in Latvia, and Latvians consider President Reagan the best friend of Latvia. This was one declaration that the American news media could not suppress.

Prospects for an Independent Latvia

During the decade beginning in 1965, both houses of Congress passed sense-of-Congress resolutions condemning the genocidal measures of the government of the Soviet Union in the Baltic States, and asking for the restoration of these nations' independence. Congress has also passed annual resolutions declaring June 14 to be Baltic States' Day and condemning the mass deportations carried out by the Soviets in the Baltic nations. President Reagan has each year signed strong Captive Nations proclamations and the Baltic States' Day resolutions calling the Soviet Union an aggressor and demanding the restoration of independence of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia. Again, it is unfortunate that those resolutions and proclamations are almost never mentioned by our major news media.

Today there is a strong underground movement in the Baltic States. The underground organizations have frequently sent memoranda to the governments of the Western democracies asking for the restoration of the rights of self-determination and independence for the Baltic peoples. These communiqués are also ignored by our news media.

It should be noted that a falsified history taught in Western

academic institutions stresses alleged German imperialism, ignoring the fact that after 1254 (the end of the Hohenstaufen dynasty), Germany became and remained largely a geographic concept up to the unification of Germany by Otto von Bismarck in 1870. Students in most American schools and universities are studiously deprived of the knowledge that for several centuries the Russians have engaged in large-scale colonial plundering and exploitation of quite advanced non-Russian and non-Slavic peoples, and that today's Soviet Russia is a prison of peoples.

It is a lack of intellectual integrity that prevents academics from informing American students that the Russians have consistent plans to achieve global domination by any and all means. A good example of this kind of misinformation is provided by the whole galaxy of U.S. and West European TV networks and newspapers, assisted by spurious pollsters, which have pictured Gorbachev as a leader with constructive ideas of how to achieve peace, contrary to the negative attitude of President Reagan. They deliberately ignore the fact that during the short totalitarian dictatorship of Gorbachev the mass murders in Afghanistan, including those of women and children, have reached a climax, resulting in the deaths or exile of a third of the population. Thus, behind his facade of moderation, Gorbachev has demonstrated his true barbarian mentality.

It should be stated that only pro-Soviet Western capitalists, such as the Rockefellers, can postpone the disintegration of the Soviet empire due to its highly unstable and precarious economy, the explosive, growing nationalism of the captive peoples, and the conflicting interests of Soviet Russia and Red China.

Latvian youth, in Latvia and in exile, is using the slogan of President Ulmanis: "Latvia for Latvians and Latvians for Latvia." Before his deportation to Russia, Ulmanis declared to his closest coworkers: "We can be oppressed, we can be partly exterminated, but, as long as a single Latvian is alive, the struggle will continue for the right to live in a free and independent Latvia."

The author of this study believes that he will see an independent Latvia once more, a Latvia which is now in the process of formation, a new Latvia, Latvia restored.

Notes

1. Zanis Unams (ed.), *Es Vinu Pazistu. Biografiska Vardnica* (Riga: 1939), pp. 501-505.
2. Dr. Arnolds Spekke, *History of Latvia* (Stockholm: 1951) pp. 347-348. Dr. Spekke was the Minister of Latvia in Washington, D.C. (1954-1970).
3. Edgars Dunsdorfs, *Karla Ulmana Dzive* (Stockholm: 1978) pp. 193-209.
4. Unams (ed.), *Es Vinu Pazistu*, pp. 501-504.

5. Dr. Alfreds Bilmanis, *History of Latvia* (Princeton University Press: 1951) pp. 394-407. The late Bilmanis was the Minister of Latvia to the U.S. (1935-1948) and a prominent Latvian historian.
6. Joseph Pajaujis-Javis, *Soviet Genocide in Lithuania*, appendix No. 4, pp. 224-229.
7. Alfreds Zeichners, *Latvijas Bolševizācija, 1940-1941*. (The author's edition, Riga: 1944) p. 458; Bilmanis, *History of Latvia*, p. 406.
8. Clarence A. Manning, *The Forgotten Republics* (New York: 1952), pp. 232-235.
9. Pajaujis-Javis, *Soviet Genocide in Lithuania*, pp. 91-117.
10. Donald Day, *Onward Christian Soldiers* (The Noontide Press, Torrance, California: 1982), p. 33.
11. Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn, *The Gulag Archipelago*, Vols I-II, (Harper and Row Publishers, New York), I, p. 145. William L. Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich* (New York: 1962), p. 1041.
12. *Baltic Tribunal Against the Soviet Union July 25 and 26, 1985*, Copenhagen (published by the World Federation of Free Latvians), pp. 1-195.

My Role in Berlin on July 20, 1944

OTTO ERNST REMER

Translated by Mark Weber

My assignment to the guard regiment "Großdeutschland" in Berlin was actually a form of rest and recreation—my first leave from the front—after my many wounds and in recognition of my combat decorations, including the Knight's Cross with Oak Leaves and the Close Combat Badge in Silver (forty-eight days of close combat). Later I would be wounded again. In all I was to command the guard regiment for only four months, since I felt obligated to be back with my comrades at the front.

My mission as commander of the guard regiment "Großdeutschland," which I took over at the end of May 1944, was, aside from purely ceremonial duties, to safeguard the Reich government and the Reich capital. Since there were more than a million foreign workers in Berlin and its immediate vicinity, the possibility of internal unrest had to be taken into account.

Around noon on July 20, 1944 1st Lieutenant Dr. Hans Hagen, who had been severely wounded at the front, concluded his lecture on cultural history before the officers and NCO's of the regiment. He was attached to my regiment only administratively and in no way as a National Socialist political officer, as has often been reported. I was the regiment's sole leader, politically as well as militarily.

I had invited Hagen to lunch afterward in my quarters at the Rathenow barracks, together with my adjutant, 1st Lieutenant Siebert. Siebert, who had lost an eye in combat, was a pastor of the Confessional Church [that branch of the German Protestant Church which opposed Hitler—Trans.]. He attended services every Sunday at the Garrison Church, with my express permission, although I myself had left the church. Among us personal freedom was the rule. Nor did it bother me that, after having been an SA stormtrooper and a member of the party during the years of struggle before Hitler came to power, he had resigned from both organizations to protest defamatory remarks by his local party leader concerning the ancestry of Jesus Christ. Lt. Siebert suffered no adverse consequences due to his resignation.

In those days that sort of thing was entirely possible, with no repercussions. Indeed, before I chose Siebert, due to his character,

as my adjutant, he confided to me that while still a stormtrooper he had broken into a Gestapo office in order to obtain documents incriminating colleagues in the Confessional Church. For me Siebert's frank admissions were just a further evidence of the personal élan that recommended him as a trustworthy adjutant. That's the way it was in the Third Reich, so widely execrated nowadays. Neither in my unit nor in the officer corps as a whole did there prevail the stubborn narrowmindedness, not to mention the sort of terror against dissenting opinions, that is carried on against nationalists in West Germany today by the Office for Constitutional Protection. Nor have I ever heard that Pastor Siebert considered himself to be a "resistance fighter" or that he later pretended to have been one.

Characteristic of our open-mindedness was a discourse which took place after lunch between Hagen, the topnotch cultural historian, and Pastor Siebert concerning the *Heliand* [an Old Saxon Bible adaptation—Trans.]. The question involved the extent to which traditional Germanic structures were invoked in order to render the new and alien doctrine understandable. Thus Christ was represented as a warlord, and his disciples the warrior band. After a while, I lost interest in the two scholarly gamecocks' wordy contention, so I placed a reconciliatory bottle of wine on the table and headed for the swimming pool at the nearby sports arena to keep myself fit for my next front assignment.

During the early afternoon of July 20, 1944 my regiment, like all units of the Replacement Army, was alerted by the codeword "Valkyrie." "Valkyrie" provided for the mobilization of the Replacement Army in case of internal unrest. While my regiment automatically implemented the prescribed measures, I was summoned from the swimming pool. In compliance with my orders I drove immediately to my designated post, the Berlin City Command Center, directly across from the "Eternal Watch" honor guard. While the other unit commanders waited in the anteroom, I alone was admitted to the city commander, Major General von Hase, and given the following briefing on the situation and my assignment:

The Führer has had a fatal accident! Civil disorder has broken out! The Army has assumed executive authority! The guard regiment is ordered to concentrate a strong force, reinforced for counterattack, to seal off the government quarter so that nobody, not even a general or a government minister, can enter or leave! To support you in sealing off the streets and subways I'm seconding Lieutenant Colonel Wolters to your command!

As these orders were being issued, I was struck by the circumstance that a younger officer of the general staff, Major Hayessen, assisted, while the former and senior general staff officer, whom I knew personally, stood about, idle and noticeably nervous.

I was naturally very shocked by the general's words, since I felt that with Hitler's death the possibility of a favorable turn in the war had almost disappeared. Immediately, I asked:

Is the Führer actually dead? Was it an accident or has he been assassinated? Where have civil disturbances occurred? I saw nothing unusual while driving here through Berlin. Why is executive authority passing to the Army and not to the Wehrmacht? Who is the Führer's successor? According to Hitler's testament Hermann Göring is automatically his successor. Has he issued any orders or proclamations?

Since I received neither detailed information nor clear answers to my questions, the situation became even murkier, and I felt a certain sense of mistrust even from the beginning. When I tried to get a brief glimpse of the papers which lay before me on the table, above all to see who had signed the orders, Major Hayessen ostentatiously gathered them up and put them in a folder. As I returned to my regiment I was oppressed by the notion that "Hitler's dead, now confusion reigns, various people will probably try to seize power." I contemplated the future struggles for succession.

I decided that, in any case, I would not allow myself to be misused in my capacity as commander of the only elite unit on active duty in Berlin. My regiment was made up entirely of picked, proven combat soldiers with high decorations for bravery. Every officer sported the Knight's Cross. I bore in mind as well the events of 1918, after which the Berlin guard units had been reproached for their hesitancy, which contributed to the success of the revolution. I had no desire to expose myself to a similar reproach before History.

When I returned to my troops, I gathered my officers and informed them of the situation and our orders. The alleged death of Adolf Hitler sent officers and men into shock. Never in my life, even at Germany's final defeat, have I witnessed such despondency. Despite the numerous stories which flourish today, that is the absolute truth: I vouch for it.

I made no secret to my officers that there was a lot that was still unclear, indeed mysterious to me, and that I would in no way allow myself or my unit to be exploited. I expressly demanded unconditional confidence and absolute obedience, just as at the front, from every one of my officers. This somewhat unusual demand was due to a telephone call I received during the briefing from a general I didn't recognize—it was probably Major General Friedrich Olbricht—at the High Command of the Replacement Army, requisitioning a company from my unit for a special assignment. This demand I explicitly rejected, pointing out that I had been entrusted with a clearly defined mission and that dispersing my forces didn't seem advisable.

After the briefing I received two reports which further disturbed

me. The first was from 1st Lt. Dr. Hagen, a member of my staff, who informed me that while on the way to the barracks he had seen Field Marshal Brauchitsch, in full uniform, driving his car on the streets of Berlin. This was strange, for Brauchitsch was retired. Given the circumstances, his appearance in uniform seemed remarkable. It later turned out that the officer seen by Dr. Hagen can't have been Brauchitsch. Probably it was one of the conspirators.

The second disconcerting report was from Lt. Colonel Wolters, who had been attached to my regiment as a liaison officer by the Command Center. He told me that I mustn't believe he was there to keep tabs on me as an informer. Such a remark was completely uncalled for. Not only was it incongruous and annoying, it awoke precisely the suspicion it was designed to allay: somebody had something up his sleeve. As it turned out, the briefing I gave my officers caused the colonel misgivings. In order to avoid responsibility, he simply went home—an unthinkable course of action for an officer on active duty.

My doubts that Major General von Hase's description of the situation matched the facts, doubts strengthened by another version which had Hitler murdered by the SS, convinced me that I had to determine the facts for myself. I decided to telephone every command post I could. This was just basic reconnaissance, a matter of course for every commander before committing his troops. Needless to say this type of thinking and acting is quite at odds with the notorious corpse-like obedience that denigrators of the Third Reich's army attribute to it.

Among other things I decided to send 1st Lt. Dr. Hagen, who had eagerly volunteered, to the Reich Defense Commissioner for Berlin, Dr. Joseph Goebbels. Dr. Hagen had earlier worked under Dr. Goebbels in the Propaganda Ministry, and I believed that by dispatching him to Dr. Goebbels I would be informed about not only the military but also the political situation. Gauleiter and Defense Commissioner for Berlin as well as Propaganda Minister, Dr. Goebbels was in consequence of the former positions patron of the "Großdeutschland" Division, which was made up of soldiers from all the provinces of the Reich.

About an hour and a half after the "Valkyrie" order was given, my regiment, by then combat-ready, moved into the areas to be sealed off in accordance with its orders. The normal guard units, such as those at the War Memorial and the Bendlerblock, the headquarters of the Commander of the Replacement Army and of the Defense Production Office, remained at their posts. At about 4:15 p.m. Lt. Arends, the duty officer in the Bendlerblock, reported to me that he had been ordered to seal off all entrances to the building. A Colonel Mertz von Quirnheim, whom Lt. Arends didn't know, had given him this assignment. Lt. Arends had further been instructed by General

Olbricht to open fire on any SS units that might approach.

After personally inspecting my troops in their new positions, at about 5:00 p.m. I returned once more to the City Commander, General von Hase, to inform him that I had carried out his orders. At this time I was asked to establish my command post there in the City Command Center, opposite the War Memorial. I had already set up a message center, commanded by Lt. Gees, in the Rathenow Barracks, with which I maintained telephone contact. Then von Hase gave me an additional assignment, to seal off a block of buildings north of the Anhalt Station (he showed me where on the map), very tightly.

As I commenced carrying out these orders, I ascertained that the block designated housed the Main Office of Reich Security. The unclearness, not to mention the deception, of this misleading order, could only strengthen my suspicions. Why wasn't I given explicit orders to place the Main Office of Reich Security under guard? It goes without saying that I would have carried out even this order.

Thus, on my third visit to General von Hase, I asked him directly: "Herr General, why am I receiving orders formulated so obscurely? Why wasn't I simply told to pay special attention to the Main Office of Reich Security?" Von Hase was quite nervous and excited. He didn't even respond to my question. If one wonders today how a young officer like me could allow himself such liberties with a general, it should be borne in mind that we young commanders saw ourselves as battle-hardened, proven combat leaders, and we had scant regard for the chairborne warriors of the home front.

In this connection I should like to point out something based on my long experience at the front: just as in the First World War it was the veteran commanders of the shock companies who epitomized the front experience, so in the Second World War it was the young commanders, come of age on the front, who had forged with their troops a sworn fellowship of combat. These men could not only fight, they wanted to fight, particularly since they believed in Germany's victory.

While in General von Hase's office I overheard from a conversation between the General and his First General Staff Officer that Goebbels was now to be arrested, and that this assignment was to be mine. Since I found this an unpleasant duty in light of my attempt to contact Goebbels, I jumped in and told General von Hase:

Herr General, I consider myself unsuitable for this assignment. As you know, I've been with the "Großdeutschland" Division, I've worn its stripe, for years. For me your mission would be very unchivalrous, for as you are doubtless aware, Dr. Goebbels, in his capacity as Gauleiter of Berlin, is at the same time the patron of the "Großdeutschland." Only two weeks ago I paid Goebbels my first call as new commander of the guard regiment. On these grounds I consider it inappropriate that I, in

particular, be ordered to arrest my patron.

Possibly von Hase sympathized with my arguments; from whatever grounds he now ordered the military police to take Reich Minister Dr. Goebbels into custody.

Around 5:30 p.m. Lt. Dr. Hagen finally met with Dr. Goebbels in his private residence, at 20 Hermann-Göring Strasse beside the Brandenburg Gate, after having tried in vain to see him at the Propaganda Ministry. The Reich Minister had no idea of the danger he was in. It was only after Hagen, in order to emphasize how serious the situation was, pointed out vehicles from the guard regiment as they drove by, that Goebbels took fright. He cried, "This is impossible, what shall we do?"

To which Hagen suggested, "The best thing would be for you to summon my commander here."

Goebbels asked curtly: "Can your commander be trusted?" "I'd lay down my life for him!" replied Hagen.

As I was going down the corridor just after leaving the City Commander's office, I finally found my bearings as a result of Hagen's contacting Goebbels.

Hagen had driven back to the barracks, given Gees his instructions, and then driven to my new command post at the Command Center, which was being heavily guarded. To avoid any hindrance, he did not enter the building, but informed my adjutant, Lt. Siebert, and my orderly, Lt. Buck, of the situation, asking them to inform me without delay. They reported as follows:

There's a completely new situation! This is probably a military putsch! Nothing further is known! The Reich Defense Commissioner requests that you come to him as quickly as possible! If you're not there within twenty minutes, he will assume that you are being forcibly restrained. In that case he will be compelled to alert the Waffen-SS. To avoid civil war, he has until then ordered the Leibstandarte [Hitler's personal bodyguard, the 1st Division of the Waffen-SS—Trans.] to stay where it is.

When I learned these things from my adjutant, I decided to see General von Hase one more time. That I still trusted the Major General, even then, is shown by my having Lt. Buck repeat to me once again, in the presence of von Hase, the message from Goebbels. I didn't want to seem an intriguer; as a veteran combat officer it was my practice to lay all my cards on the table.

Von Hase bluntly rejected my request to comply with the Reich Defense Commissioner's summons so that I might clarify the situation in the interest of all concerned. After leaving the Command Center without interference, I deliberated, together with my adjutant, Lt. Siebert—today a pastor in Nuremberg—as to what I should do. My key role in this difficult and obscure situation, which I had not caused, was increasingly clear to me. I felt that by now my

head was on the line too. After evaluating the situation as carefully as I could at that time, I decided that in spite of von Hase's order to the contrary I would go to Goebbels. My reasons were as follows:

First, I didn't want to be deprived of my freedom of action under any circumstances, as often happened at the front. Often there was a very thin line between being awarded a high decoration or being sentenced to death by a court martial.

Second, I felt myself still bound by my oath; so far the report of the Führer's death was at least doubtful. Thus, I had to act in keeping with the oath I swore on the flag.

Third, at the front I had many times made responsible decisions on my own, decisions the correctness of which was confirmed by my being awarded high decorations. Many a situation can only be mastered by decisive action. I felt as one with my comrades at the front, who wouldn't understand were I to stand idly by out of a lack of civic courage. I could not allow myself the responsibility of letting things come to a fatal head. I thought of 1918.

Fourth, I was under compulsion, since Goebbels had plans to alert the Waffen-SS, raising the possibility that a fraternal war between two forces, each proven in combat, might break out. As the commander of the only elite unit in Berlin on active duty I was responsible for the lives of the men entrusted to me. To employ them in a totally confused affair was not my duty.

Nevertheless, I didn't entirely trust Goebbels either, for I still assumed that Hitler was dead, and believed a struggle for succession was possible. I was far from wanting to let myself and my unit be thrust into a latterday Diadochian struggle. Inasmuch as Goebbels' role remained unclear, I took along Lt. Buck and a platoon of soldiers. Their orders were to come and get me if I didn't emerge from Goebbels' residence in fifteen minutes.

Then, after releasing the safety catch of my pistol, I entered the Reich Minister's office, where I had been eagerly awaited, and asked Goebbels to orient me. With that, Goebbels asked me to tell him everything I knew. I did so, although I didn't reveal that von Hase intended to arrest him, since I was still unclear as to Goebbels' role in all this. When he asked me what I intended to do, I told him that I would stick to my military orders and that I was determined to carry them out. Even if the Führer were no longer alive, I felt bound by my oath and could only act in accord with my conscience as an officer. At that Goebbels looked at me in amazement and cried: "What are you talking about? The Führer is alive! I've spoken with him on the telephone. The assassination failed! You've been tricked."

This information came as a complete surprise. When I heard that the Führer was still alive, I was greatly relieved. But I was still

suspicious. Therefore I asked Goebbels to assure me, on his word of honor, that what he said was true and and that he stood unconditionally behind the Führer. Goebbels hesitated at first, because he didn't understand the reason for my request. It was only after I repeated that as an officer I needed his word of honor in order to see my way clear that he obliged.

My wish to telephone the Führer's headquarters coincided with his. Within seconds I was connected to the Wolf's Lair at Rastenburg in East Prussia. To my great surprise Hitler himself came on the line. Goebbels quickly explained the situation to the Führer and then handed me the receiver.

Adolf Hitler said to me, approximately, the following: "Major Remer, can you hear me, do you recognize my voice? Do you understand me?" I replied affirmatively, but I was nevertheless uncertain. It flashed through my mind that someone could possibly be imitating the Führer's voice. To be sure I had become personally acquainted with the Führer's voice during the previous year, when, after he had awarded me the Oak Leaf to the Knight's Cross, I had been able to speak alone and completely frankly with him for an hour about the cares and miseries of the front. It was only as he continued speaking over the telephone that I became convinced that I was indeed speaking with Hitler. He went on:

As you can tell, I'm alive. The assassination has failed, providence didn't intend it. A small clique of ambitious, disloyal, and traitorous officers wanted to kill me. Now we've got these saboteurs of the front. We'll make short work of this treacherous plague, by brute force if necessary.

From this moment on, Major Remer, I am giving you complete authority in Berlin. You are responsible to me personally and exclusively for the immediate restoration of peace and security in the Reich capital. You will remain under my personal command for this purpose until Reichsführer Himmler arrives there and relieves you of responsibility.

The Führer's words were very calm, determined, and convincing. I could breathe a sigh of relief, for the conversation had removed all my doubts. The soldier's oath which I had sworn to the Führer was still binding, and the guiding principle of my actions. Now my only concern was to eliminate misunderstandings and to avoid unnecessary bloodshed by acting quickly and decisively.

Goebbels asked me to inform him of the content of my conversation with Hitler, and asked me what I intended to do next. He placed the downstairs rooms of his house at my disposal, and I set up a new command post there. By this time it was 6:30 p.m. The first report of the bomb attack in the Führer's headquarters was broadcast over the Greater German Radio Network around fifteen minutes later.

Due to my visit to the Berlin City Command Center I had a rough idea, for the most part, of the dispositions of the units advancing on Berlin. To let their commanders know the real situation, I dispatched staff officers in all directions to bring the word. Success was total. The question "The Führer—with him or against him?" worked miracles. I would like to state unequivocally that every one of these commanding officers, who like me were outraged at what had happened, subordinated themselves unconditionally to my command, although they all outranked me. Thus, they demonstrated that their soldier's oaths were binding for them as well. Difficulties, temporary in nature, arose here and there, where personal briefings were not immediately possible.

Due to the prevailing uncertainty and because of misunderstanding—some thought that the guard regiment's sealing off its designated area meant that it had mutinied—on two occasions my regiment came within a hair's breadth of being fired on by other units. At the Fehrbelliner Platz an armored brigade had assembled at the order of the conspirators, but an order radioed by Lt. General Guderian removed it from the conspirators' control. Thereafter this unit undertook reconnaissance and mistakenly concluded that the guard regiment "Großdeutschland" was on the side of the conspirators and had apprehended Reich Minister Goebbels. Several of the brigade's tanks advanced tentatively, and bloodshed would have been a near thing had I not intervened personally to clear up the confusion.

The same thing happened in front of the Bendlerblock, the headquarters of the Commander of the Replacement Army, when a Panzergrenadier company tried to take over from my guard, which had been authorized by the Führer. The energetic intervention of officers from my regiment made possible a clarification at the last moment and prevented German soldiers from firing on each other. Here too the question "Hitler—with him or against him?" proved decisive. I had sent one of my company commanders, Captain Schlee, to the Bendlerblock in order to clear things up. At this point I had no idea that the leadership of the conspiracy had its headquarters there. Schlee had orders to withdraw our guards, because I wanted, as much as possible, to avoid bloodshed. When he arrived he was ordered to see General Olbricht. He took the precaution of telling the guard to bring him out by force in the event he didn't return promptly. In fact he was placed under arrest in the general's waiting room by Colonel Mertz von Quirnheim, who told him to stay there. When Mertz went into Olbricht's office, however, Schlee simply walked away.

When he returned to our guard, Lt. Arends informed him of a strange occurrence. He'd heard shouts coming from an upper story of the building, and just then a typewriter and a telephone came

flying through the window and into the courtyard. Schlee did an about-face and led a patrol back up to find out what was going on. He quickly identified the room from which the noise was coming; it was locked, but not under guard, and the key was still in the lock. Inside was General von Kortzfleisch, commanding general of the Berlin Military District: it was he who had thrown the objects out the window. The general had been summoned to the Bendlerblock to receive his orders. On his arrival, he steadfastly refused to cooperate with the conspirators. He was arrested and locked in, but left unguarded. Now that he was free, he gave us our first information as to the leadership of the conspiracy.

At 7:30 p.m. our guards were relieved, in keeping with orders. Olbricht had to replace our guard detail with his own officers. The commander of the new guard was Lt. Colonel Fritz von der Lancken. As he was moving out Schlee learned from a captain in the communications center in the Benderblock that Major Remer had been ordered by the Führer to put down the putsch. They had been able to overhear my conversation with the Führer, and recognized that the telexes they were to send out were the conspirators' orders. Thus the men in the communications center deliberately delayed sending the messages, or in some cases didn't dispatch them at all.

Truly a masterfully prepared plan: the conspirators had no accomplices! Furthermore, telexes and telephone messages continued to come in from the Führer Headquarters, making the actual state of affairs quite clear.

Countless orders were given that late afternoon of the twentieth of July. Among other measures I moved the replacement brigade of the "Großdeutschland" from Cottbus to the outskirts of Berlin as a combat reserve. The brigade, too, had gotten different orders from the conspirators beforehand. Its tried and true commander, Colonel Schulte-Neuhaus, who had lost an arm in combat and whom I knew from the front, reported to my command post. I introduced him to Goebbels. Meanwhile I concentrated my own troops more tightly around the Reich Chancery complex, and formed a strong combat reserve in the garden of Goebbels' official residence. Goebbels asked me to address the troops assembled there, which I did. Their outrage at the traitorous goings-on was so great that they would have torn every single conspirator to pieces, had they been there.

Then I sealed off the City Command Center, for I'd gotten the impression that there was a number of questionable characters there. I also learned that after my refusal to arrest Goebbels, the military police had been ordered to do so. I waited in vain for them to appear. Later I heard that not a single unit was ready to arrest Dr. Goebbels, so that it was left to von Hase himself. The City Commander was at this point at the headquarters of the deputy commander, to which he had driven in order to work out further

measures with the general, who had been installed there by the conspirators. They had discussed things for two hours without coming to a decision, typical behavior for these combat-shy conspirators.

After General von Hase's return to the City Command Center was reported to me, I asked him over the telephone to come by my command post at Goebbels' residence in order to clarify the situation. At first he refused my invitation, and demanded that, since I was his subordinate, I should report to him at the Command Center. It was only after I informed him that I had been ordered personally by the Führer to restore peace and order, as his immediate subordinate; that thus von Hase was under my orders; and that I would come and get him if he didn't appear of his own free will, that the general arrived. At this point I was still under the impression that von Hase, who had often been my guest at the officers' club, who frequently expressed his solidarity with the soldiers at the front, and who on no account omitted a "Sieg Heil!" to his beloved Führer from any speech, had been deceived, just as I had been, and was unaware of the facts. Therefore I apologized for my unusual treatment. On his arrival von Hase was affability personified; he even praised me for my independence and decisiveness, and for seeking out Goebbels, by which I had averted a good deal of mischief.

Even with Goebbels von Hase played the innocent, and acted as if he had no inkling of any conspiracy. He was asked to stand by for further information, and a room was placed at his disposal. As von Hase left Goebbels' office, there was an embarrassing incident, which made me, as a German officer, blush for shame. In these very tense circumstances, von Hase stated that he had been busy the whole day and hadn't had a thing to eat. Goebbels immediately offered to have a sandwich prepared and asked him if he would like a glass of Mosel or Rhine wine as well. As soon as von Hase had left the office, Goebbels sneered:

"My name is Hare [Hase], I know nothing." That's the stuff our revolutionary putsch generals are made of. With the irons still in the fire they want to be wined and dined, and call their mommies on the telephone. In their place I'd see my tongue ripped out before I'd make such contemptible requests.

Two events illustrate how little thought and planning went into the putsch. My conversations and orders were routed through the same communications center in the Bendlerblock, headquarters of the conspiracy, from which the plotters' orders were being disseminated in all directions. The communications officers could have delayed my orders or not transmitted them at all, or they could have interrupted my telephone calls, none of which they did. I even

received a message from the Reich Broadcasting Service, inquiring about what was going on. As a result, I was able to give the order that under no circumstances was any unscheduled transmission to be made. As a result this important communications medium was denied to the plotters as well.

What transpired at the Broadcasting Center on the Masurenallee? Major Jacob had been ordered to occupy the Broadcasting Center. Astonishingly enough he had been ordered neither to broadcast any announcements nor to shut down the station. He attempted to telephone the conspirators to report his occupation of the radio station and to request additional orders. He had no luck, however: he wasn't put through, as happened at many offices. For front-line soldiers the loss of telephone connections was a frequent occurrence. In such a case the normal procedure was to establish radio communications or to send a courier. Major Jacob had a teleprinter at his disposal as well, but he used none of these methods. Stauffenberg, the General Staff officer who planned the putsch, gave no thought to furnishing motorcycle couriers—such trivial details were studiously overlooked!

Rudolf-Günther Wagner, the man who was to broadcast the conspirators' proclamations, said later:

I had known for years that I was to broadcast the proclamation on the day of the putsch. I awaited with feverish excitement the arrival of the lieutenant who was to bring me the proclamation. Unfortunately I waited in vain, until I heard from Goebbels' loudspeakers that the assassination had failed.

As is now well known, General Lindemann, who had the text of the proclamation, was nowhere to be found. General Beck was not willing to step in; he ordered Hans-Bernd Gisevius, a conspirator with the Abwehr, to bring the proclamation. First, however, Gisevius had to speedily draft a new statement, while the conspirators Stauffenberg, Hoepner, Yorck, Schwerin, and Schulenburg shouted suggestions at him. For this fiasco, too, Stauffenberg, the "manager" of the conspiracy, bears responsibility. To keep a broadcasting station in operation requires skilled and trustworthy personnel. A team had been ordered to the City Command Center but waited there idly until it was arrested during the counteraction. Hans Kasper, who was part of Operation Jacob, later commented:

It was around that time that the twentieth of July collapsed. From the perspective of a radio editor it was tragic. Tragic because the way in which details were handled made it obvious that this revolt had had very little chance of succeeding.

In the meantime Lt. Schlee had reported to me what was happening at the Bendlerblock. I knew nothing of the inside story,

nor that Lt. General Fromm, Commander in Chief of the Replacement Army, had withdrawn from the plot and been arrested by the conspirators. Schlee was further ordered, after our guards had been relieved, to surround and seal off the Bendlerblock, without entering the buildings. At about 7:00 p.m. I felt I had the situation in Berlin in hand. The tension began to subside.

[This article was translated from Otto Ernst Remer's book *Verschwörung und Verrat um Hitler* (Conspiracy and Betrayal Around Hitler), published by Verlag K. W. Schütz, Preussisch Oldendorf, West Germany, reviewed in this journal by H. Keith Thompson. The contents of this article closely parallel General Remer's address to the Eighth International Revisionist Conference.—Ed.]

Imposed German Guilt: The Stuttgart Declaration of 1945

R. CLARENCE LANG

(Paper Presented to the Eighth International Revisionist Conference)

President Ronald Reagan, in preparation for his celebrated visit to the German military cemetery at Bitburg in 1985, termed the alleged collective German guilt for the Second World War “imposed” and “unnecessary.”¹ That President Reagan felt compelled to express himself so clearly demonstrates that the German guilt said to stem from the Second World War is still a burning issue. The president’s words, and the furor that attended them, are a clear mandate for us to examine anew the nature of this imposed guilt, and the persons and circumstances that imposed it.

I. Broad Perspectives Regarding The Declaration

The concern of this paper is the background to the declaration of German guilt made in Stuttgart, Germany by eleven leading German churchmen in connection with a visit by a delegation of eight non-German churchmen on October 18-19, 1945. The declaration began: “We are especially thankful for this visit, since we realize that we are not only united with our people in a great company of suffering, but also in a *solidarity of guilt*.” [Emphasis added]² By linking “our people” with “a solidarity of guilt,” these German clergymen conjured up that entity known as “German guilt.”

This paper focuses as well on the role of Pastor Niemöller, doubtless the most famous of the eleven German churchmen who signed the Declaration of Stuttgart. A U-boat hero in the First World War who hailed Hitler’s rise to power in 1933, Niemöller later publicly opposed the National Socialist regime and became an object of international sympathy after his incarceration in a concentration camp.³ That Niemöller, a Lutheran, should so avidly have advocated a collective German guilt is an aberration, for no one more clearly recognized that the nature of guilt is personal, and not collective, than Martin Luther. As the theologian Martin Köhler pointed out, the young Luther’s Ninety-Five Theses of 1517 were expressions of

"a religion of the individual conscience."⁴ Conscience and guilt go hand in hand. As with guilt, so with repentance, sin, reconciliation, justification, and forgiveness: for Luther these religious entities only become real only through that inner commitment called faith. Guilt, like faith, can by its very nature only be personal. To be sure, everyone in a group may believe, but never the group as such, for each one believes only as an individual. Merely because a person belongs to a group outwardly does not mean so inwardly.

Since Lutherans take guilt and its nature seriously, Niemöller should have grasped the fallacy in the concept of a collective German guilt. Instead, it has fallen to the Revisionists, many of them nonprofessing Christians, to carry out the Gospel endeavor of refuting the collective guilt which has been fallaciously imposed on the Germans. The work of the Revisionists has also brought to light a motive of the victors—and their allies in postwar Germany—in unilaterally imposing a collective guilt on their defeated enemies: the victors' need to be exonerated of their own misdeeds. The defeated Germans, at the mercy of their conquerors in staged trials which afforded the accused little opportunity to place the war in historical perspective, were unable to raise the issue of the war crimes of the victors. This pretense of a collective, unilateral criminality on the part of the Germans afforded the victors a classic, dehumanizing, un-Christian exoneration.

By laying bare the crimes of the victors, Revisionist historians have demonstrated that guilt for the Second World War is shared, not unilateral. One need only point to David Irving's classic *The Destruction of Dresden*, which demonstrated that although the Allies, with victory a certainty, had a wider range of options to act humanely, they chose to be even more brutal and vindictive, to the bitter end.⁵

While the senseless and unnecessary terror bombing campaign is well known, certain aspects of the hunger blockade which the Allies imposed on German-occupied Europe are less familiar. It is a little known fact that Allied leaders vetoed efforts of the Famine Relief Committee, formed in 1942, to send food to the hard-pressed civilians of occupied Europe after an initial success in Greece, where, in cooperation with the International Red Cross and with the permission of the Germans, tens of thousands of lives were saved by food supplied from Allied nations. Thereafter Allied leaders, above all America's Franklin Roosevelt and Britain's Winston Churchill, were obdurate in their refusal to cooperate with the Famine Relief Committee and the Red Cross. These men used food as a weapon during the war; afterwards they profited from the lurid images and descriptions of the horrors of the concentration camps at the war's close. Many of these horrors were the direct result of Allied policy

makers' refusal to cooperate with international organizations such as the FRC and IRC.

That this is not mere speculation is evident from the final report of the Famine Relief Committee. As the victorious Allies advanced into Germany, and the FRC handed over the balance of its funds to the Friends' [Quakers] Relief Service, the Committee's last report concluded:

It should have been obvious to all intelligent people that our food blockade of the continent of Europe would bring untold torture and suffering to our friends and allies and would do little or no harm to our enemy . . . It has been possible to obtain proof that our food blockade did not shorten the war by a single hour . . . History will judge our government harshly for its futile persistence in the policy of total blockade of foodstuffs.⁶

The Famine Relief Committee was by no means an isolated Allied voice, for there were vigorous advocates of such a humanitarian policy in high government positions, particularly in the U.S. House of Representatives. As late in the war as June 28, 1943 (six months after Stalingrad, amid a growing realization that the Germans could not win), an emotional debate took place on Capitol Hill. The Republican minority leader, Harold Knutsen, a congressman since 1917, pleaded: "What the Society of Friends is doing in northern France, and what the Swedes and Swiss are doing in Greece, can be done in Poland, Finland, Norway, Denmark and the Low Countries, as well as the balance of occupied France." After pointing out that financing would not be a problem, since the Allies had frozen considerable assets after the Germans occupied these countries, the Minnesotan Knutsen, strongly supported by fellow Republican Congressmen Walter H. Judd (MN), Carl T. Curtis (NE), Walter F. Horan (WI), and Christian A. Herter (MA) accusingly ended the debate: "One word from either of them [Roosevelt or Churchill] would banish all the horrors of famine and pestilence from Poland, Finland, Norway, Denmark and the Low Countries. Will they rise to the occasion? The future of white civilization in Europe rests in their hands."⁷ It is evident that in 1943 Roosevelt and Churchill, mindful of the postwar Morgenthau Plan with its cold-blooded imposition of unilateral guilt on the Germans, refused any life-saving measures. (One must also wonder what became of the vast financial resources of the occupied countries seized by the Allies.)

The Famine Relief Committee in 1945, and the congressmen in 1943, could not foresee that in line with the Morgenthau Plan, the Allied blockade would be transformed into a postwar American and British military ban on all private and church humanitarian aid to about 85,000,000 Germans. Nor could they have foreseen that this ban would become a tool whereby Allied Protestant churchmen

would, in an utterly un-Christian fashion, manipulate fellow Christian German churchmen in an attempt to impose a lingering guilt on the German people. They could not foresee that this would help to transform the Church of the Reformation, "a fellowship of believers," into a political sect, i.e., an entity using its resources primarily for political, not religious purposes, above all to "re-educate" the Germans.

II. Theological and Other Implications of the Declaration of Stuttgart

Reflecting on the basic thrust of the declaration, the German Lutheran Old Testament scholar Friedrich Baumgärtel wrote: "The consciousness of guilt that drives one to confess is, is it not, born of the uneasiness of the conscience over *specific, concrete* completed deeds and behavior?" [Emphasis added]⁸

Baumgärtel's implication, that consciousness of guilt cannot be generalized or collectivized, has been powerfully amplified by the German theologian Dr. Walter Bodenstein in *Is Only the Loser Guilty?*, a treatise devoted to the Declaration of Stuttgart. Bodenstein writes: "The words 'solidarity of guilt' take for granted that a collective entity is capable of becoming guilty. Thus a group is treated as an individual." Setting this in the Christian context, Bodenstein points out:

That nations were seen as individuals is true, so in the Old Testament the nations surrounding Israel, as well as Israel itself, were spoken of as persons. Babylon became the "daughter of Babylon" and Israel "the daughter of Zion" (Isaiah 41:7; Zech. 9). The prophets of Israel personified their people as "a servant of God," and as "son of man" in order to express Israel's task in the world of nations. But who can overlook that these were images and *through that not groups but only individuals can be responsible and become guilty.* (Psalm 6; Ezekiel 18: 5-10)⁹

This fluctuation, from unreal collective (or theocratic) groups to real personal (or fellowship) groups, can be traced in the Old Testament. Regardless of how much of the Old Testament one regards as historical, it is in the New Testament that the personal becomes paramount in the struggles of Jesus and the early church, above all in the confrontation with Phariseism culminating in the liberating Gospel experience of the Apostle Paul. Based on Paul and the Scriptures, the Gospel became viable once again through Luther, in his struggle with the legalistic ecclesiasticism of his day.

Much becomes clearer in looking at the broader theological context here. For Roman Catholics the starting point is the specific organization of the Church; for Jews the Covenants in the Holy Torah (the Law); for Calvinists (i.e., Puritans, Huguenots, and

Reformed), the Holy Will of God; for Lutherans, however, as for the Apostle Paul, the starting point is the personal, sinful human condition, befitting Luther's lonely words: "Here, I stand." For Lutherans the Church is thus a fellowship of believers, not a theocracy.

For Lutherans the heart of religion is life personally experienced in terms of accusatory aspects, referred to generically as the Law, and on the other hand forgiving or consolatory aspects, called the Christian Gospel. The Law includes all accusatory aspects of life. The Jewish Torah is thus seen as not unique, but a merely one of the cutting edges impelling persons to the Christian Gospel, which relativizes and overcomes life's accusatory aspects. More than good news, the Gospel is the inner liberating experience which affirms life, dispels negative, accusatory impositions, and emanates appreciation and thankfulness. The Gospel finds its highest expression in thankfulness to God for Jesus Christ. That forgiveness was Martin Luther's keystone is clear from his *Catechism*: "Where there is forgiveness of sins there is also life and salvation." In a nutshell, what is at stake is the cardinal teaching of the Christian Church, that is, justification by faith alone.

Some of the sharpness of the Gospel that emanated through Luther was dulled by the puritanical legalism of John Calvin. Today, Christians are in danger of blending this puritanical legalism with that of what has been termed "the Zionist entity," as this entity attempts to impose the guilt consciousness associated with the term "Holocaust" on successive generations, not only of Germans but of Christians in general, thereby undermining the Gospel of forgiveness. Thus the guilt imposed on the Germans has great implications for Christianity as well.

The danger is that the Church be turned into a theocracy, and thus cease to be a Church. In a theocracy religious unity is based on divine laws, and God is regarded primarily as the Lawgiver. The Church, "the fellowship of believers," bases its religious unity on a personal faith which regards God as the creator and sustainer of redeeming faith. The essence of the Church is appreciation and thankfulness to God, the highest and most powerful form of thankfulness. Nor is the fundamental issue of how we look at ourselves and others to be overlooked in this connection. At stake is the free, autonomous personality, a personality that the Church is to protect and foster.

Christianity indeed speaks of a human, Adamic sin, but this is not a collectivity of individual transgressions, as if one could visualize sin in piles, with one pile being the sins of the Germans. Adamic sin is rather the personal realization that I find in myself the same personal centeredness and selfishness that I am convinced is also in

others. To be sure, interpretations may vary, but for our purposes it is evident that there can be no separate German heart. That the Stuttgart Declaration of German Guilt took place is historical fact; when one confronts the fallaciousness of this imposed, factitious guilt, it wholly evaporates. What is here said as to German guilt applies equally well to "Nazi," or National Socialist, guilt.

Theologically, Christians are obligated to ask how long they can allow Christianity, and the various Western nations, to be held hostage to historically unprecedented "guilt trips" stemming from the Second World War, without losing the universality of the Gospel as well as a true perspective on history. The Gospel cannot be stripped of its universality in this way without losing its liberating power, the essence of the Gospel, which is the foundation of the Church.

How ironic it is that Revisionists, often non-Christians, are fulfilling this Christian role, as they unintentionally prove the Apostle Paul was indeed right when he proclaimed that "all have sinned."

III. Niemöller and Barth Set the Stage for Stuttgart

Since the Stuttgart Declaration of German Guilt is intimately associated with Martin Niemöller, certain insights are to be gained in treating him as a focal personality. Shortly after Adolf Hitler succeeded in creating political stability after a virtual two-year civil war against chaos and Bolshevism, Niemöller's name became well known inside Germany and abroad.¹⁰ One of the founders of the Confessional Church, and later incarcerated in concentration camps as a personal prisoner of Adolf Hitler, Niemöller became the darling of the international anti-German propagandists.

The Confessional Church was named for the confession proclaimed in May, 1934 at Barmen a city in the Ruhr. The Confessional Church comprised mostly Reformed (Calvinist) Protestants; quite a few Lutherans participated, however. (American readers should bear in mind that the state-supported German Protestant Church comprised both Lutheran and Reformed congregations, although such congregations remained separate.) The confessors renewed their pledge to Jesus Christ as the only head of the Church. This was meant to counter the "German Christians," Hitler's supporters within the Protestant Church, who were accused of trying to replace Jesus Christ with Adolf Hitler. The implication of the Barmenites, carried to its extreme, meant that Hitler wanted to take the place of Christ in the Church, with persons baptized, confirmed, and ordained in his name. While it is true that Hitler professed faith in Providence (unlike such men as Lenin, Stalin, and Trotsky), there is no evidence that he had any such plans as the

Confessional Church and its supporters imputed to him.

The differences between the Barmen confessors and many traditional Lutherans were a factor in the later imposition of German guilt at Stuttgart, so it is well to examine them. Most German Lutheran pastors and theologians neither participated in nor subscribed to the Confession of Barmen. Some German Lutherans were ardent National Socialists, some German Christians (in Bavaria about twelve per cent of the clergy were German Christians).¹¹ Like the theologian Paul Althaus, most Lutherans opposed the Confession of Barmen on theological grounds, for the Confession spoke exclusively of God's revelation in Jesus Christ, rejecting or bypassing the traditional doctrine of Lutherans and Catholics, of a God-implanted natural, universal revelation. Althaus and others saw their convictions reinforced by the Apostle Paul, who spoke of God's law written in the hearts of all people, and the Evangelist John, who spoke of "the true light which lights everyone." Calling this the *Uoffenbarung* [basic or original revelation], Althaus argued convincingly that, merely because some might abuse natural, universal revelation for political purposes, it was no grounds for rejecting there in claiming that Jesus Christ was God's sole revelation, as the Confessors of Barmen had done.¹²

Barmen, however, was only the first manifestation, so many Lutherans became convinced, of a subtle theological manipulation associated with the Swiss Karl Barth and his allies, who sought to undermine the foundations of Lutheranism, expounded in the Lutheran Confessional Writing of 1580. As will be demonstrated, the Stuttgart Declaration of German Guilt would be a further step in this process.

Seven years after the war, Althaus would correctly assess the German Christians, in recognizing that the main threat for Lutherans was not contained in their doctrinal errors, which had been successfully countered by Lutherans not involved in the Confessional Church. The danger, rather, lay in the "wild," "emotional," and "tumultuous" times, during which Germany had been virtually engulfed in a civil war. In such times the temptation is to minimize the Church's necessary theological role in favor of seeking solutions to political problems. Althaus pointed out that not a single group of theological professors of any stature or ecclesiastical respectability had espoused "German Christianity."¹³

In 1945 this was in any case no longer an issue, for Hitler was dead and the German Christians had been discredited by a friend and foe alike. In 1945, however, Martin Niemöller, just released from Dachau, had a problem: with Hitler gone and National Socialism vanquished, was there any future for the Confessional Church?¹⁴ Why preach against a dead Hitler?

Niemöller found his new Gospel in the mission to warn Germany

and the world of the dangers of Hitlerism, and in preaching that the Germans had need to repent for Hitler and the Second World War. Who, if not the Confessional Church, could carry out this crusade in a fallen, degenerated, paganized, and Nazified Germany?¹⁵ This image of Germany devoid of Christianity fell right in line with the propaganda of the victorious Allies, and helped justify their "re-education" and "denazification" of the Germans.¹⁶

To further his new Gospel, in July 1945 Niemöller summoned the Brother's Council of the Confessional Church to meet in Frankfurt. The meeting convened on August 21, with sixteen German brothers and one Swiss, who arrived in an American jeep and wore a U.S. Army uniform.

The Swiss, whose arrival had doubtless been orchestrated by the American Counter Intelligence Corps and the religious sections of the American and British military control commissions, needed few introductions at the Frankfurt Council, for he was Karl Barth, regarded by many as the world's foremost theologian. A Calvinist with an open anti-Lutheran bias, Barth was a leader in the ecumenical movement which arose in the last century, and which has sought to unify not only Protestantism, but indeed all Christendom.

Karl Barth was born in Basel, Switzerland in 1886. In 1919 he became famous in the theological world with his commentary on the *Epistle to the Romans*. In 1921 he was appointed a professor at the University of Göttingen. The Barmen Confession of 1934 was essentially his brainchild, despite some recent claims to the contrary.¹⁷ After his unceasing criticism of the German government Barth was ousted from Germany. Secure again at Pilgerstrasse 25 in Basel, he became the favorite theologian of the anti-German propagandists.

Barth's basic theological thrust, in the view of his theological opponents, such as Paul Althaus, Emmanuel Hirsch, and Werner Elert, was to formulate his theology in such a way as to exclude the German Christians from Christianity, thus rejecting the traditional Christian view of a natural, universal revelation. In short, Barth was doing ecclesiastically, theologically, and morally what the Jewish boycott of Germany, proclaimed March 24, 1933, was doing economically.¹⁸

More than any other influential Christian, Karl Barth made a holy war out of the economically based tragedy that was the Second World War. His stance in this regard is documented in his letter to Professor Hronadka of Prague, in September 1938, even before the Germans had occupied the Sudetenland. "Every Czech," he wrote, "who fights [the Germans] and suffers in doing so is doing this for us—and I say it without reservation, he will also do it for the Church of Jesus Christ . . ."¹⁹ After the war, this theological mentality would

claim that God had used Russian tanks and German bombers to teach the Germans a necessary lesson. Characteristic of Barth's thinking regarding the Lutherans was his claim that in the Hitler years, "The Lutherans slept while the Reformed stayed awake."

The Karl Barth who arrived under American auspices at the Brothers' Council in Frankfurt in August 1945 had been greatly strengthened by the organization, in Utrecht, Netherlands in 1938, of the Provisional World Council of Churches (PWCC). (It became the World Council of Churches in 1948.) This ecumenical group, which strove toward a unified Christian Church, was dominated by its secretary, W.A. Visser 't Hooft (of whom more later), a Calvinist and a strong ally of Barth.

In 1945 Barth, Visser 't Hooft, and other leaders of the PWCC feared the emergence of a strong, independent German Lutheran Church. With the help of such Lutheran allies as Niemöller they used such terms as "confessionalism," "denominationalism," and "separatism" to stigmatize this alleged danger.²⁰ Barth and his allies also evolved a dual strategy of isolating German Lutherans from the Scandinavian Lutheran churches, and availing themselves of the idea of the Germans' "collective guilt" to keep them on the defensive.

This strategy surfaced at the Brother's Council of the Confessional Church in Frankfurt. Until then the participating churchmen had spoken of those who had sinned by actively furthering National Socialism or those who had done nothing to stop the Hitler movement. Now these churchmen spoke of the enormous guilt that "our people" had "accumulated," a departure from the traditional Lutheran concept of guilt which has been discussed above.²¹

Essentially, the Frankfurt meeting was aimed at gaining influential positions in the upcoming All-German Protestant Churchleaders' Conference in Treysa, a small town near Kassel, from August 27 to September 1. The Brother's Council selected Niemöller and Barth to represent them. Barth was not even a German, leaving the question open of whether he imposed himself or was imposed on the Treysa conference. (The free churches, which were not state-supported, such as the Mennonites, Baptists, Free Lutherans and Methodists, were not present; these had their own meetings.)

At Treysa, the Confessional churchmen were able to pack the church council with either their members or their supporters, thereby frustrating the emergence of a viable German Lutheran Church independent from the PWCC. Bishop Marahrens, the influential Lutheran bishop of Hannover, who had past connection with the Confessional Church, was boycotted by his fellow believers.²² He had talked to Hitler! The secretary of the PWCC, Visser 't Hooft, although not at Treysa, had written the Anglican Bishop Bell on July 24, 1945 that Marahrens "must disappear."²³ After constant hidden and overt pressures the bishop was driven to

resign two years later. He was replaced by Hans Lilje, a signer of the Stuttgart Declaration. In the New Testament lots were cast in the selecting of a replacement for Judas. The emergent postwar Germany churchleaders would hardly take such a risk.

The bitterness between the Swiss Calvinist Barth and the German Lutherans became dramatically visible at Treysa. When Barth's presence became known, the Bavarians, mostly Lutherans, threatened to leave. They were persuaded to stay.²⁴ As a theological student in Germany in the early 1950's, I was told that at one of the postwar meetings, possibly Treysa, Barth lampooned the German brothers for their lack of courage in standing up to Hitler, whereupon one dared stand up and shout: "We couldn't all run to Switzerland like you did."

In the closing session, Treysa seemed a dismal failure to some, but Barth's remarks were optimistic. Presumably, he sensed a successful check to the "Lutheran danger." After Treysa, the rest could be accomplished by the ever-handly insistence on atoning for Hitler.²⁵

Yet, for Barth, uncertainties remained. In dejection he wrote Niemöller:

How I wish you could make this matter [the issue of German guilt] your own. Believe me that, seen from the outside, it is truly a burning issue . . . so it is with me personally, when I, as I so often do, have to speak about the new Germany . . . I always get stuck when I have to give some kind of explanation which I still could not bring along either from Frankfurt nor from Treysa. I even have to say, "Yes, yes, they really mean it that way!" I would give a kingdom for a snappy [klipp und klar] written statement, a written statement which I could clearly show.²⁶

On October 5, Niemöller responded: "That I can and will make this matter my own, you [the personal Du] should no longer doubt, after my speech in Treysa . . . nevertheless, I will see to it that I come up with a clear expression in the sense you hinted."

The American Methodist churchman Walter W. Van Kirk, who was a consultant to the American delegation to the UN conference in San Francisco in the spring of 1945, as well as secretary of the Federal Council of Churches, experienced none of Karl Barth's difficulties with regard to the continued need for German repentance. In his book *A Christian Global Strategy*, published before Stuttgart, he recognized the danger of a politically isolated Germany. Describing the defeated Germans as "a pariah people subject to all sorts of military controls," Van Kirk admonished: "But it must not be so between Western Christendom and the churches of Germany. There is but one family of God and all who breathe the name of Christ are encompassed within its fellowship." As if foreseeing the Declaration of Stuttgart, he added: "Nor should certain members of that family sit in moral judgement upon other members. It is for God

to judge and exact reparation for guilt.”²⁷ The contrast with Barth’s approach is all too clear. As the German saying goes, “One hears from the forest [the echo of] what one shouts in.”

Indeed, nearly everyone thought that the guilt issue had been taken care of satisfactorily at Treysa, rendering Barth’s letter to Niemöller doubly strange. At the Treysa conference over a hundred of the churchmen present had adopted a resolution to the German people which included the words: “. . . today, we confess that long before God spoke in anger, God besought us in love, but we refused to heed his call.” What else is Christian repentance but this?²⁸

This confession was made in Germany, for Germans. It satisfied the religious press in America. Papers such as *The Lutheran Standard* carried headlines like: “Church of Germany Confesses Guilt.”²⁹ The American church historian Richard Solberg, writing twelve years later, pointed out that the German Christians had been boycotted (obviously, anyone with a National Socialist past had simply stayed away): “At the historic meeting [Treysa] odious ties with the past were severed.”³⁰ According to his biographer, the Anglican bishop George Bell claimed that the Germans had taken up and settled the guilt question.

What satisfied others, however, was not enough for Barth, nor for his powerful ally Visser ’t Hooft, two Calvinists possessed of their own standards for repentance. Visser ’t Hooft, the secretary of the Provisional World Council of Churches, revealed his own standard when, after insisting that the PWCC reserved all freedom of action in establishing ties with the German churches, he announced that the PWCC would deal only with those German churchmen who had demonstrated active opposition to Hitler.³¹

Visser ’t Hooft’s position as secretary of the PWCC equipped him to play a dominating role in forcing the Stuttgart declaration. A Calvinist from the Netherlands, he was the chief spokesman and policy maker of the PWCC, which operated from the same Geneva, Switzerland headquarters as the International Red Cross. Unlike the Red Cross, however, the PWCC was not neutral. During the war Visser ’t Hooft worked with the Allied military, indeed some have maintained that he was an operative of the British Secret Service.³²

Like Barth, Visser ’t Hooft possessed the Calvinist “holy” determination to direct organizational action rather than to the indirect approach, which stresses changing inner convictions (the approach favored by Lutherans). This difference is readily apparent in Calvinistic terminology, with its predilection for theocratic, depersonalizing terms of reference: its “institutes,” “eternal values,” “principles,” “plans,” “being chosen,” “purposes and causes,” “covenants,” and “goals.” The Calvinist vision of the church is thus less a fellowship of believers than a theocracy, a “new Israel” with holy wars and holy causes, a vision that has worked itself out with

world-historical consequences in such diverse locales as Puritan New England and the South African Transvaal. It seems that Martin Luther sensed this difference in outlook more than 450 years ago, when in his colloquy at Marburg with Calvin's forerunner Ulrich Zwingli, Luther said: "Sie haben einen anderen Geist." [You have a different spirit or attitude.]

This different spirit was now ready to manifest itself at Stuttgart. The Treysa conference had elected a provisional council of twelve, which included only members sympathetic to the Confessional Church. Its chairman was Theophil Wurm, the seventy-eight year-old bishop of Stuttgart, a friend of Niemöller who had become well known in Germany during the war for his stand against euthanasia.³³ (A voice like Wurm's is sorely needed today, for according to a recent newspaper report an estimated six to ten thousand persons are being put to death annually in the Netherlands. In Germany euthanasia was ended by decree in 1942. Who or what can stop it in Holland?)

Niemöller became Bishop Wurm's deputy, one of whose duties was to seek ecumenical ties. For Niemöller this meant above all ties with Barth and his supporters in the PWCC, despite their patent bias against German Lutherans.

IV. The Material Basis for the Stuttgart Declaration

There was an unavoidable prerequisite for the declaration of German guilt which the eight churchmen, led by Visser 't Hooft, extracted from the German council of twelve. Visser 't Hooft had recently, by acquiring what amounted to control of Protestant aid to Germany, availed himself of a powerful lever, which as events proved, he was only too ready to use.

Here a little background as to Allied food policy with regard to postwar Germany is helpful. The dominant Western ally, the United States, had proclaimed its intention to impose a Carthaginian peace on Germany in the notorious Morgenthau Plan, which was publicized while the fighting still raged.³⁴

As mentioned above, a food blockade was Allied policy throughout most of the war. To be fully effective, it was necessary that the blockade enlist the support of neutral nations and international organizations such as the Geneva-based International Red Cross. The Red Cross was a particularly bothersome thorn in the flesh of the Allies, for in the words of its president, Dr. Max Huber: "The Red Cross aids victims of war not because of their particular nationality or because they are fighting for this or that cause, but purely and simply because they are human beings, who are suffering and in need of help." In one of his writings Huber, a clergyman, went so far as to insist that the Good Samaritan was an

actual historical figure and not a parable.³⁵

Slowly but surely, the Allies undermined the neutrality of the International Red Cross. In 1943, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) was formed. UNRRA adopted a policy of subsidizing only those groups actually fighting against the Germans. Without question Allied policies, as carried out by UNRRA, impeded even the neutral aid which the Red Cross was able to provide in the German concentration camps. Despite this, according to the International Committee of the Red Cross, "... from 12 November 1943 to 8 May 1945, some 751,000 packages, weighing about 26,000 tons, were sent by the International Committee to deportees in concentration camps."³⁶

UNRRA policies were, of course, coordinated with the unconditional surrender dictate and the Morgenthau Plan, which the American church historian Richard Solberg, who was present in postwar Germany, called "vengeful." Solberg points out that while the plan was never officially adopted, it was nevertheless largely carried out.³⁷

With the occupation of Germany, UNRRA, headed first by Herbert Lehman and then by Fiorello La Guardia, continued to serve as an arm of Allied military policy. UNRRA enforced a policy that all material aid was to be provided to the displaced persons, or D.P.'s, first, and specified that Germans and Finns could not be considered D.P.'s.

The inhumanity of this Allied policy can be gathered from Sumner Welles' *Where Are We Heading*, published in 1946. After describing the masses of refugees from eastern Europe, Welles wrote: "Food supplies were totally inadequate to feed these hordes. The wave of anarchy . . . within western Germany of these masses of refugees was overpowering." Welles continued:

For lack of an organized force of trained personnel to cope with this situation it was many months before there was any alleviation, before any efficient screening of these floating masses of humanity could be carried out, and before even a minimum of help could be given to that pitiful class of refugees, mainly of the Jewish faith, termed "displaced persons." No accurate record is yet available. But it can be asserted that for lack of effective organization to meet a situation which should have been foreseen, many thousands of innocent persons experienced a degree of tragedy and suffering which was altogether unnecessary.³⁸

That a lack of American charity was not the problem can be seen from the fact that the Lutheran Synod of Missouri, representing only about a third of America's Lutherans, raised about six million dollars by August, 1945, a sum comparable to many times that amount in today's dollars.³⁹

These charitable efforts, however, faced a considerable obstacle, for the policy of UNRRA was to forbid independent relief efforts,

even in the face of such catastrophic human misery as that occasioned by the postwar expulsion of more than ten million Germans from their ancestral homes in eastern Germany and other parts of central Europe.

Meanwhile, the PWCC, which was quite willing to cooperate with the Allies, had acquired control of a key church relief agency in Europe. The European Central Bureau of Relief of Suffering Churches had formerly been headed by the internationally known Swiss clergyman Adolf Keller. Under his leadership the Central Bureau had defied the Allied ban on aid: as late as June 1942 Keller wrote that "food packages are still being shipped to the professors of the theological faculty in Warsaw and [to] evangelical preachers."⁴⁰ When pressure exerted by North American churches forced Keller to resign under protest, his organization was absorbed into the new World Council of Churches Department of Reconstruction and Inter-Church Aid, headed by Dr. H. Hutchinson Cockburn.⁴¹

Shortly before Visser 't Hooft left for Stuttgart, this department was reorganized, and renamed the World Churches Department of Reconstruction and Inter-Church Aid. Its new chairman, Alphons Köchlin, president of the Swiss Protestant Church, set up an agency to coordinate all church aid to Germany, and named as its chairman none other than the secretary of the PWCC, Visser 't Hooft. Thus Visser 't Hooft, who had earlier articulated the PWCC policy of denying fellowship to ideologically unacceptable (read: German nationalist) churchmen, now had the last word on the allocation and distribution of all Protestant material aid to the Germans.⁴²

V: A Confession of Guilt With No One to Give the Absolution

The events of October 17 to 19, 1945 in Stuttgart were intriguingly simple. There was standing room only in Bishop Wurm's church in the bomb-damaged city when the German council, selected at the All-Protestant Church Conference in Treysa, held its initial meeting. Pastor Niemöller preached on his favorite topic: repentance.⁴³ This was strikingly out of key with the accent on thanksgiving one of his fellow Lutherans, the primate of Denmark, had given by setting aside a Sunday of thanksgiving in his country, claiming that "our hearts are filled with gratitude to God that the bloodiest war of mankind has ended."⁴⁴

According to the autobiography of one of the councilmen, Dr. Hans Lilje, later bishop of predominantly Lutheran city and province of Hannover, there was embracing, rejoicing and smiling as the eleven German Council members greeted the visitors, eight supposedly uninvited members of the PWCC.⁴⁵

Sometime before the Council met, Visser 't Hooft dined in a cafe

with two ardent members of the Confessional Church, Niemöller and Hans Asmussen. They certainly knew in advance of the arrival of the delegation. Niemöller, as has been noted, had already promised Barth “a snappy and clear” written statement of German guilt.

Asmussen needed no persuasion, since, according to Baumgärtel, he had written the PWCC even before the war to suggest such a statement.⁴⁶ Instead of taking the Christian approach and indicating to Asmussen that such a statement was un-Christian, Visser ‘t Hooft had come to enlist Asmussen in support of his own preconceived and prescribed un-Christian statement, since such a statement, confession or declaration would have to be based on “all have sinned.” It was Visser ‘t Hooft’s duty to make this clear to Asmussen.

Undoubtedly, the three worked out their strategy to fulfill the PWCC’s wishes for a voluntary German statement in Visser ‘t Hooft’s words, “clarifying the last 12 years of German history.” Visser ‘t Hooft also spoke of “a specific repentance.” Whether at the café meeting or elsewhere, Visser ‘t Hooft showed his “trump card.” It was this “trump card” that imposed the decisive pressure on those council members who still hesitated. The card, or “soft pressure,” was this: the idea was sown that North American churches were having considerable difficulties in raising money for the desperately needy yet unrepentant Germans. Therefore, if a written statement of German repentance could be shown these unwilling congregations, then fundraising endeavors would be substantially easier.⁴⁷

The autobiographies of Lilje and Friedrich Karl Otto Dibelius, two German council members, and the biography of the Englishman churchman George Bell, who was part of the visiting delegation, make clear that this implied, yet real, pressure for a German specific word of repentance, tailored by Germans for Germans, left the German churchman little choice. This is understandable if one puts oneself in their place. The Germans were only eleven (one of the twelve named at Treysa was absent). There was a provisional council, as was the PWCC. Stateless, since there was no German government, they had no civil rights. The PWCC laid on them the burden of either formulating and signing the preconceived “short and snappy” statement of mandatory penance for Hitler, or of bearing the responsibility for additional unnecessary suffering brought about by the unwillingness of congregations in North America to give to the unrepentant Germans. It was late in October. Winter approached as millions of Germans were being uprooted from their ancestral homes in the east, and were flocking into Germany’s countryside and bombed-out cities, some of them as much as ninety per cent destroyed. Incidents of German women—girls, mothers and grandmothers—raped to death in the East were commonplace.

Such was the pressure behind the Declaration. It was tantamount to persuasion by force. Even had this not been so, what right did eight lonely delegates have to declare Germans guilty simply for being Germans?

Dibelius wrote that he had personally drafted the Declaration. Here again there are grounds for question, for Niemöller was present when he did so, and Niemöller corrected Dibelius at times. Dibelius speaks of the "Niemöller text."

To end all speculation on this matter one need only look at the words of Dibelius, who was from Berlin and had seen firsthand the "accumulated" suffering in the East. In Dibelius' words, "It was not easy, after experiencing the terrible things we have witnessed in the East, not to say a word about them and *confine ourselves to the guilt of the Germans*." [Emphasis added].⁴⁸ Clearly the juxtaposition of "it was not easy" and "confine ourselves [note the plural] to the guilt of the Germans" unlocks the inner convictions. This was a clerical euphemism for saying it was forced!

The autobiography of Hans Lilje reveals the same perspective. That this was at the time deliberately concealed from at least one delegate, Bishop Bell, is shown by his biography, because there we find that the document "did not reach its final form without some heart-searching, as Dr. Dibelius subsequently [emphasis added] revealed in his autobiography." There are strong indications that Bishop Bell was left in the dark regarding the "hidden" pressure behind the Declaration, for how else can one interpret his absence at the pre-Stuttgart meeting of the PWCC delegation on October 15 in Baden-Baden, Germany? How else should one interpret his words to the effect that, at one point in one of the meetings in Stuttgart, "... Niemöller handed around copies of a typewritten document which became famous as the Stuttgart Declaration of October 1945"?⁴⁹ Clearly this surprised him. If so, then one can even say that Visser 't Hooft and his allies took advantage of the gullibility of an Anglican bishop. This should hardly surprise us, since Visser 't Hooft went so far as to say bluntly that the bishop of Hannover, Marahrens, had to "disappear."

By its willingness to threaten implicitly a continuation of the wartime food blockade, the PWCC, and its guiding lights Barth and Visser 't Hooft, perpetrated an organizational and theological imperialism, displaying an un-Christian holy-war mentality. Through the coup at Stuttgart, theological giants such as Althaus, Hirsch, and Elert were suddenly relegated to the backwaters of German Protestant theology, the mainstream of which was now a vehicle for a preconceived, ahistorical condemnation.

A Christian is entitled to wonder as well why the PWCC administered no absolution. After all, if there existed a specific

German guilt, logically, once the German “confession” had been accepted, there should have followed a specific German absolution. In the Church, there is no other purpose for confession than to gain absolution.

The engineers of the Stuttgart Declaration of German Guilt had taken it upon themselves to be the judges of the entire German people, and had avidly accepted the Declaration of German Guilt. Perhaps, in their failure to grant a collective absolution, they sensed, in their heart of hearts, the absence at Stuttgart of the One they had proclaimed at Barmen to be the sole Head of the Church, Jesus Christ.

VI: Additional Reflections

Who can deny that tying material aid to spiritual aims is contrary to Christianity and that which churchmen represent? In Christianity one is commanded to “feed one’s enemies.” Even then, after May 1945 the German people were former enemies. Accordingly, such organizations as the Red Cross, and not the Provisional World Council of Churches (PWCC), with its willingness to cooperate unilaterally with Allied political and military policy, had kept this Christian command. Had the Stuttgart affair been really a Christian endeavor, then the PWCC would have avoided any semblance of combining material aid with spiritual fellowship. Even their thinking, in terms of restoration or reconciliation, was not Christian, for Christians always hold the “fellowship of all believers” in the universal confession known as the Apostle’s Creed cannot be broken by political and other secular events.

It is unlikely that a Lutheran such as the Swede Folke Bernadotte would have tolerated any connection of material aid to public repentance. For what else could he have meant when he wrote, just before his tragic murder in Jerusalem in 1948, in his *Instead of Arms*, “Judge not lest ye be judged.” Bernadotte claimed he could think of no more beautiful words in the Bible than these, which are on the opening page of his book.⁵⁰

Later writers, both ecclesiastical and secular, would claim that the Declaration of Stuttgart had been misunderstood, that it was only a religious declaration. But it is clear that what Barth, Visser ‘t Hooft, the PWCC, and the victorious Allies desired from Stuttgart were headlines in the religious and secular press declaring that German churchmen had “repented.” These would bolster the Allied propaganda that the Second World War had indeed been a “holy war.” Furthermore, a German proclamation of guilt supplied justification for Allied policies: for the withholding from the Germans of the rights proclaimed in the “Atlantic Charter,” for the unconditional surrender, for the harsh provisions of the

Morgenthau Plan, for the denazification tribunals, for the continued imprisonment of millions of German "prisoners of war," for the expulsions, for the Nuremberg trials, and all the other punitive measures of the victors.

The eleven signatures on the Declaration of Stuttgart would serve the PWCC in its plans for dominating the German Protestants. The eleven names would show the Germans who, in the PWCC's terms, were the preferred "fellows" in the "fellowship of believers." Here were modern, up-to-date disciples, the Bonifaces to re-Christianize a Hitlerized, paganized Germany, here were the true churchmen who had not bent their knees to the latterday Baal! For Lutherans, the Barmen Confession of 1934 was now, through the mandate of Barth, Visser 't Hooft, and Niemöller, the guide by which the traditional Lutheran confessional writings were to be interpreted.

The ecclesiasticism manifested at Stuttgart transformed the German Protestant Church from an indivisible, invisible (in the sense that spiritually it defies a clear-cut, organizational identity) object of faith into a church clearly visible to humans. As one observer put it, "the marks of the church are no longer faithfulness to the Word and Sacraments, but now include opposition to National Socialism as practiced by Hitler, especially that associated with his programs toward the Jews."⁵¹ While alive, Hitler had awesome power, but now the dead Hitler could even determine who belonged to the Christian Church. Pontius Pilate has been eternalized in the Apostle's Creed, while the Austrian Hitler, the "modern Pharaoh" had been eternalized, by implication, in the Barmen Confession of 1934, now obligatory for ordination in some German churches.⁵²

The medieval Englishmen Wycliffe spoke of the "poor church" as the genuine Christian Church. Strikingly, the new German Evangelists after World War II have hardly walked in poverty. The new Gospel brought with it high administrative positions in the German Protestant churches, the Lutheran World Federation, and the World Council of Churches, with good salaries and pensions paid for by church taxation in West Germany. All this has kept these churchmen theocratically independent from the wishes of the German people in the *Volkskirche*. For the heirs to the signers of the Declaration of Stuttgart, there are good and profitable reasons for the continued acceptance of what President Reagan said was "imposed" and "unnecessary" German guilt. Mindful of this, German Protestant church leaders renew the Stuttgart Declaration through ceaseless commemorations and anniversaries.

President Reagan called the German guilt "unnecessary." If a collective German guilt is unnecessary today, then it was unnecessary in 1945, a year in which Germany was battered to its knees and then dismembered by an overwhelming coalition of forces which included the world's mightiest and most oppressive empires.

Forgotten by the victors, and those Germans who rejoice in self-flagellation, is the fact that under Hitler, Germany was attempting chiefly to free itself from the shackles of the onerous peace of Versailles, another imposition brought about through a hunger blockade, and to combat the twin evils of economic depression and Communist chaos.

The West German Revisionist historian Helmut Diwald rightfully termed the Stuttgart Declaration of Guilt "most demeaning."⁵³ Its ramifications for Revisionists have been and still are of considerable importance. The Stuttgart Declaration and other such pronouncements have served to create an uncritical religious and academic climate, thereby rendering inaccessible the most important source of reconciliation, the relativizing and humanizing perspective of impartial historical study.

Fortunately, the endeavors of the world-wide Revisionist movement, characterized by sound research and an unbiased outlook, are redressing the wrongs of the postwar era. Let the Revisionists' work serve as a touchstone to Establishment historians, both ecclesiastical and secular. The Revisionists, through their writings, are working hard to restore a real sense of fellowship, one dependent neither on false accusations nor on imposed guilt, a fellowship in which Christians and non-Christians alike can be joined by a concern for justice and for truth.

Notes

1. "... they have a feeling and a guilt feeling that's been imposed upon them. And I just think it's unnecessary." The president's words, spoken at a press conference on March 21, 1985, are quoted in *Bitburg and Beyond*, edited by Ilya Levkov (Shapolsky, New York, 1987).
2. Walter Bodenstein, *Is Only the Loser Guilty?*, translation of *Ist Nur der Besiegte Schuldig?*, Herbig, 1983. The English was printed in the *Christian News*, New Haven, MO, in four parts in September 1985. The English is an authorized translation, based on additional discussions with Dr. Bodenstein, who reads English. Thus, the English is not exactly as the German.
3. In 1937 Niemöller was arrested and imprisoned for eight months at Moabit Prison in Berlin. The following year he was tried and found guilty of subversive acts against the state, and was fined two thousand marks and sentenced to seven months fortress arrest. Following his release he was rearrested and spent the years 1939 to 1945 at Sachsenhausen and Dachau. Shortly after his liberation from Dachau, he caused some consternation when he said, during an interview in Naples on June 5, 1945: "I was not ill-treated. I saw isolated acts of brutality, but I took them to be isolated." [Editor's note.]
4. *The Lutheran Encyclopedia*, edited by J.B. Bodensieck, Augsburg, 1965, p. 2019.

5. David Irving, *The Destruction of Dresden*, Viking, 1978.
6. Ronald C.D. Jasper, *George Bell: Bishop of Chichester*, Oxford Univ. Press, 1967, p. 266.
Compare also Jan-Albert Goris, *Belgium in Bondage*, L.B. Fischer, 1943, p. 217: "The Belgian government [in exile in London] has been trying for more than three years to obtain the organization of the Allies to send at least milk and vitamins to Belgium, without success. Only some medical supplies were sent." That medical supplies were actually sent shows that sending them was possible.
7. The *Congressional Record* account is reproduced in my article in the *Christian News*, New Haven, MO, entitled "FDR Tragically Spurned His Humanitarian Impulse," in the April 20, 1987 issue.
8. Friedrich Baumgärtel, *Wider die Kirchenkampfflegenden* [Against Legends of the Church Struggle of the Hitler period], Freimund Verlag, Neuendettelsau, West Germany. Baumgärtel was a professor in 1933. This booklet should be made available to English readers. On p. 3 he writes: "It is exactly the year 1933 which is washed away by many, who did not conscientiously experience it . . . it is described as though there were clear-cut issues, which there simply weren't."
9. Bodenstein, *Is Only the Loser Guilty?*
10. The expression "after a virtual two year civil war" is from the college textbook, *New Governments in Europe*, Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1935, p. 155.
11. Stewart Herman, Jr., *The Rebirth of the German Church*, with an introduction by Martin Niemöller, S.C.M. Press, London, 1946.
12. Paul Althaus, *Die Christliche Wahrheit* [The Christian Truth], C. Bertelsman, Gütersloh, 1952, p. 227-8.
13. Althaus, *Die Christliche Wahrheit*, p. 60.
14. Regarding his arrest in 1937, Niemöller admitted to an American chaplain in 1945, "My underground activities were discovered and I was arrested and sent to the concentration camp." *Lutheran Standard*, Wartburg Press, Sept. 26, 1946.
15. Compare Diether Goetz Lichdi, *Mennoniten im Dritten Reich* [Mennonites in the Third Reich], Mennonitischer Geschichtsverein, 1977 (p. 85), in which it is claimed that between 1937-45, 18 Protestant pastors became martyrs. This includes Dietrich Bonhöffer, who actually plotted against the government, something Niemöller claimed he would not have done personally, although he respected Bonhöffer for his actions. Compare Dietmar Schmidt, *Martin Niemöller*, Doubleday, 1959, p. 176.

Lichdi (p. 85) claimed that after 1935, the regime lost interest in the German Protestant Church and strangled it through financial and administrative means. This seems contradictory. How can one claim the government lost interest and then speak of strangulation? In general, I agree with the Scot A.P. Laurie, *The Case for Germany*, Intern. Verlag, Berlin, 1939 (p. 110): "The Government has not the remotest desire or intention to interfere with the religious teaching and faith of the Church." Without mentioning Niemöller, he wrote: "A

section [of the Church] refuses to administer the simple regulations of the government and attacks it violently from the pulpit and obtains much satisfaction from a quite unnecessary martyrdom when fined or sent to a concentration camp."

David Irving in his *Warpath*, Viking Press, 1978 (pp. 220-1), gives Hitler's assessment. Hitler said to Himmler in January 1939, "... that the pastor's [Niemöller's] whole opposition now emanated only from his not getting the promotion that he had hoped for after the Nazis came to power. After that he began agitating against the state."

Compare Philip Gibbs, *Across the Frontier*, Doubleday, 1938 (p. 194). Gibbs says that in 1938 there were 12 Protestant pastors still in prison and not one priest, although he does claim that at one time there were hundreds. Gibbs does not give the source for this information.

On page 209, Gibbs writes: "Let us at least keep our sense of proportion in judgements. The very people who are stirred to passionate anger because a few Protestant pastors are arrested and imprisoned in Germany utterly ignore the wholesale murders of priests and the anti-God campaign in Russia. Their hearts bleed with compassion for Pastor Niemöller, but are curiously unmoved by the slaughter of thousands of priests in Spain and the outrages against nuns. They are shocked at the treatment of Jews in Germany but they are coldly indifferent to the death and starvation of more than two million peasants in the Ukraine because they dared to resist the orders of Stalin and his officers. Is there not here in this continued nagging at Germany by the Left Wing critics a ghastly hypocrisy because they turn a blind eye to the outrageous crimes committed by those with whom they are in political sympathy?"

16. Herman, *The Rebirth of the New German Church*, pp. 20, 32; Gibbs, *Across the Border*, p. 199.
17. *Die Lutherischen Kirchen und die Bekenntnissynode von Barmen*, [The Lutheran Churches and the Confessional Synod of Barmen], Vandenhöck and Ruprecht, 1984. This book is a collection of papers presented at a conference commemorating Barmen 1934, and is dedicated to Martin Niemöller. See especially pp. 98 ff.
18. Compare *Daily Press*, London, March 24, 1933, with its front page headlines, "Judea Declares War on Germany," and subtitles, "Boycott of German Goods," and "Mass Demonstrations."

Compare also: Stephen Wise, *Challenging Years: The Autobiography of Stephen Wise*, C.P. Putnam, 1949 (p. 246): "On March 27 [1933] the American Jewish Congress mobilized the first broad resistance movement to Hitlerism at a mass meeting held in Madison Square Garden, New York." The German boycott, in fact, defused a very dangerous potential of a national pogrom in Germany, which, as the rabbi pointed out, never materialized. Hitler's orders were that any form of violence against a Jew would mean an automatic removal from the National Socialist party. The main purpose of the German boycott was to mark Jewish stores, in order to make Germans aware of the extent of Jewish holdings.
19. Armin Boyens, *Kirchenkampf und Oekumene* [Church Struggle and Oecumene], 1939-45, Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1973, p. 188. Compare also

W.W. Van Kirk, *Religion and the World of Tomorrow*, Willet Clark & Co. 1941 (p. 140): "American Christians are divided with respect to the war. On one thing they, however, are agreed. This is not a 'holy war.' This is not a war in which the wrong is all on one side and all the right on the other side."

The relationship between crusaders and criminals is brought out in a famous statement of R.H. Tawney: "Either war is a crusade, or it is a crime. There is no halfway house." This seems to explain the determination of some Americans to stage dramatic postwar "war crimes" trials. The words "war crimes" already puts this on the crusading wavelength.

20. *Lutheran Partners* (official Lutheran Church magazine), "A Forgotten Anniversary: Stuttgart," May/June, 1985 issue, Philadelphia. Article by Stewart W. Herman, Jr.
21. Boyens, *Kirchenkampf und Oekumene*, p. 263. This transition to a national accumulation of guilt is revealing. When the crusading spirit predominates, then all the enemy has done is tagged as criminal.
22. Jasper, *George Bell*, p. 300.
23. Boyens, *Kirchenkampf und Oekumene*, p. 20. The tenor at Treysa is dramatically revealed in a speech made by Niemöller, found in Baumgärtel's *Wider die Kirchenkampfflegenden*, p. 43. "We have rid ourselves of quite a few (*viele*) of the church leaders, who are not suitable to be leaders of the Church . . . If we were to retain them, we would thereby make the Church from the beginning once again unworthy of belief and bring about a new guilt." This is from a Niemöller who on October 13, 1933, in the name of 2,500 pastors, sent a telegram to Hitler, pledging faithfully to follow him (*Gefolgschaft*) and promising him intercessory prayers. On p. 4, Baumgärtel writes about Niemöller's volunteering in 1939 for the German armed forces (some even claim the SS). Bodenstein, in writing about some of this, remarks: "What a short memory Niemöller had."
24. Boyens, *Kirchenkampf und Oekumene*, p. 269. At Treysa some termed Niemöller "the dictator."
25. Boyens, *Kirchenkampf und Oekumene*, pp. 20 ff.
26. Boyens, *Kirchenkampf und Oekumene*, pp. 275 ff.
27. W.W. Van Kirk, *A Christian Global Strategy*, Willet, Clark & Co., 1945, p. 133. Compare his *Religion and the World Today*, 1941. Van Kirk wrote: "Who killed the German democracy? Not Hitler. Not Göring. Not Goebbels. Not Himmler. Not the Nazi Party. The statesmen and the people of the victor's powers killed the German democracy, and their guilt will be recorded in the histories of those terrible years" (p. 166). "Along with other nations the U.S. must accept the full responsibility for Hitler" (p. 116). "Certain it is that the Germans were never forgiven in 1918."

Generally speaking, most Germans would be amazed at the exonerating material found in publications of this period. The difference was that these people had experienced the post World War I period.

28. Jasper, *George Bell*, p. 292.

29. *The Lutheran Standard*, Oct. 13, 1945, p. 12.
30. Richard W. Solberg, *As Between Brothers*, Augsburg, 1957.
31. *The Lutheran Standard*, August 25, 1945.
32. Bodenstein, *Is Only the Victor Guilty?* [Hooft and Barth were active in lending their prestige to and disseminating the fabrications of Rudolf Vrba and Alfred Wetzler, among others, regarding gassing of Jews at Auschwitz. According to Rudolph L. Braham: "The credence of the material (the so-called "Auschwitz Protocols"—ed.) was enhanced through its distribution under a cover later dated July 4, 1944, over the signatures of Professor D. Karl Barth of Basel, Professor D. Emil Brunner of Zurich, Dr. W.A. Visser 't Hooft of Geneva, and Pastor Vogt of Zurich." (*The Holocaust as Historical Experience*, edited by Yehuda Bauer and Nathan Rotenstreich, Holmes and Meier, New York, 1981, p. 120)—Editor's note]
33. Schmidt, Martin Niemöller, p. 144.
34. David Irving's *Der Morgenthau Plan*, 1944/45, Facsimile-Verlag Wieland Soyka, Bremen, 1986, is a valuable historical contribution, which includes many copies of official documents in English. On p. 271, Morgenthau writes: "The German people must bear the consequences of their acts."
35. Fritz Wartenweil, Max Huber, Rotapfel Verlag, Zurich, 1953, pp. 242 ff. See also Marcel Junod, *Warriors Without Weapons*, MacMillan, 1951, p. 1.
36. International Committee of the Red Cross, *The Work of the ICRC for Civilian Detainees in the German Concentration Camps (1939-1945)*, Geneva, 1975, p. 24.
37. Solberg, *As Between Brothers*, p. 57.
38. Sumner Welles, *Where Are We Heading?*, Harper, 1946, p. 85.
39. *The Lutheran Standard*, August 4, 1945, p. 15.
40. Adolf Keller, *Christian Europe Today*, Harper, p. 192.
41. Boyens, *Kirchenkampf und Oekumene*, p. 236; *The Lutheran Standard*, Oct. 13, 1945.
42. *The Lutheran Standard*, August 25, 1945.
43. Schmidt, Martin Niemöller, p. 37.
44. *The Lutheran Standard*, Sept. 15, 1945.
45. Bodenstein, *Is Only the Loser Guilty?*
46. Besides Bodenstein, Baumgärtel also mentions this café meeting in a footnote to *Wider die Kirchenkampfflegenden* (page 75). He also mentions that it seems Asmussen mentioned such a German statement before the end of the war, supposedly in a letter to the ecumenical leaders. This does not contradict the thesis that the declaration was imposed, since an important element in this is the threat to use material aid as the persuader. Asmussen could only make a confession for himself and not for others. If the ecumenical leaders responded to his letter, they had a Christian obligation to point out that the blame is shared and not unilateral. Later Asmussen tried to defend the indefensible by speaking of the Protestant priesthood making the confession for the people, a theological monstrosity.

47. Bodenstein, *Is Only the Loser Guilty?*
48. Jasper, *George Bell*, p. 295.
49. Jasper, *George Bell*, p. 294.
50. Folke Bernadotte, *Instead of Arms*, Hodder and Stroughton, 1949, p. 1.
51. In this connection there is a remarkable claim made by A.P. Laurie, *The Case for Germany* (p. 110): "The hatred of the Jews on the continent is not confined to Germany. The anti-Jewish pogroms that have taken place in Poland were so dreadful that the Polish government did not allow any news of them to leave the country, and there can be no doubt that Hitler, by bringing the whole matter under law and regulation, saved the Jews from massacre."
52. The term "modern Pharoah" is found in Gibbs, *Across the Frontier*.
53. Quoted in Bodenstein, *Is Only the Victor Guilty?*

An Update on the Dead Sea Scrolls

MARTIN A. LARSON

(Paper Presented to the Eighth International Revisionist Conference)

I was reared in a highly fundamentalist religious denomination; and although I had various early doubts concerning its dogmas and practices and rejected them when I was about twenty years old, I never lost an intense interest in religion as a social phenomenon or in its influence upon mankind. I remember one philosopher who said that men create their gods in their own image; and certain it is that human beings in almost all times have believed in a great variety of supernatural beings; and one scholar declared that the greatest miracle of all is the capacity of mankind to believe in things for which there is no actual evidence.

When I was doing my research for the Ph.D. degree at the University of Michigan, I became engrossed in Milton, especially his religious concepts; and I discovered that he was far from orthodox in these as well as in his political convictions. In fact, I found that he had embraced various heresies for which, under Puritan law, he could have been sent to prison or even executed. And this was especially true because he rejected the doctrine of the Trinity, which is a central dogma in both the Catholic Church and in the Protestant Reformation.

This set me off on a search for the sources of his beliefs; and I found that Michael Servetus, burned at the stake by Calvin in 1553, may have been the heretic who inspired Milton to reject this basic dogma.

However, when I was no longer a teacher but had to make my living in the business world, I had no time for research; and had to put this off until 1950, when I had both leisure and financial independence; then I plunged into new research in the religious area.

I soon conceived an intense interest in the Dead Sea Scrolls, which

had been found in 1947; and together with this, I sought to discover the ultimate as well as the immediate sources of the Christian gospel, as set forth in the New Testament. I therefore began research which involved the reading and examination of hundreds of esoteric volumes and the editing of a large book, entitled *The Religion of the Occident*, published in 1959, which has since been reprinted at least five times and is now entitled *The Story of Christian Origins*.

As my interest in the Dead Sea Scrolls intensified, I prepared another volume dealing largely with this subject and entitled *The Essene-Christian Faith*.

A few years ago, I gave a talk at IHR's Third International Revisionist Historical Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls, in which I emphasized two points:

1. that there is a definite relationship between the Essene cult and the teachings found in the New Testament gospels, especially that of Luke; and
2. that both the Jewish authorities and the present Christian denominations seem determined to negate and deny any such relationship, and if possible, to prevent the publication of the Scrolls.

In 1947, two Bedouins stumbled into a cave near the Dead Sea and found there several scrolls, which were sold to some people in New York and published without delay. These furnished very strong evidence to support the belief that Jesus may himself have been an Essene before he appeared at the Jordan to be baptized by John, and that the New Testament Gospels contain many ideas and teachings very similar to those of the Essenes. After this first discovery, several well-financed expeditions were sent into the area to explore any other caves that might be found; several caves were discovered, containing rich treasures of Essene material; and Millar Burrows, the leading scholar in the field, stated that original Essene scriptures sufficient to fill two large volumes had been recovered.

It is indeed interesting to note that more than a hundred years before the discovery of the Scrolls, a famous English author, Thomas De Quincey, had written a long essay called "The Essenes," in which he maintained that there never had been such a separate community, but that the people described by Josephus, Philo Judaeus, and Pliny were simply Christians gone underground as a result of persecution. Even on the basis of the slight evidence available in 1830, this renowned scholar arrived at this momentous conclusion.

I wish to point out the fact that having any scrolls at all was simply an accident of history. The Bedouins who happened upon them had no interest in them except to obtain some money; and those who bought them had the same objective. As a result, these first Scrolls saw the light without any delay whatever.

Then, however, a completely different process began. The expeditions undertaken by religious groups, which recovered much additional treasure, placed this material in a Jordanian museum in Jerusalem. There it remained until 1967, when the Jewish government seized the area, the museum, and the Scrolls in the war which occurred that year. Since then, virtually no one has been permitted access to any Essene material, although the Isaiah Scroll, found in one of the caves, has long been on public display.

We should note that even while the museum was under Jordanian control, strict secrecy was maintained. I know that, for when I wrote the curator asking permission to photograph certain pieces of parchment from the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, the reply was that should I journey there *I would not be allowed even to look at them!*

Nearly forty years have now elapsed since great quantities of original Essene material were found, much of which would undoubtedly have a definite bearing on the origins of Christianity. Many years ago, eight scholars were appointed to study, collate, arrange, publish, and translate the Scrolls. However, all of them, except one, had religious commitments or obligations; only John Marco Allegro was free of such limitations; he was assigned the difficult task of unraveling the Copper Treasure Scroll, which he did promptly and expertly; he also translated and published a few fragments from the Scrolls which are most interesting. The others, of whom four were Roman Catholics and three Protestants, simply malingered on the job; and to this day, while the Scrolls may be disintegrating with age and exposure, virtually nothing of the task imposed upon these men has been accomplished.

I consider this failure perhaps the greatest and most contemptible cover-up that has ever occurred in the religious field. And we should note that while those in control see to it that the Scrolls are not published, they deny vehemently that there is any attempt to delay or prevent their publication.

At this point, I want to say a few words about the importance of religion. In my experience, I found that bigots in this area are more intolerant of others and more certain that they and they alone possess the truth—even though they actually know nothing—than is the case in any other realm of belief. There is nothing which creates more antagonism than an opinion or a fact which is at variance with their persuasions. For this reason, I try to avoid religious controversy. I usually withhold my personal opinions or beliefs and try to limit any discussion, if any, to unquestionable facts—such as those pertaining to the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Since it is a fact that one of the greatest cover-ups in history relates to the suppression of these documents, it is certainly pertinent to ask why this has occurred. What powerful interests wish to suppress

their contents? As far as I am concerned, the answer is not far to seek; both the Israelis and the Christian denominations wish to ignore the content of the Scrolls and see them into oblivion for reasons which seem obvious enough to me.

And we should note that religion is perhaps the most powerful influence that exists on earth. Although there are several major faiths and although Christianity itself is divided into hundreds of sects and denominations, one of them alone, the Roman Catholic Church, is considered by some scholars as powerful an economic and political force in the Western world as either the United States or the Soviet Union. Although all Christian divisions agree on certain matters, they differ sharply on various others.

Why, then, do Christian organizations desire the oblivion of the Scrolls? The reason is that they have always held that their creed was a single, unique, miraculous, and supreme revelation without predecessor or outside contributor. But the fact is that nothing could be further from the truth; Christianity is a composite of doctrines, teachings, and ideologies which have forerunners in previous religions, with a proximate source in the Essene cult. If these facts were widely known, the authority of the Church or the churches would be drastically reduced. For this reason the reigning churches are determined to show that there is little or no similarity between Essenism and original Christianity. Or they prefer simply to ignore the whole thing as if it did not exist. It would be virtually impossible to do this if all the Scrolls were published.

We know also from the Scrolls as well as from many passages in the New Testament that both the Essenes and Jesus were bitterly opposed to the Jewish authorities, especially the religious. There can be little doubt that the Scrolls now crumbling into dust include many passages in which the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Scribes are excoriated in the most bitter terms and that the tyranny exercised by them over the dissident Essenes is described in full detail. We know that about 104 B.C. the Essenes became a secret cult, went underground as it were, and forbade its members to discuss any of its beliefs with outsiders. We know also that about 70 B.C. the Teacher of Righteousness, the Essene leader, appeared in the temple in Jerusalem, where he denounced the authorities, and that, as a result, he was executed, probably by crucifixion; and that his followers thereafter declared that he had risen from the grave on the third day, ascended to heaven, and would send a great messiah before the end of the generation to conduct the Last Judgement and inaugurate the Kingdom of the Saints on earth.

In addition, I think we would be correct in concluding or assuming that the Jews prefer not to believe that Christianity sprang from an obscure and secret cult existing practically underground among their own people.

I can assure you that I am not the only one who believes that there is a general conspiracy to conceal the content of the remaining Scrolls and, if possible, to hasten their destruction. One of these is the same John Allegro, mentioned earlier, who lost his position as a professor in an English university because of what he said, and who was denied all future access to the Scrolls after he declared that a predecessor of Jesus may also have been crucified about a century before. In an article entitled "The Scandal of the Unpublished Scrolls," published on May 18, 1987, in *The Daily Telegraph* of London, England, he states that the Scrolls:

Pose questions too hot for the scholars' liking. He considers the delays in publication pathetic and inexcusable . . . for years, his colleagues have been sitting on the material, which is not only of outstanding importance, but also quite the most religiously sensitive.

Mr. Allegro has no doubt that the evidence from the Scrolls undermines the uniqueness of Christianity as a sect. "In fact," he declares, "we know all about the origins of Christianity"; however,

. . . these documents lift the curtain. But the members of the international team are all ecclesiastically connected in some way and I think they are quite glad to sit on the stuff . . . that has been the trouble with the Scrolls; they impinge so much on Judaism and on Christianity . . . they became a political football when the Israelis marched in and seized Jerusalem from the Jordanians in the War of 1967.

"They are," he continues,

. . . now in Israeli custody and are still, so far as I am aware, locked up in cabinets in the basements of the museum in Jerusalem, where one bomb could destroy them at any time.

Some thirty years ago, it was made clear that all the members of the team appointed to work on the Scrolls would soon make the documents assigned to them available for publication in learned journals and by the Oxford University Press; however, Allegro was the only member of the team who fulfilled this duty.

The only solution for the problem, he declares, "is the formation at once of an international, interdenominational and ecumenical committee to complete the study and decide how best to make the contents of the Scrolls available to the public." He might, I think, have added that such a committee should consist largely of dedicated scholars who are without specific commitments or obligations to religious organizations.

Will this happen? I very much doubt it. I am afraid that the cover-up will continue until the Scrolls have withered into dust—forever lost. The seekers for truth will probably have to be satisfied with what we already have; but even that, I assure you, is ample to establish the fact that there is a close relationship between the Essene cult and original Christianity.

Reviews

SHOAH. Directed by Claude Lanzmann. Produced by Les Films Aleph, Historia Films with the French Ministry of Culture. Cinematographers: Dominique Chapuls, Jimmy Glasberg, William Lubchansky. Editors: Ziva Postec, Anna Ruiz. Running time: Part I, 4 hours, 33 minutes. Part II, 4 hours, 50 minutes.

Reviewed by Robert Faurisson

Shoah is a Hebrew word which means catastrophe. It has become a synonym for extermination, or genocide, or Holocaust. It serves as the title of a seemingly endless film by Claude Lanzmann. Marek Edelman, a leader of the 1943 Warsaw Ghetto uprising, described the film as "boring," "not very interesting," and "a failure" (*Le Monde*, November 2, 1985, p. 3). In spite of a general mobilization by the media on its behalf, the French, "including the French Jewish community as a whole," haven't cared very much for this imposition. In desperation, the secretary general for the French Judaism Foundation Prize, which was awarded to Shoah, declared: "I will end with an exhortation, a plea. Go to see this film, ask those around you to go see it." (*Hamore*, June, 1986, p. 37). [French President] Francois Mitterrand and Pope John Paul II approved of the film, as have many other prominent world figures. But nothing has worked. For a long time the television networks resisted, but now they are giving in. The gigantic turkey will be shown. Length: almost nine and a half hours.

Lanzmann wants to convince us that there were homicidal gas chambers and that the Jews really were exterminated. But what this film shows above all is that there are neither proof nor witnesses and that, as the Revisionists demonstrate, those alleged gas chambers and the extermination story are one and the same myth. Anyway, were it a question of truth, the "Exterminationists" would be eager to prove it to us with a special broadcast showing documents on all the television networks one fine evening in prime time, and not with Shoah.

The truth is that Hitler treated the Jews as his declared enemies, that he wanted to drive them out of Europe, and that he put many of them in labor and concentration camps. Some of the camps had crematoria for burning bodies. None of them had a homicidal gas chamber. The existence of the alleged gas slaughterhouses is

impossible for physical, chemical, topographical, architectural, and documentary reasons. The fate of the Jews was atrocious, but not unusually so. Consider the fate of the German children killed or wounded by phosphorous bombs or of those slaughtered at the time of their "transfer" from East to West between 1945 and 1947!

No Order, No Plan, No Budget

Lanzmann knew very well the weakness of the Exterminationist thesis and the strength of Revisionist arguments. Supposedly, there was a gigantic extermination program for which no one can find any trace of an order, a plan or a budget! And the weapon allegedly used to carry out the crime has simply disappeared! Even *Le Nouvel-Observateur* (26 April 1983, p. 33) ended up repeating for the general public the acknowledgement by specialists: "There is no photograph of a gas chamber." This means that the "gas chambers" which are still shown to tourists at Struthof (Alsace), Mauthausen, Hartheim, Dachau, Majdanek and Auschwitz are really only phony mock-ups. Lanzmann participated in the famous colloquium held at the Sorbonne (29 June to 2 July 1982) at which its two organizers, Raymond Aron and François Furet, were suddenly confronted with that cruel truth. The awareness that he lacked any proof or documentation reportedly strengthened Lanzmann's determination to respond to the Revisionists with an emotional film and some montages of "testimonies."

Making a Film Out of Nothing

Lanzmann filmed railway tracks, stones and countrysides *ad nauseam*. He accompanies these striking images with a clumsily lyrical commentary and with camera movements intended to "evoke" deportations and gassings. He himself commented in his maudlin way: "As a result of our filming the stones at Treblinka from all angles, they have finally spoken" (*Libération*, 25 April 1985, p. 22). He asserted, without proof, that the Nazis erased the traces of their gigantic crime. He declares: "It was necessary to make this film from nothing, without archival documents, to invent everything." (*Le Matin de Paris*, 29 April 1985, p. 12). Or again: "It is therefore a case of making a film with traces of traces of traces . . . With nothing one comes back to nothing." (*L'Express*, 10 May 1985, p. 40). His loyal followers admire him most of all for that. "Not a single archival image," exclaims J.F. Held (*L'Événement du jeudi*, 2 May 1985, p. 80). "This film is a fantastic repetition" (*L'Autre Journal*, May 1985, p. 48); "The strength of this film is not in showing what took place—in fact it refrains from doing that—but in showing the possibility of what took place" (André Glucksmann, *Le Droit de vivre* [The Right to Live], February-March 1986, p. 21).

The director worked to make the filmgoer believe what he wanted

him to believe. Imaginations asked only to be put to work, and the result exceeded all expectations. Proud of his art of persuasion, Lanzmann told America's leading newspaper: "There was one man who wrote to me after seeing the film saying it was the first time he had heard the cry of an infant inside the gas chamber. It was perhaps because his imagination had been put to work." (*New York Times*, 20 October 1985, Sect. 2, p. H-1). In the main camp at Auschwitz, Lanzmann filmed the crematory where the tourists are shown, on the one hand, the crematory room and, on the other hand, an adjacent room called a gas chamber (in reality, a room for bodies awaiting cremation). But Lanzmann's camera remains in the first room; it does its pirouettes and its circlings so well that the sudden, ever-so-brief appearance of the so-called gas chamber, almost pitch dark, can only be noticed by a specialist. The unprepared viewer might believe that Lanzmann has clearly shown him a gas chamber. This is pure sleight of hand. Lanzmann can prove equally well that he did or did not show the "real" gas chamber. In a sense he did both.

Shoah begins with a lie of omission. In the list of those who made the film possible, especially financially, Lanzmann carefully avoids indicating his primary source of funding: the State of Israel. Menachem Begin himself began by arranging for \$850,000 for what he called a "project in the national Jewish interest." (*The Jewish Journal*, New York, 27 June 1986, p. 3, and the *Jewish Telegraph Agency*, June 20, 1986).

Lanzmann used physical and verbal tricks of all kinds to fool some of the people interviewed as well as the viewers of the film. In order to obtain German "witnesses," he invented a non-existent institute he called the "Centre de recherches et d'études pour l'histoire contemporaine." He also forged the letterhead of the "Académie de Paris" on his own stationery (Mrs. Ahrweiler, the Jewish chancellor of the Académie, is a friend of Lanzmann's). Lanzmann procured false identity papers, taking the name Claude-Marie Sorel and appropriating the title of "Doctor in History." He promised and he gave 3,000 deutschmarks to each of his German "witnesses," further assuring each before his interview that it would be sealed for thirty years ("Ce que je n'ai pas dit dans *Shoah*," *VSD*, interview by Jean-Pierre Chabrol, July 9, 1987, especially p. 11). Thus, these Germans "testified" for money.

Lanzmann's number one "witness" is barber Abraham Bomba. In a scene "crying out with truth" we see Bomba working in his shop, where he imitates on a customer's head the gestures that he supposedly used while cutting the hair of the victims "in the gas chamber at Treblinka." Here again there is a bit of trickery. Bomba had been a barber in New York; he moved to Israel to retire, and there Lanzmann rented a shop and orchestrated the entire scene in cooperation with Bomba (Jean-Charles Szurek, *L'Autre Groupe*, 10,

1986, p. 65; *Times* (London), 2 March 1986; *L'Autre Journal*, May 1985, p. 47).

A Barber Shop in the Gas Chamber

Let's deal in some detail with the "witnesses" in *Shoah*. We are not talking about witnesses in the legal sense of the term. None of the "witnesses" was verified and examined. No "witness" was cross-examined. No "testimony" seems to have been reproduced in its complete form, and Lanzmann presented only nine and a half hours of the 350 hours of film that he shot. The "testimonies" are, furthermore, systematically cut and are given only in fragments, on the basis of images carefully chosen to condition the viewer.

The testimony that is dearest to the promoters of *Shoah* is that of Abraham Bomba. Unfortunately, it teems with physical impossibilities and serious vagueness. Bomba wants us to believe that at Treblinka he worked in a room which was both a barber shop and a gas chamber! The room measured four meters by four meters. He said that narrow space contained 16 or 17 barbers and some benches; approximately 60 or 70 naked women entered along with an unknown number of children; it took about 8 minutes for that entire group to have its hair cut; no one left the room; then 70 or 80 more women entered, again with an unknown number of children; the hair cutting for that whole group lasted about 10 minutes. Therefore, those present by then numbered about 146 or 147 people, not counting the children, and other space was occupied by the benches—all this in a space of 16 square meters! This is all pure nonsense.

The barbers involved in this process worked non-stop. They sometimes left the room, but only for five minutes, which was just the amount of time needed to gas the victims, remove the bodies and clean up the room: everything "was clean" then. They do not tell us what gas was used or how it was introduced into the room. And how did they go about getting rid of the gas after the operation was completed? Lanzmann does not ask questions like that. The Germans would have needed a gas that acted with lightning speed, that would not stick to surfaces and would not remain on and in the bodies to be removed.

Bomba is a mythomaniac who was very likely inspired by page 212 of *Treblinka* by J.F. Steiner (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1967), a book denounced even by Pierre Vidal-Naquet as an incredible fabrication (*Les Juifs, la mémoire et le présent*, Maspero, 1981, p. 212), which was at least in part written by the novelist Gilles Perrault (*Le Journal du dimanche*, 30 March 1986, p. 5).

"Witness" Rudolf Vrba was an originator of the Auschwitz myth. He had been imprisoned at Birkenau in the best of conditions. (For example, he had a room of his own.) He recounted so much

nonsense about Auschwitz in April 1944 that at the Zündel trial in Toronto in January 1985 he suffered a humiliating experience. The prosecutor who had called for his testimony against a Revisionist suddenly refrained from questioning him any further, since it had become quite evident that Vrba was a shameless liar. He completely invented facts and figures. In particular, he said that he had personally counted 150,000 Jews from France who had been gassed during a period of 24 months at Birkenau. However, Serge Klarsfeld, the Nazi-hunter, has shown that during the entire war period the Germans deported no more than about 75,721 Jews from France to all of the camps. Asked to explain about an alleged visit by Himmler to Auschwitz for the inauguration of new "gas chambers," Vrba, whom his ghost writer, Alan Bestic, presented as taking "immense trouble over every detail" with a "meticulous, almost fanatical respect for accuracy" (*I Cannot Forgive*, by Rudolf Vrba and Alan Bestic, Bantam Books of Canada, 1964, p. 2), was obliged to confess that he had availed himself of what he called "poetic license."

A Witness Saved by Some Naked Young Women

"Witness" Filip Müller is much the same. He is the author of *Eyewitness Auschwitz: Three Years in the Gas Chambers* (New York: Stein and Day, 1979; the French edition has a preface by Claude Lanzmann). This sickening bestseller is the result of the work of a German ghostwriter, Helmut Freitag, who did not shrink from engaging in plagiarism. (See Carlo Mattogno, "Filip Müller's Plagiarism," reprinted in *Auschwitz: un caso di plagio*, Edizioni la Sfinge, Parma, 1986. Müller plagiarized from *Doctor at Auschwitz*, another bestseller, supposedly written by Miklos Nyiszli).

In the film Müller says that up to 3,000 people could be gassed at the same time in the large gas chamber at Birkenau, and that at the moment of the gassing "nearly everyone rushed toward the door" and, finally, that "where the Zyklon had been thrown in it was empty." He avoids saying that the room in question (which was, in fact, a *Leichenkeller* [corpse cellar]) was at most 210 square meters in size, which would have prevented any movement inside. He said that it took only three or four hours for the crowd of people to enter the disrobing room (with 3,000 coat hooks!?), undress, go into the gas chamber, be gassed there, be transported into the crematory room, and there be cremated and reduced to ashes. He does not reveal that there were only 15 ovens. If, let us suppose, it took one and a half hours to burn one corpse completely, it would have taken 12 days and 12 nights of uninterrupted operation to do what he described. And there were several groups of victims to be gassed and burned each and every day. In the film, Müller describes how victims sang the Czech national hymn and the Jewish hymn, the "Hatikva." He is inspired here by an "eyewitness account" according

to which the victims sang the *Polish* national hymn and the "Hatikva" until the two songs blended into . . . the "Internationale" (a narrative reprinted by Ber Mark, *Des voix dans la nuit* [Voices in the Night], preface by Elie Wiesel, Plon, 1982, p. 247).

In the book (p. 113-114) but not in the film, Müller recounts how, after deciding to die in the gas chamber, he was dissuaded by a group of naked young women who forcibly dragged and pushed him out so they could die all alone: he would serve as a witness. On pages 46-47 he describes how Nazi doctors

felt the thighs and calves of men and women who were still alive and selected what they called the best pieces before the victims were executed. After their execution . . . the doctors proceeded to cut pieces of still warm flesh from thighs and calves and threw them into waiting receptacles. The muscles of those who had been shot were still working and contracting, making the bucket jump about.

This is Filip Müller, Claude Lanzmann's great "witness."

Another "witness," Jan Karski, talks with emphasis about the Warsaw Ghetto, but doesn't say anything. It is unfortunate that Lanzmann did not let us hear about Karski's supposed experience at the camp at Belzec, after which Karski claimed that Jews were killed there in railway cars with quicklime. Raul Hilberg would later say that "I would not mention him in a footnote" ("Recording the Holocaust," *The Jerusalem Post International Edition*, June 28, 1986, p. 9).

"Witness" Raul Hilberg is much more interesting. Lanzmann has been criticized for devoting film time to this American professor, of Austrian-Jewish origin, who had no first-hand experience of the camps. Hilberg is the high priest of the Exterminationist view. He is the man who ended up by acknowledging that there was no order or plan or budget for the extermination of the Jews. He nevertheless believes desperately in such an extermination. His despair as an intellectual is particularly interesting. A careful viewer of the film can observe the extent to which Hilberg resorts to pure speculation to defend his theory. This is especially obvious when he talks about the German railways, which he says brought Jews from Warsaw to Treblinka in the most open and undisguised way. He recalls the precise hours of departure and arrival. And he concludes . . . that this is how the Jews were sent to the gas chambers of Treblinka. At no point does he prove to us that Treblinka had such gas chambers.

"Witness" Franz Suchomel is a former sergeant at Treblinka. As long as he talks about things other than the so-called homicidal gassings he is relatively precise. When he gets to the subject of gas chambers he becomes vague. He does not make clear their locations, their size, or how they operated. Sometimes he talks about the "gas chamber" and sometimes about the "gas chambers" without Lanzmann asking him to explain that ambiguity. He does not even

reveal what kind of gas it was. He talks about "motors." The legend which has been accepted is that there was a "Diesel engine" there (Gerstein). But a Diesel engine is not appropriate for asphyxiating people. He never talks about having been present at a gassing. He says that on the day of his arrival "just at the moment when we were passing by, they were in the process of opening the doors of the gas chamber . . . and the people fell out like sacks of potatoes." Therefore, at most he saw some bodies. Nothing would have justified him in claiming that the place was a gas chamber. He had just arrived. At best he was reporting a guess. Besides, everything that he says implies that in this camp there were some Jews, some bodies, perhaps one or more funeral pyres and, probably, some showers and some disinfection gas chambers. He shows a portion of a plan but only very vaguely. What is this plan? He talks authoritatively about gassings at Auschwitz, where he never set foot. He talks with equal authority about the gassings at Treblinka, but never as an eyewitness. He is like those self-taught persons who show off the results of their reading on a given subject, but are confounded by a simple, direct and precise question. But Lanzmann never asks Suchomel that kind of question.

Since the myth of the gas chambers is in danger, Exterminationists have a tendency to fall back on the story of the "gas vans." Claude Lanzmann often takes us for a ride on these too. It is perhaps on this subject that his "witnesses" are the most improbable and contradictory. In order to save the day for the Exterminationists, Lanzmann forces us to listen to the reading of a document (he, who did not want documents) about the "special Saurer vans." There is only one problem: he has seriously distorted the text, trying in particular to remove its most obvious absurdities. Specialists will find the complete document in *NS-Massentötungen durch Giftgas* [NS Mass Killings by Poison Gas], (S. Fischer, 1983), pp. 333-337.

Treblinka: Not Secret at All

The brave Polish peasants from the vicinity of Treblinka and the locomotive engineer all seem to have been especially dazzled by the wealth of the Jews who arrived on the trains. If they thought that the Germans were going to kill the Jews, they believed that it would be done mainly by strangling or hanging them. Not one peasant nor the mechanic actually witnessed homicidal gassings. Now such gassings on such a scale could hardly have escaped their attention. There was nothing secret about Treblinka, located only 100 kilometers from Warsaw. Richard Glazar, questioned by Lanzmann, does not say in the film what he confided to historian Gitta Sereny Honeyman: all the Poles between Warsaw and Treblinka must have known the area. They, and especially the peasants, went there to sell things to the Jews in the camp. Polish prostitutes catered to the

Ukrainian guards. Treblinka was a real "circus" for the peasants and the prostitutes. (*Into That Darkness*, London, Andre Deutsch, 1974, p. 193).

Lanzmann fears the Revisionists. He has said: "I often meet people who say *Shoah* is not objective because it does not show interviews with those who denied the Holocaust. But by trying to discuss that point, you will find yourself caught in a trap" (*Jewish Chronicle*, 6 February 1987, p. 8).

In fact, on those rare occasions when Revisionists have been able to draw Exterminationists into a discussion, the latter have not done well. But the general public understands less and less why Exterminationists refuse to discuss the issues on radio or television. If the Revisionists tell lies, why not refute them in public? Besides, are they telling lies? Wasn't it Serge Klarsfeld himself who recognized that no one has yet published "real proofs" of the existence of the gas chambers but only "beginnings of proofs" (VSD, 29 May 1986, p. 37)?

The last war with Germany ended on May 8, 1945. But some people apparently think that it is necessary to continue that war by continuing to spread the horrible inventions of war propaganda. They carry on the war by means of trials or through the media, which more and more increase their Holocaust drumbeating. It is time they stopped. They have already done too much. Peace and reconciliation demand a different kind of behavior. "Shoah business" is leading us all into a dead end. The younger generation of Jews has better things to do than to wrap themselves up in the absurd beliefs of the Holocaust religion. Their refusal to become interested in the film *Shoah* would be, if confirmed, a first sign of the younger generation's rejection of the official mythology, at least about the Second World War and its results.

SHOAH: AN ORAL HISTORY OF THE HOLOCAUST. THE COMPLETE TEXT OF THE FILM by Claude Lanzmann. Preface by Simone de Beauvoir. Translated by A. Whitelaw and W. Byron. New York: Pantheon Books, 1985, xii + 200 pp, hb, \$11.95, ISBN 0-394-55142-7.

Reviewed by Theodore J. O'Keefe

Since *Shoah* the movie rolled on for a seemingly interminable nine and a half hours, readers of *Shoah* the book may be pardoned for surprise on finding that this misbegotten offspring of the movie encompasses every word spoken, sneered, and sung in the original. There's a lot of white on these two hundred pages, too,

together with seventeen uncaptioned stills, which convey a fair idea of the visual insipidity of *Shoah*.

In his introduction, filmmaker Claude Lanzmann speaks of "this naked and bloodless text," which he claims "a strange force seems to have filled . . . through and through." Without speculating overmuch as to the nature of the strange force, a careful reader will quickly conclude that it wasn't concern for accuracy. The first line of the text proper (p. 3) places Chelmno on the Narew River rather than on the Ner, where it was actually located. This error is repeated throughout, even in the dialogue (p. 15) of alleged Chelmno "survivor" Simon Srebnik, who is supposed to have regularly paddled up the Ner to gather alfalfa for the SS rabbit hutch. The town of Chelm (German Cholm), near Sobibor, is identified as Chelmno (p. 39), a curious mistake in a book which views the fate of Polish Jewry as its central concern: the proverbial simpleness of the Jews of Chelm is a staple of Yiddish folklore.

Similarly, Kurt Gerstein's "Heckenholt," the alleged superintendent of gassing at Belzec, here puts in an appearance as "Hackenhold" (p. 62), while his commander, Odilo Globocnik, is referred to as "Globocznik," even when his name is in the mouth of the German state prosecutor at the Treblinka trial (p. 65). It almost goes without saying that Lanzmann follows many Exterminationist experts in referring to a non-existent *Aktion Reinhard* (p. 65), their name for the operation which bears its correct name, *Aktion Reinhardt*, in all but a couple of places in the documents relating to the operation translated in *The Trial of the Major War Criminals* (vol. 34, Doc. 4024-PS, pp. 58-92). The difficulty Lanzmann and such Exterminationist "scholars" as Lucy Dawidowicz, Yitzhak Arad, Martin Gilbert, et al. have in spelling *Aktion Reinhardt* is exceeded only by their inability to interpret correctly what the operation consisted of.

For the Polish town of Dabie, one finds the semi-phonetic, but otherwise unwarranted, spelling "Dombie" (p. 84). One hopes that Dr. Raul Hilberg didn't say "Bahnhöfe" for "Bahnhöfe" (p. 139), or "Mittel Europäisch Reisebüro" for "Mittleuropäisches Reisebüro" (p. 143). "Volhynia" (p. 80) is rendered "Wohnia," "Heydebreck" appears as "Heidebreck" (pp. 160, 164), and we read "Oberscharführer" for "Oberscharführer" (p. 147).

Minor lapses? Not in a translation of the "complete text" of a film that was years in the making and lavishly financed from a number of sources, including by American taxpayers, through their subsidization of Israel.

As Professor Faurisson has pointed out in regard to Lanzmann's use of the "gas-van" document, Lanzmann has not shrunk from textual falsification. Nor is that the only place where he

misrepresents a text. On page 83, we read: "Claude Lanzmann reads a letter in front of a building that was formerly the Grabow synagogue. On January 19, 1942, the rabbi of Grabow, Jacob Schulman, wrote the following letter to his friends in Lodz:

My very dear friends, I waited to write to confirm what I'd heard. Alas, to our great grief, we now know all. I spoke to an eyewitness who escaped. He told me everything. They're exterminated in Chelmno, near Dombie [sic], and they're all buried in the Rzusow forest. The Jews are killed in two ways: by shooting or gas. It's just happened to thousands of Lodz Jews. Do not think that this is being written by a madman. Alas, it is the tragic, horrible truth.

'Horror, horror! Man, shed thy clothes, cover thy head with ashes, run in the street and dance in thy madness.' I am so weary that my pen can no longer write. Creator of the universe, help us!

The Creator did not help the Jews of Grabow. With their rabbi, they all died in the gas vans at Chelmno a few weeks later. Chelmno is only twelve miles from Grabow" (p. 84).

There is in fact serious question as to the text of this purported letter, and whether it ever existed. Lucjan Dobroszycki, in *The Chronicle of the Łódź Ghetto 1941-1944* (Yale University Press), states: "Grabów's [sic] letter and the means by which it reached the ghetto have never been thoroughly investigated. Our knowledge of it comes not from contemporaneous sources but from three mutually contradictory post-war accounts" (p. xxi). Doroszycki goes on to supply a translation of "the full text of the letter" which is twice as long as Lanzmann's text and differs from the version in Shoah in several important particulars. Where Lanzmann has "... they're all buried in the Rzusow forest," Dobroszycki's text, translated from the official Polish *Dokumenty i materiały z czasów okupacji niemieckiej w Polsce*, vol. 1: *Obozy* [Documents and Materials from the Time of the German Occupation in Poland, vol. 1: The Camps] (Lodz, 1946), reads "people are kept in the nearby forest of Lochów" (Dobroszycki, p. xxi).

Where Lanzmann reads, "It's just happened to thousands of Lodz Jews," Dobroszycki's text is as follows: "Recently, thousands of gypsies have been brought there from the so-called Gypsy camp at Łódź and the same is done to them." Other variant texts of this alleged letter are to be found in Walter Laqueur's *The Terrible Secret* (Penguin Books, New York, 1982), Leon Poliakov's *Harvest of Hate* (Syracuse University Press, 1954), and Martin Gilbert's *The Holocaust* (Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1985).

Connoisseurs of Exterminationist absurdity will relish Raul Hilberg at his most absurd in Shoah, as when Hilberg informs readers that the orders relating to what he calls "death trains"—actually resettlement trains for Jews moving eastward—bore a very low classification, "Nur für den Dienstgebrauch" [For internal

use only] . The professor proceeds to unravel this anomaly by concluding “that had they labeled it secret, they would have invited a great many inquiries from people who got hold of it. They would then perhaps have raised more questions; they would have focused attention on the whole thing” (pp. 138-139). Those diabolical Nazis! (Here’s grist for a dissertation in Holocaust studies: *Edgar Allen Poe’s The Purloined Letter: A Neglected Literary Influence on Holocaust Planners?*)

Dr. Hilberg’s theory in this connection is even more interesting in the light of a recent study of *Aktion Reinhard* [sic] he contributed to a book entitled *Der Mord an den Juden im Zweiten Weltkrieg* [The Murder of the Jews in the Second World War] (edited by Eberhard Jäckel and Jürgen Rohwer, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, Stuttgart, 1985). There (p. 130) Hilberg informs us that there could be no budgetary title for the “death camps” of “Aktion Reinhard”—Belzec, Sobibor, and Treblinka—resulting in “materials for their construction and operation [having been] fragmentary and minimal” [reviewer’s translation], so that they would “remain financially unobtrusive.”

When the reader reminds himself that all this was going on at a time at which Allied propagandists were trumpeting news of the “Final Solution” to the entire world, he will better grasp what Arthur Butz means when he writes of “the remarkable cabbalistic mentality” of Hilberg and his fellow Exterminationists in the foreword to *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*. And he will perhaps be reminded of the words of the descendant of a long line of rabbis, Karl Marx, in another connection: “All that is not solid melts into air.”

REBEL PATRIOT: A BIOGRAPHY OF FRANZ VON PAPEN by Henry M. and Robin K. Adams. Santa Barbara, CA: McNally and Loftin, 1987, 513 pages, \$29.95, ISBN 0-87461-065-6.

Reviewed by Georg Franz-Willing

Translated by Russ Granata

Professor Henry M. Adams (University of California, Santa Barbara), born in 1907, first met Franz von Papen while a student in Berlin in 1931. Adams had befriended Franz von Papen’s son, who bears the same name as his father, during the previous years, when both were studying at Georgetown University in Washington, D.C.

In 1957 Adams contacted his friend from his university years once again, with the intent of writing a biography of his father, the former German chancellor. The elder von Papen agreed to cooperate, but pointed out that his private papers had been lost when his home at Wallerfangen (Saarland) was destroyed at the end of 1944. Adams had himself taken part in the fighting in Saarland as an American officer. He visited von Papen in 1958, and the two corresponded throughout the following decade, during which Adams was a frequent guest of Papen's.

Professor Adams is thoroughly conversant with modern German history. His *Prussian-American Relations 1775-1870* (Western Reserve University Press) appeared in 1960, and was later published in Germany by Holzner Verlag under the title *Die Beziehungen zwischen Preussen und den Vereinigten Staaten 1775-1870*. Four years later the same publisher released his *Recht in Dienste der Menschenwürde* [Law in the Service of Human Dignity]. Professor Adams contributed the chapter "World War II Revisionist" to the massive festschrift *Harry Elmer Barnes: Learned Crusader* (Ralph Miles, Publisher, Inc.), and has written numerous articles for historical journals.

With the active assistance of his wife, Robin Adams, Professor Adams has spent decades researching the extensive source material in both German and American archives, including the records of the postwar Nuremberg trials, the denazification hearings, and other proceedings. Adams also consulted Papen's personal notes and those of his wife, as well as his voluminous correspondence, for this biography. He has not neglected the published archives or the pertinent historiographical literature, while making good use of newspapers, in particular American ones, which are a valuable contemporary source for the period 1914-1917 and the years following the Second World War.

Adams' guiding principle as historian and biographer is the dictum of Leopold von Ranke: "to show how it really was." As Adams wrote in a letter to Papen at the beginning of his researches, an objective and plausible treatment of Papen the man would be impossible without sympathy and understanding. The entire generation which has elapsed between 1957 and the 1987 publication of this lengthy biography is an indication of the care and effort which Professor Adams and his wife have devoted to *Rebel Patriot*.

The long and eventful life (1879-1969) of Franz von Papen, whose personal destiny was closely linked by his political activity with that of the German nation and people, can be easily divided into the following periods: the Imperial era and the First World War, the Weimar Republic, the Third Reich and the Second World War, and the postwar decades.

Papen sprang from an old Westphalian family which had its estate at Werl. Opting for a military career, he became an officer of the General Staff before the First World War. In 1914 he began his political career as a military attaché in the United States and Mexico. His work in this capacity affords an informative insight into Britain's brutal policy of refusing to observe American neutrality, as well as into the animosity, first covert but increasingly undisguised, of the American government led by President Wilson and Secretary of State Lansing. American hostility to Germany grew under the influence of the powerful propaganda campaign against the Central Powers waged by the British, whose increasingly numerous chicaneries included frequent violations of international law.

The growing pressure exerted by the British, coupled with the rising enmity of the American government, forced Berlin to recall Papen, its military attaché, and Boy-Ed, Germany's naval attaché, at the end of 1915. The neutral ship on which Papen returned was searched in the British port of Falmouth. In a crude violation of international law, Papen was forced to disrobe for a body search and all his papers were confiscated.

From February 1916 until May 1917 von Papen served as a battalion commander on the Western front. He was then transferred to the Turkish front in Palestine, where he was chief of staff to the Fourth Turkish Army at the war's end.

In 1919 Papen returned home, where he took an active part in politics. His interest in agrarian policy led him to join the Catholic Center Party. Elected a deputy to the Prussian Diet, Papen also became influential at *Germania*, the chief organ of the Center Party. On June 1, 1932, he succeeded Brüning as Reich chancellor, at a time when the parliamentary system had already collapsed. The failure of Germany's political parties had already forced Reich President Hindenburg to shift to an authoritarian regime with the Brüning government. The grave economic crisis, with its massive unemployment, and conditions which verged on civil war confronted Papen with problems which could no longer be solved by normal constitutional means. Therefore, he was ousted at the end of November 1932 by the "Chancellor Maker," General Schleicher, the gray eminence of the last years of the Weimar Republic.

The polarization of internal political opposites embodied in the two antiparliamentary mass movements—the Communists and the National Socialists—had given rise to notions of a coup d'état in Reichswehr circles. The Reichstag majority of the two radical parties, at opposite ends of the political spectrum, rendered parliamentary democracy incapable of ruling. The elderly Reich president preferred a constitutional solution to one which would violate the Weimar constitution. Thus he agreed to a proposal by Papen, a trusted advisor, to enlist National Socialist participation in

the new government, several of whose ministers had served in Papen's "government of national cooperation" in 1931.

As the strongest party, the National Socialists were entitled to the office of chancellor. In order to evade the threat of a one-party dictatorship which loomed from the revolutionary Hitler movement, only two National Socialists besides Hitler were named to the cabinet: Dr. Frick as minister of the interior and Hermann Göring as minister without portfolio. The three National Socialists were "boxed in" by seven conservative cabinet members. Hindenburg and Papen saw this as sufficient insurance against revolutionary encroachments by the National Socialists.

Adams describes the dramatic events relating to the formation of the "Government of National Concentration" (out of members of the German National People's Party and the "Stahlhelm," a veterans' party, as well as the three National Socialists) with superior expertise and objectivity. When the conservatives, led by Hindenburg and Papen, were overwhelmed by the dynamism of the National Socialist mass movement in March 1933, Papen's office of vice chancellor became a department for complaints against the revolutionary excesses of the National Socialists. The title of Adam's biography, *Rebel Patriot*, has been well chosen in view of the vice chancellor's protest role and his bold efforts to build a dam against the revolutionary flood waters. He was successful in only one respect: by the *Reichskonkordat* of July 1933 he was able to secure the legal status of the Roman Catholic Church. Papen made further attempts to divert the revolutionary high tide into legal channels by his tireless efforts as vice-chancellor; in 1933 Hitler himself shared this concern.

Papen is famous for his speech of June 1934 at Marburg, in which he took a brave, public stand against the anti-Christian and anti-Jewish activities of the National Socialists. Two weeks later his civic courage nearly cost him his life. It was only through a fortunate coincidence that he escaped death during the "Night of the Long Knives," the bloody purge of the S.A.'s leadership on June 30, 1934, which was accompanied by a similarly bloody suppression of the conservative opposition. Two of Papen's associates were murdered. In protest, Papen resigned from the government. Several weeks later, the death of the aged Reich president, Hindenburg, removed the last hindrance to the revolutionary regime.

Thereafter Papen returned to the diplomatic service, in order to serve and help his sorely tried fatherland from abroad. His first assignment was the delicate one of establishing friendly relations between the two neighboring German states. He served in Vienna until March, 1938.

In the following year Papen was dispatched to Turkey where he served as Germany's ambassador. In 1941 he succeeded in bringing

about a German-Turkish friendship treaty; he was able to preserve Turkish neutrality until the summer of 1944, despite the overwhelming pressure of the Anglo-Saxon powers. When British insistence finally caused Turkey to break off diplomatic relations with Germany at the start of August 1944, Papen was accorded full diplomatic honors on his departure.

After his return to Germany, Papen played an active role in the defense of the Saarland. He was arrested by the Americans in April 1945 and forced over the next four years to run the gauntlet at Nuremberg, where the vengeful victors staged their political inquisition (the "Trial of the Major War Criminals"). Papen was acquitted of all charges, but his persecution continued at the hands of no less vengeful domestic enemies in the form of West German denazification tribunals. After withstanding the appeals process, he regained his freedom in February 1949.

Papen was a prolific writer until the end of his life. He published his memoirs in German in 1952 (*Der Wahrheit eine Gasse* [A Path for the Truth]), which was published in English shortly afterward as *Memoirs*. Among other writings, he published a series of articles in the Spanish periodical *ABC*. Despite his acquittal at Nuremberg and his release from detention after being "denazified," Papen was forced to wage additional battles in court to regain his civil rights.

The high regard in which the Vatican held Franz von Papen was expressed in audiences with Pope Pius XII and Pope John XXIII. The Turks continued to esteem him as well.

Papen published his final book, *Vom Scheitern einer Demokratie* [On the Failure of a Democracy], in 1968, the year before his death at almost ninety years old. Until the end he was forced to combat malicious attacks by opinion makers and "Vergangenheitsbewältiger," those West Germans who "come to terms with the past" by slavishly adhering to the dogma of Germany's sole and total guilt for the events of 1933-1945. Adams has done an excellent service in focusing on Papen's efforts in this regard, and in providing an illuminating account of the venomous political atmosphere of the postwar Bundesrepublik.

Rebel Patriot offers an overview of a lengthy portion of German and European history from the nonpartisan perspective of an American history professor. In this monumental work, Dr. and Mrs. Adams have memorialized not only Papen but also the German Reich and its tragic history in this century.

All that is required to restore some respect for historical truth are favorable opportunities, a bit of luck, and a few courageous authors and publishers.

—Harry Elmer Barnes,
Blasting the Historical Blackout, 1963

VERSCHWÖRUNG UND VERRAT UM HITLER URTEIL DES FRONTSOLDATEN: [CONSPIRACY AND BETRAYAL AROUND HITLER: A COMBAT SOLDIER'S VERDICT] by Otto Ernst Remer, Brigadier General, Retired [Generalmajor a.D.]. Preussisch Oldendorf, Federal Republic of Germany: Verlag K.W. Schütz, KG, Third Printing, 1984, 336 pages, illustrated, 42.00DM (about \$20 U.S.), ISBN 3-87725-102/1.

Reviewed by H. Keith Thompson

A few exciting hours after the July 20, 1944 assassination attempt on the life of Adolf Hitler, Otto Ernst Remer, then an army major commanding the Berlin Guard Regiment, was ordered by General von Hase (a conspirator) to arrest Dr. Goebbels, propaganda minister and Gauleiter of Berlin. Remer relives for the reader the dramatic events that followed, detailing his personal involvement in those events and reporting on his subsequent in-depth study of the personalities and particulars of the several conspiracies against Hitler and Germany. From Remer's discussions with Hitler, who personally decorated him for bravery in action, Hitler is revealed as a concerned commander, receptive to and understanding of the problems and circumstances of the soldier at the front.

There is a definite continuity between Remer's wartime bravery and the enormous courage he has shown in his active politics and his writings in the postwar period. Germans—politicians, editors and others—must wrestle with the tortuous problem of how to pay homage to the “bomb plotters” and yet not dismiss the great sacrifices and sufferings of the vast majority of the German armed forces and population. The politicians and others therefore usually try to do a balancing act, attempting to distinguish between “Germany” and “Nazi Germany.” Remer repeatedly and courageously points out the impossibility and utter hypocrisy of such distinctions. The Allies certainly did not make distinctions before, during, or after the war. Even the conspirators themselves finally learned that bitter lesson: “What we in the German resistance didn't really want to grasp, we've subsequently learned completely: the war really wasn't waged against Hitler, but against Germany” (former bomb plotter and *Bundestag* President Eugen Gerstenmaier in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, March 21, 1976, as quoted by Remer on p. 12).

In 1951, Remer published a book on the conspiracy of July 20, 1944. The present volume considers not only that one attempt but the entire network of betrayal surrounding Hitler and the Third

Reich. Remer is very familiar with the existing literature on the subject and cites numerous authorities, including David Irving.

General Remer unmasks the conspirators as a clique of cowardly, incompetent traitors. In individual and collective analyses of their perfidy, he contrasts them with the majority of German officers who remained loyal to their oath even though they were no less aware of Germany's desperate struggle against overwhelming odds than were the conspirators.

Some elements in the Federal Republic, particularly officials, have attempted to make "heroes" of the conspirators. Remer effectively removes that fake patina of saintliness, those fabricated halos placed on the heads of traitors. For example, new uniforms and equipment were scheduled for demonstration to Hitler at a military briefing. The plotters prepared explosives for concealment in the uniforms which the enlisted men involved in the demonstration would be wearing, and in the equipment they were to demonstrate. Hitler's schedule changed and the demonstration was cancelled. Remer does not fail to point out the ugliness in the grotesque spectacle of monocled general officers unwilling to put their own lives on the line but ready to sacrifice the lives of unknowing enlisted troops. Those soldiers were spared by fate. But, because of the treasonous activities of the conspirators, many other German soldiers were not so fortunate, as Remer shows in citing from battle casualty reports, and the postwar memoirs of many of the conspirators who admit that their doings cost the lives of German soldiers. The German campaigns in Crete and Norway, for instance, were successful. Nevertheless, the cost in German lives would have been far less if the conspirators had not revealed to the enemy, in advance, details of those and many other German military and naval operations.

Some conspirators waited for the fortunes of war to turn before becoming active traitors. Others, in high places long before the war began, have alleged that they wanted to show "the world" that there was "another Germany." Perhaps the presence of so many prominent and highly placed traitors in Germany encouraged Britain and France to make their absurd "guarantee" of Poland's ludicrous frontiers, and thus precipitate World War II. The treasonous activities of the various echelons of conspirators did nothing to keep the Allies from ruthlessly pursuing their objective, the destruction of Germany and the fixing of frontiers even more unnatural than those drawn after World War I.

Although the Allies (including the Badoglio Italians) never tire of producing self-glorifying films dealing with their own alleged World-War-II heroism, those same Allies have displayed some reluctance to show the July 20 conspirators in a heroic, noble light. Remer quotes from Scottish Pastor Peter H. Nicoll's book, *England's War Against Germany* (p. 501):

One can understand the extreme severity of the proceedings against the conspirators. And no one can doubt that they would have fared just as badly in England if we had had to deal with them under similar, extreme circumstances.

Fortunately, the July 20, 1944 conspirators lacked character and courage. Consider the case of Count von Stauffenberg, who carried the bomb in his briefcase into Hitler's conference room and positioned it under the large table so as to do maximum damage to Hitler. But Stauffenberg was quick to leave the room and scamper away to save his life. Fate decreed that another officer, annoyed by the briefcase near his feet, unknowingly moved it into a position where it was less effective. The course of history was altered by the failure of Stauffenberg to see it through.

Many well-known Communists, like Sorge, were involved in conspiracies against Hitler and Germany. This is less surprising. Ironically, however, many of the conspirators, like Stauffenberg, belonged to the landed aristocracy. It is a further irony that most of the citadels of the "Junker" class were in *Ostelbien*, areas east of the Elbe, including Central Germany and former Eastern Germany, now divided between Poland and the Soviet Union after the postwar expulsions of the native German population. The aristocrats thus helped dig their own graves. There are lessons here to be learned by our own domestic liberals, anxious for a detente with Communism.

Privately, very privately, many Germans express contentment that Remer's voice is heard on the German scene. Because anti-Nazi fantasizing in the media is so prevalent and continues so intensely and unrelentingly, even Germans who, from personal experience, should know better, occasionally find themselves caught up in these horror fantasies, reacting as the media manipulators intend. Audiences are being mythologized and trained to approach the Third Reich the same way they see *Dracula*, *Frankenstein*, or space monster films, the same way they listen to the tormented ravings of the gypsy Azucena in Verdi's *Il Trovatore*, whose mother went up in flames and who threw her own baby into those fires. Obsessively she recounts and relives the flaming agony.

It is no wonder that Jews whose families haven't been in Europe for generations, and even non-Jews, have been so "holocausted," so hyped by relentless media onslaughts, that they are instantly ready to characterize the Third Reich as a horror story, a thing of "demonic forces" or "moral decay," supremely, uniquely evil. Remer has the courage to ask loudly, very loudly:

What demons? What decay? What are you talking about? The moral values and attitudes we learned at home and in the Hitler Youth, the spirit that prevailed in Nazi Germany, was anything but "decadent," or "demonic" or in any way "evil" [Remer is here paraphrased, not quoted directly].

General Remer reminds many Germans of what they know to be true—that the Third Reich was a time of moral and physical renewal, of high standards in public morality, of discipline and integrity, of striving for ancient ideals and new forms in which to embody them.

If I had to choose any one word to characterize Remer, it would be courage. Others might be honor and honesty. In the late 1940's he organized, with Dr. Fritz Dorls, Dr. Gerhard Krüger and others, the *Sozialistische Reichspartei* (SRP), founded in October 1949. Gains were evidenced as early as July, 1950, when the SRP polled 19,960 votes in an election in Schleswig-Holstein. In June of the following year, the SRP polled 366,790 votes in Lower Saxony. This show of strength by Remer, in a defeated, dismembered country still in the throes of the "denazification" and "re-education" imposed by the Allies, brought down massive suppression and persecution by the Bonn regime, which ultimately outlawed the legally constituted political party. This reviewer had first-hand experience of that period as the SRP's U.S. agent, and was active in attempting to counter the various legal actions against Remer and others.

General Remer is still politically active today as head of *Die Deutsche Freiheitsbewegung* [German Freedom Movement]. The movement publishes a newsletter, *Der Bismarck-Deutsche* [The Bismarck-German], from Postfach 1210, D-8950 Kaufbeuren. Just as good, safe relations with Russia were a cornerstone of Bismarck's foreign policy, Remer and his organization advocate total European collaboration, from Iberia to the Urals, thus including Russia. In Remer's vision of a new, rejuvenated, united Europe, Great Britain and the U.S. would be excluded. Remer realizes that it was the Anglo-American power block, the British Empire (its Canadian and Australian dominions, its colonies, its African and Asian soldiers), and behind them the Americans, bemused by Jewish propaganda and cowed by Jewish pressure, who were twice instrumental in effecting Germany's defeat. The historical reasons for such a program are eminently understandable. Many geopolitical thinkers, for instance Francis Parker Yockey, were early supporters of this viewpoint. In 1988, few can fail to respect Remer's courage and honesty in advancing it. It is possible that he can become the inspiring, visionary leader needed by Europe to effect its liberation from the counter-cultural forces which now infest and occupy it, and guide it towards a future free of economic and armed conflicts.

With its detailed case histories, lists and statistics, and comprehensive bibliography, *Verschwörung und Verrat um Hitler* is an indispensable work for any study of the Third Reich and its internal enemies. Even if your German is limited, you should have this book. It is recommended for anyone interested in 20th-century heroism in the face of adversity, and for anyone capable of

appreciating individuals like Otto Ernst Remer, who embody political courage and vision, and even more important, personal courage and integrity.

[*Verschwörung und Verrat um Hitler*, from which General Remer's article in this journal was translated, can also be ordered from DDF-Buchdienst, Postfach 1210, D-8950 Kaufbeuren, Federal Republic of Germany (for an additional few dollars handling, General Remer will inscribe to order).]

HOLLYWOOD GOES TO WAR: HOW POLITICS, PROFITS AND PROPAGANDA SHAPED WORLD WAR II MOVIES by Clayton R. Koppes and Gregory D. Black. New York: Free Press/Macmillan, 1987, x + 374 pages, illustrated, \$22.50, ISBN 0-02-903550-3.

Reviewed by Jack Wikoff

Propaganda may be defined as the attempt to manipulate public opinion for the purpose of helping or injuring a particular cause, individual or group. The propagandist seeks to control rather than to inform.

After reading *Hollywood Goes to War*, one cannot help but come away with the impression that the movie industry and various government agencies were very much in the propaganda business before and during World War II.

By the late 1930's the "Big Eight" Hollywood studios dominated the domestic and foreign markets. These corporations had created a vertically integrated industry. As authors Koppes and Black tell us:

They controlled the entire process from casting and production through distribution (wholesaling) and exhibition (retailing). The Big Eight reaped 95 per cent of all motion picture rentals in the U.S. in the late 1930's. Their control over theater chains, particularly the all-important first-run urban houses which determined a picture's future, was critical.

Koppes and Black go on to explain briefly that:

The men who guided the industry in its transition to big business were mostly Jewish theater owners, who were uniquely suited to the task. The playwright and screenwriter Ben Hecht once observed that Hollywood constituted "a Semitic renaissance sans rabbis and Talmud."

We are also informed that:

In 1940 five of the fifteen highest salaries in the country went to movie people. Atop the greasy pole was the quintessential mogul,

Louis B. Mayer, whose princely \$1.3 million in salary and bonuses in 1937 probably surpassed the compensation to any other American executive.

The content of motion pictures became avidly internationalist and anti-isolationist long before Pearl Harbor. In 1938 United Artists released *Blockade*, a pro-Loyalist tale of the Spanish Civil War starring Henry Fonda. Catholic organizations protested the showing of this picture because of the pro-Communist Republican armies' record of atrocities against priests and nuns. Joseph Breen, the conservative Catholic journalist and head of the Production Code Administration, accused Hollywood and in particular the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League of an attempt to "capture the screen of the United States for Communistic propaganda purposes." He claimed the League was "conducted and financed almost entirely by Jews."

In 1939 Warner Brothers premiered *Confessions of a Nazi Spy*, which claimed in melodramatic fashion that Germany sought to conquer the entire globe. "Using semi-documentary techniques and long periods of narration, the film identified the German-American Bund as an arm of the German government whose purpose was to destroy the American Constitution and Bill of Rights." Fritz Kuhn, leader of the Bund, responded to this smear campaign with a libel suit for \$5,000,000. After Kuhn was indicted and convicted for allegedly stealing German-American Bund funds, the suit was dropped. That these charges against Kuhn were politically motivated was indicated by the Bund's continued support of him. [See Peter Peel, "The Great Brown Scare," *JHR*, Vol. 7, no. 4, Winter 1986-1987—Ed.]

Also released in 1939 was *Beasts of Berlin*, capitalizing on the infamy of the 1917 film, *The Kaiser, Beast of Berlin*, which had sparked anti-German riots in many American cities during the First World War.

1940 and 1941 saw the appearance of such pro-war films as Charlie Chaplin's burlesque of Hitler and Mussolini, *The Great Dictator*, as well as *Man Hunt*, directed by German emigré Fritz Lang, *The Mortal Storm*, *A Yank in the R.A.F.*, *Sergeant York*, *I Married a Nazi* and a host of other titles. These pictures were an integral part of the vigorous campaign by various elements to get the United States into a war with Germany.

Interestingly, FDR's son, James, the president of Globe Productions, got into the propaganda business by distributing a British film titled *Pastor Hall*. This was a glamorized account of the anti-Nazi activities of Martin Niemöller, the "World War I U-boat captain-turned-pacifist-preacher." James added a prologue written by Robert Sherwood and read by none other than his dear old mom, Eleanor.

Intimate ties between Hollywood and the Roosevelt administration are further indicated by the following paragraph in *Hollywood Goes to War*:

In August [1940] FDR asked Nicholas Schenck, president of Loew's (parent of MGM) to make a film on defense and foreign policy. By mid-October *Eyes of the Navy*, a two-reeler which a studio executive promised would win the president thousands of votes, graced neighborhood movie houses. Schenck's interest may have been personal as well as patriotic. His brother Joseph, head of Twentieth Century-Fox, was convicted of income tax evasion. President Roosevelt asked Attorney General Robert Jackson to let the studio chief off with a fine, and so did Roosevelt's son James, to whom Joseph had lent \$50,000. But the upright Jackson insisted on a jail sentence. Schenck served four months before being paroled to the studio lot.

In September of 1941 a subcommittee of the Committee on Interstate Commerce began hearings on "war propaganda disseminated by the motion picture industry and of any monopoly in the production, distribution, or exhibition of motion pictures." This investigation was instigated by the isolationist Senator from North Dakota, Gerald P. Nye. Chief counsel for Hollywood was Wendell Willkie, the internationalist and 1940 Republican presidential nominee. This last-ditch effort by the isolationists was too little and too late. The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor three months later ended any question of more hearings.

Once the United States was at war with Germany, the studios churned out one anti-Nazi potboiler after another. An audience today is likely to snicker at such "classics" as *Hillbilly Blitzkrieg*, *Women in Bondage*, *The Devil with Hitler*, *I Escaped from the Gestapo*, *Hitler's Children*, *That Nazty Nuisance*, *Strange Death of Adolf Hitler*, *Enemy of Women*, *Hitler's Madman*, *The Master Race*, *The Hitler Gang*, *Hotel Berlin* and *Tarzan Triumphs*. Koppes and Black summarize the plot of *Tarzan Triumphs* as follows:

Nazi agents parachute into Tarzan's peaceful kingdom and occupy a fortress, hoping to exploit oil and tin. Johnny Weissmuller, a slightly flabby but still commanding noble savage, rallies his natives (all of whom are white) against the Axis. "Kill Nadzies!" Tarzan commands the natives. They nod eagerly. The Germans are so despicable even the animals turn against them. Tarzan chases the head of the Nazi troops into the jungle, and, just as the fear-crazed German officer frantically signals Berlin on his shortwave radio, Tarzan kills him. In Berlin the radio operator recognizes the distress signal and rushes out to summon the general in charge of the African operation. While Tarzan, Boy, and Jungle Priestess laughingly look on, Cheetah the chimp chatters into the transmitter. Ignorant of the fatal struggle in the jungle depths, the general hears the chimp on the radio, jumps to his feet, salutes, and yells to his subordinates that they are listening not to Africa but to Der Fuehrer.

The roles of the sadistic, sex-crazed, bullet-headed, Nazi "Krauts" in these pictures were played by such Hollywood "heavies" as George Siegman, Erich von Stroheim, Walter Long and Hobart Bosworth. Actor Bobby Watson was kept busy playing the part of Adolf Hitler throughout the war.

To be fair, Hollywood did make some quality pictures out of the 2400 made from 1939 to 1945. Some of the few that come to this reviewer's mind are *Casablanca* (Warner Brothers, 1943), *The Story of G.I. Joe* (United Artists, 1945), and *Lifeboat* (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1944). It has often been said that the best war movies are usually made long after the war is over.

The Japanese fared no better at the hands of Hollywood's myth makers. In *Little Tokyo, U.S.A.* (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1942) all people of Japanese descent were portrayed as loyal to the Emperor and capable of sabotage and treason. This film wholeheartedly advocated the internment of all Japanese-Americans. At the end of the film, when an "all-American Los Angeles police detective" named Mike Steele has broken the Japanese spy ring, he does what every red-blooded American supposedly wanted to do, namely to punch out the Japanese villain, proclaiming "That's for Pearl Harbor, you slant-eyed . . ."

Coldblooded Japanese militarism was portrayed in *The Purple Heart*, *Guadalcanal Diary*, *Wake Island*, *Menace of the Rising Sun*, *Remember Pearl Harbor*, *Danger in the Pacific* and others. Koppes and Black remind us "It is a rare film that did not employ such terms as 'Japs,' 'beasts,' 'yellow monkeys,' 'nips,' or 'slant-eyed rats.'" Japanese soldiers were frequently shown about to rape white women, usually buxom blonds. Another frequent cinematic image was that of a Japanese fighter-pilot with buckteeth taking several machine-gun hits to the body, blood splattering his windshield, and screaming in agony as his plane plunged into the Pacific.

The height of absurdity in race-crossed casting appears in *Dragon Seed* (MGM, 1944) in which heavily made-up Caucasians, including a "slant-eyed" Katherine Hepburn, play Chinese, while real Chinese extras play the Japanese hordes.

In 1943 Warner Brothers premiered *Mission to Moscow*, based on the book of the same name by Joseph E. Davies, U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union from 1936 to 1938. The authors of *Hollywood Goes to War* characterize this picture as the "most notorious example of propaganda in the guise of entertainment ever produced by Hollywood." *Mission to Moscow* traces in pseudo-documentary style Davies' career as ambassador and the events taking place in the Soviet Union and worldwide from the mid-1930's through 1941.

The Roosevelt administration was intimately involved in the making of this picture, which represented FDR as a great internationalist and anti-fascist. Davies had power of script approval

and was ultimately responsible for *Mission to Moscow's* glossing over of Stalinist crimes. Davies insisted that the Soviet invasion of Finland be portrayed as happening at the "invitation" of Finland to the Soviets to occupy strategic positions against Germany. Likewise, other Soviet crimes of the 1930's are ignored or passed over: the invasion of the eastern portion of Poland in 1939, the aggression against Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, and the forced collectivization of the kulaks (small farmers) in the Ukraine with the resulting starvation of millions of peasants. The film represented the Moscow purge trials as the result of attempts by Trotsky, Bukharin, Krestinsky and other "Old Bolsheviks" to sell out the Soviet Union to Germany and Japan.

Mission to Moscow used documentary film footage to add verisimilitude to this vintage "docudrama," which depicted the American isolationists as a small cabal plotting to thwart the people's will to "collective security." The Soviet Union was depicted as a land of plenty in contrast to National Socialist Germany's alleged chronic lack of food and consumer goods. The public was led to believe the Soviet Union was a "democracy" and the Russian people were "just like Americans."

Most of the major studios produced pro-Soviet films in the last years of the war, including *Song of Russia* (MGM, 1943), *Three Russian Girls* (United Artists, 1943), *North Star* (MGM, 1943), *Boy from Stalingrad* (Columbia, 1943), *Days of Glory* (RKO, 1944) and *Counterattack* (Columbia, 1945).

While the United States was at war, several overlapping and competing government bureaucracies sought to influence the content of motion pictures. Most influential was the Office of War Information, set up in 1942. Much of *Hollywood Goes to War* deals, in Koppes and Black's rather plodding style, with the relationship between the movie industry and the OWI. The Bureau of Motion Pictures played a role as well. The Office of Censorship, created by the Roosevelt administration to oversee the wartime censorship of mail, films, maps and other materials, could deny an export license for a movie. With forty per cent of an average picture's revenue coming from the foreign market, the Office of Censorship had considerable power over motion picture content, from script approval to final cut.

Hollywood Goes to War deals strictly with feature films made by the major studios and the bureaucracies involved in the motion picture production process. Koppes and Black do not cover training films and documentaries made by the Army and Navy with enlisted Hollywood personnel, studio-made short films, newsreels or animation. Nor is any mention made of the Field Photographic branch of the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), the predecessor of the CIA, created by William "Wild Bill" Donovan. Utilizing the

talents of such Hollywood directors as Budd Schulberg and John Ford, the Field Photographic branch collected "evidence" of alleged atrocities in German concentration camps captured at the war's end. This footage was used by the prosecution at the Nuremberg trials and in denazification films shown during the forced "re-education" of German citizens.

Without a doubt, the Hollywood studios wanted to contribute to the war effort and defeat of the Axis, yet at the same time the movie moguls did not want to be told how to run their monopolistic corporations. Most important to these film executives was the profit motive. In the early and mid-1930's the studios had altered the content of films to allow them to play in the lucrative German, Italian, Spanish and Latin American markets. 5,000 theaters in Latin America showed American films, 6,000 in Asia, and an astounding 35,000 in Europe. In 1935, when the National Socialist government demanded that foreign companies with offices in Germany hire only Aryan employees, the major studios complied.

The foreign market for Hollywood pictures diminished as National Socialist and Fascist political movements became more influential. The Nuremberg Laws banned German films with Jewish actors and actresses and limited the number of Hollywood films to 20% of the German market. The onset of World War II reduced the market for Hollywood's product even more.

The market began to expand as soon as Allied armies secured territory in the latter years of the war, and American movies were again shown in the newly "liberated" theaters. After the war's end the great studio system which had flourished in Germany from 1919 to 1945 was unable to rebuild in West Germany, and the internationalist film industry gained a virtually open market. In contrast, the Communist government of East Germany rebuilt a studio system that was now totally state-owned and-operated.

The authors of *Hollywood Goes to War* make it very clear that the power to shape the content of entertainment and information was extraordinary during World War II, when dissenting opinion was likely to be stifled and censored in the name of the "war effort." Unfortunately authors Koppes and Black do not question the motives which got the United States into World War II in the first place. They are also unduly critical of the motivations of the isolationists and tend to play down the influence of leftwing and Marxist elements in prewar Hollywood, especially among the screenwriters. Nevertheless, *Hollywood Goes to War* provides a strong picture of what happens when a powerful industry and government attempt to control public opinion. As expressed on the closing page:

Hollywood had always claimed that it only gave the public what it wanted, and cited the movies' popularity as proof. But since the cartel

controlled the range of choice, Hollywood was saying only that the public bought what it was given.

CONFESSIONS OF A HOLOCAUST REVISIONIST by Bradley R. Smith. Los Angeles: Prima Facie, 1987, 118 pages + (vi), \$11.95 Hb (ISBN 0-943415-00-4), \$6.95 Pb (ISBN 0-943415-00-4).

Reviewed by Theodore J. O'Keefe

When you see a title starting with the word *Confessions* nowadays, it's usually safe to assume that some sort of parody is being undertaken. The moral earnestness and the often excruciating self-revelations of an Augustine have long since given way to the posturings of a Rousseau or a De Quincey, not to mention such offspring as *Confessions of a Mad Housewife*, *True Confessions* magazine, etc.

Confessions of a Holocaust Revisionist, by Bradley Smith, inevitably invites the same sort of scrutiny demanded by some many latterday "confessions," for Smith assumes a self-mocking stance virtually from the outset. In his preface he lets the reader know that he is overweight, self-indulgent, intellectually lazy, and endowed with a character "made up in part of all the bigotries and prejudices that have been identified and catalogued by the best people in the worst."

That's just the beginning. A vocal agnostic who once stood trial for selling Henry Miller's *Tropic of Cancer*, Bradley Smith comes to join the Historical Revisionists in questioning the historicity of what moral and intellectual opinion makers of the age have assured us is the most terrible, the most significant, the most real event of our century: the Holocaust, in which six million Jews were systematically done to death in gas chambers and by other means at the decree of Adolf Hitler and at the hands of his henchmen, while a cold-hearted gentile world looked the other way. And, as the exegetes of the Holocaust haggadah never tire of informing us, Holocaust Revisionists are, if anything worse than, Holocaust perpetrators: for the Revisionists kill the six million yet again.

Yet Smith's account is not calculated to endear him to a good portion of the Revisionist camp either. Among his more disconcerting confessions is the story of how a "half-snookered" Smith (who is director of the Institute for Historical Review's Media Project) was "befuddled" by questions asked by the host of a radio

program on which he was explaining Holocaust Revisionism, shortly after he'd downed three rums on an empty stomach. Some Revisionists won't cotton to his statement that:

If the people who now support Holocaust Revisionism come to power, however, I have little doubt that the new bullies of the age would be among them, or that I would be thrown out of their ranks, or that my new associates would then become those who despise me now.

Nor will many Revisionists be pleased at the spectacle of their spokesman being shown up intellectually by his aged mother and his Mexican wife, neither of them with any academic pretensions.

Is this confessional stance, however, simply another literary pose, an effort of a fifty-seven-year-old writer who admits that he's had little success, to curry favor with Revisionists, and simultaneously disarm the opposition, by presenting himself as a likeable, but harmless, buffoon?

Clearly not, for what shines through *Confessions of a Holocaust Revisionist* is the author's adamant resolve to concede other persons their humanity all the while he struggles to free himself from the shackles of "belief, the mere habit of faith," which he has come to see as "the most degrading passion of the species." From the moment when Smith accepts a leaflet disputing Holocaust gas-chamber claims, we are made privy to an inner struggle in which the author must reconcile the conflicting claims raised by civility, tolerance, shame, courage, and intellectual integrity. Onlookers have heard the man who gave him the leaflet speak against the gas chambers; furthermore, in Smith's circle "one did not read material that made Jews feel uncomfortable." Nevertheless, Smith holds back from handing back the leaflet:

At the same time, because of his honest and open manner, I didn't want him to feel ashamed by publicly rejecting him. I had never looked into the history of the Holocaust, had never examined any of the primary documents used to support the literature, so in my ignorance I felt I had no right, really, to believe or disbelieve any statement about it whatever. I didn't feel I had the right to embarrass another man simply because he doubted what I believed. If sincerity isn't to be taken seriously in human relationship, what is?

That night, alone in his room, "fearful and ashamed," Bradley Smith reads Robert Faurisson's *The Problem of the Gas Chambers*.

What follows is a pilgrim's progress in which Smith, already a sceptic, is driven to confront the bases of his own thought and action. "There has never been a time in my life," he tells us, "when I have not believed something ridiculous. A libertarian who confesses to a certain self-indulgence ("I have always taken the easy way") and proclaims that "I have no program for others," Smith is nevertheless

stung by what he comes to see as the intellectual and moral abdication of the Establishment, particularly its journalists.

For many readers Smith's account of how he was driven to investigate the veracity of Holocaust claims by reading Faurisson, Arthur Butz, John Bennett (the man who started him off by handing him Faurisson's *Problem of the Gas Chambers*) and other Revisionist writers will doubtless be the easiest path to Revisionism. To their intellectual austerity and rigor Smith adds the all-too human dimension of the concerned but sceptical citizen, in Smith's case a libertarian who nevertheless possesses a profound sense of duty not only to humankind in general but in particular to the members of his own polis.

Smith's humanity—his bumptious refusal to be categorized or to accept the imposition of things that don't pertain to him—is of course what makes him so deadly a spokesman for Holocaust Revisionism. The Exterminationists he has confronted nearly one hundred times on talk radio shows have so far been unable to deal with a flesh-and-blood, Caucasian American male who can't be credibly dismissed as a "Nazi," a "Klansman," a "white supremacist," "a born-again Christian," and all the other strawmen they have found so easy to brush aside until now. Further, Smith's insistence on his right and his duty to doubt must be particularly afflicting to the Exterminationist high command, which has made clear in marching orders issued to its foot soldiers over the past several years that the new tactic is to characterize Revisionists as "Holocaust deniers," with all the added Freudian freight the term "denial" carries.

Smith handles the structure of this autobiographical reminiscence pretty deftly, cutting back and forth from the time of his first encounter with a Revisionist and Revisionism in 1979 to 1987, by which time he has become thoroughly enmeshed in his campaign to break the blockade of smear and silence that rings the growing literature of Holocaust Revisionism. The writer gives evidence of a rich inner life, and he has a wonderful ear for human speech. In one masterly stretch of prose he captures with near perfection an airplane conversation with a bright young Jewish woman flying home to Los Angeles from Harvard. To the practiced ear of this reviewer he hits scarcely a false note, and it's a good bet that even the most hardened anti-Semite will not feel for the Jewess' distress in forcibly confronting the real issues of the Holocaust, or that all but the most rabid Exterminationists will cringe a little with Smith in his initial embarrassment.

Confessions of a Holocaust Revisionist comes not to an end but a caesura on page 118, where one reads "End of Part I." This already expanded version of a tabloid *Confessions of a Holocaust Revisionist* is, according to its author, to be shortly followed by Part II, which will range farther back into Smith's past, which has included service

as a combat infantryman in the Korean War (a strong vignette from which appears in the present book), work as a Los Angeles County deputy sheriff, a longshoreman, a merchant seaman, a bullfighter (in Mexico) and a stint as a freelance journalist during the Vietnam War which saw Smith swept up in the 1968 Viet Cong Tet offensive.

It's hard not to root for Bradley Smith, for he speaks in a voice that's unmistakably American. Self-schooled, hard-headed, he's called what's essentially an alien bluff by hanging tough with poseurs like Elie Wiesel, for the last thing that sainted laureate of the Holocaust would ever expect to hear from today's fashion in Americans would likely be Smith's (implied, anyway): "I'm from Missouri—show me." This twentieth-century American Diogenes, who wanders the world not with a lamp but with a mirror, in which even the grimacing visage of the Jewish Defense League's Irv Rubin is reflected to the possible edification of its unfortunate possessor, has turned the tables on those professors and philosophers who have instructed us for so many years on how Auschwitz has desecralized the world, how "there is no poetry after Auschwitz," by demonstrating that it is these pretentious Exterminationists who are slaves to a false dogma.

When Part II appears, it is to be hoped that the embarrassing, but not critical, erratum on page 22 is removed. Even more desirable would be an eye-catching dust jacket to cover the drab, mustard-yellow binding, which Bradley Smith will surely brandish to ill advantage on camera when he hits Donahue, or *The Oprah Winfrey Show*. But let not the purchasers of the first edition of *Confessions* lose heart: these homely little gems of Revisionist incunabula will some day be, if not costly collectibles, surely testimony that their buyers were early on attuned to a movement of intellectual liberation that is of world-historical importance.

HISTORICAL NEWS AND COMMENT

West German Court Rejects Judge Stäglich's Appeal

WILHELM STÄGLICH

While an officer in a German anti-aircraft unit in 1944, Wilhelm Stäglich was for several months stationed in the vicinity of the Auschwitz concentration camp. The postwar doubts he expressed about alleged mass exterminations carried out at Auschwitz have led to twenty years of disciplinary proceedings, including his early retirement from the judiciary with a reduced pension, the banning from open sale of his book *Der Auschwitz Mythos* (published in English by IHR as *The Auschwitz Myth*), and the notorious revocation of his duly earned doctorate in jurisprudence by the council of deans of the University of Göttingen, acting under the provisions of a law issued by Adolf Hitler. Dr. Stäglich reports below on his latest legal setback in his fight for justice in West Germany.

On November 17, 1987 the Higher Administrative court (HAC) at Lüneburg rejected my appeal (Az, 10 OVG A 17/86) of the Administrative Court (AC) at Braunschweig's January 29, 1986 dismissal (Az. 6 VG A 219/83) of my pleas to regain my doctorate, which was withdrawn by the University of Göttingen. A writ of certiorari was not allowed. The grounds for rejecting my appeal are, in essence, as follows:

A holder of the doctoral degree who, "under the cloak of scholarly activity" [sic] complies with the statutory provisions for the crimes of popular agitation (§ 130 STGB) and incitement to racial hatred (§ 131 STGB)" violates the "dignity inseparably bound with the doctorate" and misuses "the claim to scholarship" which arises from the doctorate; he thus demonstrates that he is unworthy to continue holding the doctorate.

These findings, which correspond neither to the facts of the case nor to the law, were signed by three judges, Dr. Jank (presiding), Dr. Heidelmann, and Dr. Greve. Their opinion was based on a law regarding academic degrees issued by none other than Adolf Hitler,

on June 7, 1939 (RGLB. I S. 985). The same law served the council of deans of the University of Göttingen as a basis for depriving me of my doctorate on March 24, 1983, without so much as granting me a personal hearing. Where does the state governed by the "rule of law" begin and the lawless state leave off?

The Administrative Court's ruling of January 29, 1986 had been based on a thoroughly false determination of the facts, as I amply demonstrated in a 34-page report which I submitted to the HAC. The HAC, although the trial court of last resort, nevertheless accepted the lower court's erroneous finding as to the facts of the case, which the AC had arrived at in violation of the applicable statutes. The HAC did not devote a single word to my strictly factual report. The higher court likewise disregarded the extensive legal argumentation of my attorney, who is especially competent in the subject matter. In my view the court's behavior satisfies the criteria for a perversion of the law (§ 336 STGB).

My attorney will file an appeal against the court's refusal to grant a writ of certiorari within the specified time period. There are a number of grounds for doing so. In particular, my case is of fundamental importance since to my knowledge it is the first time that an attempt has been made in the Federal Republic to deprive someone of a doctoral degree on purely political grounds, using a law established during the Third Reich. If the HAC ruling acquires the force of law, then every academic degree-holder who undertakes research in the treatment of the Jews in the war years after 1940, a treatment which Professor Helmut Diwald has characterized as "in its central questions still unclarified" (*Geschichte der Deutschen*, 1st edition, p. 165), must fear for his academic titles and honors. For according to the HAC opinion, "the cloak of scholarship" no longer allows, in contravention of Article 5, Paragraph 3 of the Basic Law [West Germany's provisional constitution—Ed.] unbiased research in this area. A truly shocking determination! Even such welcome Revisionist tendencies as have appeared in recent years among Establishment historians, in opposition to the historical line fostered by the victors of the Second World War, would then probably come to an end. Perhaps this was in fact the hidden goal of the entire process that has been directed against me.

Should the Federal Administrative Court [the highest administrative tribunal in the Federal Republic—Ed.] fail to reverse the HAC's scandalous ruling through a writ of certiorari, the last remaining legal remedy open to me is a constitutional complaint. Only then will we find out what the much lauded constitutional right of freedom of opinion and research really counts for in this country. To determine this, once and for all, is the only reason for carrying on my legal battle. I have ceased to care about my honorably earned doctorate, since my case has demonstrated that even the University

of Göttingen, so highly regarded both here and abroad, is today no longer the bastion of academic freedom it should be.

The Müller Document

ROBERT FAURISSON

Dr. Faurisson wrote the first part of this article as a challenge to the Exterminationist scholars who participated in a colloquium at the Sorbonne which took place from December 11 to December 13, 1987. The colloquium had been summoned by Alain Devaquet, France's former minister of research and higher education, in an attempt to counter the writings of Henri Roques, Robert Faurisson, and other Revisionists.

Needless to say, the colloquium avoided answering Dr. Faurisson's challenge; rather, the high-minded historian of classical antiquity, Pierre Vidal-Naquet, referred to Dr. Faurisson and his fellow Revisionists as "excrements," and Simone Veil spoke of "clowns." In the courtyard of the Sorbonne, Dr. Faurisson and several of his comrades were attacked and beaten by Jewish thugs for having dared to appear and distribute this challenge. At Dr. Faurisson's request, we have retained the future tense in publishing the text of his challenge to the Sorbonne Colloquium. Dr. Faurisson's report on his conversation with the man who produced and certified the Müller document, Emil Lachout, follows, together with an attempt to minimize the document's impact, issued under the auspices of the Austrian Ministry of Education, which only serves to confirm the document's veracity.

At the instigation of Alain Devaquet, a colloquium will take place at the Sorbonne from December 11 to 13, 1987, which will be devoted to: "The historical and methodological criticism of Revisionist writings about the Second World War" (*Valeurs actuelles*, October 26, 1987, p. 29).

The purpose of this colloquium is to condemn Historical Revisionism and all those who, in France and elsewhere, contend above all that there were never any homicidal gas chambers in the German concentration camps.

Besides A. Devaquet the following people will participate in the colloquium: Alain Finkielkraut, Alfred Grosser, Claude Lanzmann, François Bedarida, François Furet, Léon Poliakov, Georges Wellers,

Pierre Vidal-Naquet, Yehuda Bauer (Israel), Marlis Steinert (Switzerland), Christopher Browning (USA), Michael Marrus (Canada), Hans Mommsen (West Germany), Kurt Pätzold (East Germany).

I want to bring to the attention of the colloquium participants a document dated October 1, 1948, which has just been revealed by a former Austrian commandant, Emil Lachout, now residing in Vienna. This is the Müller document.

The Müller Document

After the war, Austria was divided into four occupation zones, and Vienna itself into four sectors: American, British, French and Soviet. The four Allied military police forces, with the agreement of the Austrian Federal Government, supplemented their forces with uniformed Austrian auxiliaries. The Soviet military police and its auxiliaries were headquartered at the Trost Barracks in Vienna. The Austrian auxiliary forces of the Soviets were under the command of a Major Müller (perhaps a veteran of the International Brigades in Spain). His second-in-command, from October 1, 1947, was Emil Lachout, a former medical officer in the *Volkssturm* [the German home guard raised toward the end of the Second World War—Ed.]. The Allied military police and their Austrian auxiliaries regularly received copies of the reports made out by the Allied Commissions of Inquiry on the concentration camps. Those reports were needed to conduct research on "war crimes." On October 1, 1948, Commandant Müller and his second-in-command, Emil Lachout, sent the following circular letter from Vienna to all interested parties:

Military Police Service

Copy

Circular Letter No. 31/48

Vienna, 1 Oct. 1948
10th dispatch

1. The Allied Commissions of Inquiry have so far established that no people were killed by poison gas in the following concentration camps: Bergen-Belsen, Buchenwald, Dachau, Flossenbürg, Gross-Rosen, Mauthausen and its satellite camps, Natzweiler, Neuengamme, Niederhagen (Wewelsburg), Ravensbrück, Sachsenhausen, Stutthof, Theresienstadt.

In those cases, it has been possible to prove that confessions had been extracted by tortures and that testimonies were false.

This must be taken into account when conducting investigations and interrogations with respect to war crimes.

The result of this investigation should be brought to the cognizance of former concentration camp inmates who at the time of the hearings testified on the murder of people, especially Jews, with poison gas in those concentration camps. Should they insist on their statements, charges are to be brought against them for making false statements.

2. In the C.L. (Circular Letter) 15/48, item 1 is to be deleted.

Certified true copy:
Lachout, Second Lieutenant

The Head of the MPS
Müller, Major

L.S. (place of the seal)

C.t.c.:
Austrian Republic
Vienna Guard Battalion
Command

(signature)

I hereby confirm that on 1 October 1948, being a member of the Military Police Service at the Allied Military Command, I certified the copy of this dispatch of the circular letter to be a true copy in pursuance of Art. 18, para. 4 AVG (General Code of Administration Law).

Vienna, 27 October 1987

(signature)

[A copy of the Müller document appears on the following page.]

Eleven days earlier, on October 16, 1987, Emil Lachout had signed another certificate (signature certified to be true by a district court in Vienna), in which he declared in particular:

1. In many cases, which had been the object of complaints, confessions were obtained from German soldiers, in particular members of the SS, which, after investigation, turned out to have been obtained by torture or by brainwashing (also called menticide), if not false;
2. The statements of numerous internees had proved to be erroneous or hardly worthy of faith, since they originated, for example, from common criminals depicting themselves as victims of political or racial persecution and inventing atrocity tales to avoid having to serve the rest of their sentences; they could also originate from nationals from the East Block countries who, having been in labor camps and not in concentration camps, feared being accused of collaboration with the Germans;
3. The Allied authorities, after discovering those practices, took a whole series of measures for the control of the interrogations: in particular, they decided to involve the Austrian auxiliaries in that control, as well as doctors of the Austrian public health

ABSCHRIFT

Militärpolizeilicher Dienst Wien, 1.10.1948
10. Ausfertigung

R u n d s c h r e i b e n Nr.31/48

1. Die Alliierten Untersuchungskommissionen haben bisher festgestellt, dass in folgenden Konzentrationslagern keine Menschen mit Giftgas getötet wurden:
Bergen-Belsen, Buchenwald, Dachau, Flossenbürg, Gross-Rosen, Mauthausen und Nebenlager, Natzweiler, Neuengamme, Niederhagen(Wewelsburg), Ravensbrück, Sachsenhausen, Stutthof, Theresienstadt.
In diesen Fällen konnte nachgewiesen werden, dass Geständnisse durch Folterungen erpresst wurden und Zeugenaussagen falsch waren.
Dies ist bei den KV-Erhebungen und Einvernahmen zu berücksichtigen.
Ehemalige KZ-Häftlinge, welche bei Einvernahmen Angaben über die Ermordung von Menschen, insbesondere von Juden, mit Giftgas in diesen KZ machen, ist dieses Untersuchungsergebnis zur Kenntnis zu bringen. Sollten sie weiter auf ihre Aussagen bestehen, ist die Anzeige wegen falscher Zeugenaussage zu erstatten.
2. Im RS 15/48 kann P. 1 gestrichen werden.

Der Leiter des MPD.:
Müller, Major

Für die Richtigkeit
der Ausfertigung:
Lachout, Leutnant

L.S.

F.d.R.d.A.:

Republik Österreich
Waffenkommando Wien
Kommando

Ich bestätige hiemit, dass ich am 1. Oktober 1948 als Angehöriger des militärpolizeilichen Dienstes beim Alliierten Militärkommando die Richtigkeit der Rundschreiben-Ausfertigung gemäß § 12 Abs.4 AVG beglaubigt habe.

Wien, 27. NOV 1948




This document is reproduced from the Vienna, Austria periodical
Halt (November, 1987).

administration, charged with examining the charges of torture. When the doctors discovered such cases, they drew up a report. Those reports were translated into English, French and Russian, then submitted to the Allies [who in turn did their own examinations of the victims];

4. In 1955, at the end of the Allied occupation, the Military Police Service was dissolved and the German military files were handed over to the Austrian Federal "Chargé d'Affaires" (Chancellory).

Questions About the Müller Document

If this document is genuine and if Emil Lachout is telling the truth, then one is entitled to raise a number of serious questions:

- 1) Does this document not constitute a verification of a revelation made by one Stephen Pinter in 1959? After the war, this American lawyer had worked for 17 months in Germany for the U.S. War Department. In 1959, he confirmed to a national Catholic weekly that, in the position in which he had found himself, he could state that there had never been any homicidal gas chambers in Germany and in Austria and that, as regards Auschwitz, the Americans had not been able to carry out any investigation there, because the Soviets did not allow it (Our Sunday Visitor, 14 June 1959, p. 15);
- 2) In 1960, Martin Broszat, a member of the Institute for Contemporary History in Munich, stated in a simple letter to the editor of *Die Zeit* (19 August 1960, p. 16) that there had not been any homicidal gassings either in Dachau or, more generally, in any of the camps in the Old Reich (Germany within her frontiers of 1937), which means to say that there had not been any gassings in such camps as Neuengamme, Ravensbrück, Oranienburg-Sachsenhausen as well. He did not present any evidence to substantiate this statement. Would his proofs not have been those reports of the above-mentioned Allied Commissions of Inquiry?
- 3) Assuming that the proofs, the testimonies, and the confessions concerning the 13 camps mentioned in the Müller document no longer are credible, why should the proofs, the testimonies and the confessions concerning Auschwitz retain all the credibility that has heretofore been attributed to them?

Les Chambres à gaz, secret d'Etat (The Gas Chambers, [A] State Secret)

In an attempt to give an answer to the Revisionist arguments, twenty-four authors published in 1983 a book with the title *NS-Massentötungen durch Giftgas* [NS Mass Killings by Poison Gas] (Frankfurt, Fischer Verlag); it was published in French the following year with the title: *Les Chambres à gaz, secret d'Etat* (éd. de Minuit).

Three of its authors will participate in the Sorbonne colloquium: Willi Dressen, a prosecutor at Ludwigsburg, Anise Postel-Vinay, holder of a licencié of letters, and Georges Wellers, of whom I did not succeed in finding out which university diplomas he has, and who usurps the title of "Professor of Physiology and Biochemistry at the Sorbonne" (p. 300).

The book is strange. Its title seems to mean "Readers, those gas chambers were the greatest of all possible secrets: state secrets. So, do not expect to find any proofs in the ordinary sense of the word, but rather elements of proofs (in Latin: *adminicula*, i.e. 'tiny proofs'), to be decoded according to a key which we will give you." The body of the book teems with references, but indications of exact sources are rare. The authors take scarcely any notice at all of the Revisionist arguments, which are essentially on the physical, chemical, topographical, architectural and documentary planes. On page 222 through 255, the authors claim to provide proofs, testimonies or confessions in support of the existence of homicidal gas chambers in the camp of Mauthausen and its satellite camps, as well as in Natzweiler-Struthof, in Neuengamme, Ravensbrück, Sachsenhausen-Oranienburg and Stutthof-Danzig.

How can we reconcile these statements in any way with the revelations of the Müller-document? What are we to think of the working methods adopted by these 24 authors? And to what extent do their proofs differ in any way from the system in the witch trials, where a quarter of a proof, plus a quarter of a proof, plus half a proof were supposed to equal one complete proof?

Michel de Boüard

In 1986, Michel de Boüard, former inmate at Mauthausen, honorary dean of the Faculty of Letters at the University of Caen, member of the Committee for the History of the Second World War, member of the Institut de France, said:

In the monograph on Mauthausen that I published in *Revue d'histoire de la [Deuxième] Guerre mondiale* in 1954, I mentioned a gas chamber on two occasions. When the time of reflection had arrived, I said to myself: where did you arrive at the conviction that there was a gas chamber in Mauthausen? This cannot have been during my stay in this camp, for neither myself nor anybody else ever suspected that there was one there. This must therefore be a piece of "baggage" that I picked up after the war; this was [an] admitted [fact] but I noticed that in my text—although I have the habit of supporting most of my affirmations by references—there was none referring to the gas chamber . . . (*Ouest-France*, August 2-3, 1986, p. 6).

In response to the journalist's question:

You were president of the Calvados (Normandy) Association of Deportees, and you resigned in May, 1985, why?

he said:

I found myself torn between my conscience as a historian and the duties it implies, and on the other hand, my membership in a group of comrades whom I deeply love, but who refuse to recognize the necessity of dealing with the deportation¹ as a historical fact in accordance with sound historical methods. I am haunted by the thought that in 100 years or even 50 years the historians will question themselves on the particular aspect of the Second World War which is the concentration camp system and what they will find out. The record is rotten to the core. On one hand a considerable amount of fantasies, inaccuracies, obstinately repeated (in particular concerning numbers), heterogeneous mixtures, generalizations and, on the other hand, very close critical studies that demonstrate the inanity of those exaggerations. I fear that those future historians might then say that the deportation, when all is said and done, must have been a myth. There lies the danger. That haunts me. (Ibid).

Conclusion

What will be the response of the Sorbonne colloquium to Michel de Bouïard's anxieties?

Will they, to start with, ask the French government to give free access to *all* archives pertaining to the alleged gas chamber at Struthof (Alsace) and will the Austrian Government do the same for Mauthausen (Austria)?

Supposing that the homicidal gas chambers never did exist, should we say so or should we hide it?

¹[In France the term "déportation" connotes not only deportation, but the experience of internment in the camps as well. —Ed.]

Further Information of the "Müller Document"

On December 5 and 7, 1987, in Vienna (Austria), I had an interview with Emil Lachout, who gave me some more information on the Müller document. May I be allowed to summarize this information as follows:

The Allied Commissions of Inquiry (to which Lachout himself never belonged, but whose reports he received on a regular basis) moved around in West Germany and East Germany, in France and in Austria. They examined in particular the former concentration camps as well as their archives, and they interrogated both former detainees and guards. They could not go to Poland, with one exception: that of Danzig, to see the camp of Stutthof-Danzig.

The Poles initially opposed an inquiry in this camp, but the Allies drove it home to them that before the war Danzig had been a "free city"; consequently, nobody could foresee what the final postwar status of this city would be. So the Poles caved in.

These commissions used to systematically dispatch their reports to all Allied authorities (French, British, American, Soviet) who, among other activities, had to occupy themselves with war crimes or war criminals (complaints, inquiries, interrogations, etc.). The more reports these commissions issued, the smaller grew the number of camps which were supposedly equipped with homicidal gas chambers.

Circular letter No. 31 of 1948 lists as many as thirteen camps which did not have such gas chambers. Circular letter No. 15 of the same year of 1948 numbered under its first point fewer than thirteen such camps; and for this reason circular letter No. 31 specifies that "Item 1 is to be deleted."

Emil Lachout affirms that he remembers Müller's reaction when the latter, in his presence, took cognizance of the sentence in circular letter No. 31 which states that charges must be brought against those who insisted on mentioning the existence of criminal gassings in these thirteen camps. Turning toward Lachout, Müller asked him whether or not this last sentence was necessary at all. Lachout replied to him that in the absence of a specification of this kind, they, he and Müller, would be assailed with requests for information as to what disposition was to be taken by all the authorities charged to deal with complaints or testimonies made by former deportees. Things had to be clear for them. Therefore this decision was made, which was finally approved by Müller.

Lachout confided one copy of this Müller document to an Austrian extreme right-wing periodical which reprinted it in November 1987. One month later, the Ministry for Education (Bundesministerium für Unterricht) disseminated a kind of warning for young Austrians. The text was signed by, most notably, Hermann Langbein, a leading personality of the International Auschwitz Committee. The authors of this text inadvertently confirm the veracity of the Müller document.

—Robert Faurisson

February 1, 1988

KNOWLEDGE MAKES "HALT" UNSTEADY (WISSEN MACHT "HALT" HALTLOS)

Information for students against extreme right-wing propaganda.

"Final Solution"

After Hitler had started his war in 1939, there was no longer any chance for Jews to emigrate. The compulsory measures against them were dramatically aggravated. When the war was expanded to the Soviet Union in the summer of 1941, the "final solution"—the extermination of all Jews—began. Gas chambers were installed in the extermination camps in conquered Poland.

WISSEN MACHT „HALT“ HATLOS

Eine information für Schuler gegen rechtsextreme Propaganda

„Endlösung“

Nachdem Hitler im September 1939 seinen Krieg begonnen hatte, bestand für Juden keine Möglichkeit zur Auswanderung mehr. Die Zwangsmaßnahmen gegen sie wurden radikal verstärkt. Als der Krieg im Sommer 1941 auf die Sowjetunion ausgedehnt wurde, setzte die „Endlösung“ ein – die Vernichtung aller Juden. Gaskammern wurden in den Vernichtungslagern im besiegten Polen installiert.

Das erste KZ

Sofort, nachdem Hitler im Jänner 1933 Reichskanzler geworden war, wurden Konzentrationslager eingerichtet – am 22. März 1933 als erstes Dachau bei München. Weitere folgten: Nach Österreichs „Anschluß“ das Lager Mauthausen im August 1938. In all diesen Konzentrationslagern sind unzählige gestorben, getötet worden. In der Fachsprache werden jedoch als Vernichtungslager diejenigen bezeichnet, welche 1941/42 in Polen errichtet wurden; denn die dorthin Deportierten wurden unmittelbar nach der Ankunft in den Gaskammern gemordet, ohne je in den Stand des Lagers aufgenommen worden zu sein.

Vier Vernichtungslager richtete die SS ein: Treblinka, Sobibor und Belzec lagen in Ostpolen, Kulmhof (Chelmno) im Westen Polens bei Lodz.

Als die Periode der schnellen Blitzsieg zu Ende gegangen war, wurden immer mehr KZ-Häftlinge zu Arbeiten in der Rüstungsindustrie gebraucht. Darum entschloss sich die SS, die deportierten Juden vor der Eskortierung in eine Gaskammer einer Selektion zu unterwerfen. Wer arbeitsfähig zu sein schien, wurde

als Häftling ins Lager eingewiesen, die Arbeitsunfähigen – also auch die Kinder, Kranken und Greise – wurden sofort getötet. Zum Zentrum dafür wurde ein Konzentrationslager bestimmt, das schon

Auschwitz

früher bestanden hatte: Auschwitz, etwa 60 km westlich von Krakau. Auch im KZ Majdanek bei Lublin wurde zeitweise selektiert und anschließend vergast. Diese beiden KZ's waren also gleichzeitig auch Vernichtungslager. Das weitaus größte – eben Auschwitz – wurde seither zum Synonym für die unvergleichlichen Verbrechen des nationalsozialistischen Systems. Darum konzentrieren sich die „Reinwäscher“ vor allem darauf, die dort begangenen Verbrechen in Frage zu stellen, ja die Existenz von Gaskammern dort anzuzweifeln.

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The First Concentration Camps

Immediately after Hitler had become Reich Chancellor in 1933, concentration camps were established—on 22 March 1933, the first c.c., Dachau, near Munich, was set up. Others followed: after Austria's "Anschluss," the camp Mauthausen was set up in August 1938. In all these concentration camps, countless people were killed. But in technical language, those camps, which were constructed in Poland in 1941/42, are described as extermination camps; for the deportees who were taken there were ordered into the gas chambers immediately, without having ever been registered in the camp files.

The SS installed 4 (four) extermination camps: Treblinka, Sobibor and Belzec, situated in eastern Poland, Kulmhof (Chelmno) in western Poland near Lodz.

When the period of the blitzkrieg victories was over, more and more c.c. prisoners were required to work in the armament industry. For this reason, the SS decided to subject the Jews to a selection prior to their being escorted into a gas chamber. Anyone who appeared to be fit for work was directed into the camp as a prisoner, those who were unfit for work—this means also the children, sick and aged—were killed immediately. One particular concentration camp, Auschwitz, which had been in existence for some time, situated about 60 km west of Cracow, was determined to be the center for this [killing operation]. Selections and subsequent gassing were carried out at times in the c.c. of Majdanek as well.

So, these two c.c.'s were simultaneously also extermination camps. The far larger camp—Auschwitz—since become a synonym for the incomparable crimes of the NS system. This is why the "white-washers" predominantly concentrate their efforts on questioning the crimes which were committed there, yes, even on doubting the existence of gas chambers there.

What the reader must recognize is that, until now, the proponents of the Zionist line—whose "official" contentions on the horrors of war I have been following—have never been faced with arguments other than those from journalists, which have been often vague and specious, factors that have been the main reason for their lack of success. The only way to shatter their arguments was to set up against them the arguments of a specialist. And, that is what I have tried to do.

—Paul Rassinier,
Debunking the Genocide Myth

From the Editor (continued from page 4)

IHR Editorial Advisory Committee member Georg Franz-Willing and other contributors.

Readers will notice a somewhat smaller overall trim size in this issue. Previous issues were six inches by nine, but softcover book printers are beginning to favor dimensions of one-half inch less each way, rendering the earlier size economically impractical. The already more common 5½ by 8½ inch format is the “wave of the future,” so we’re told. We at IHR, who print and publish in forward-looking California, hard by the Pacific Ocean, wish to be in disharmony with the future and the present no more than with the past. Thus, we have consented to this minor abbreviation in size, with no sacrifice in text, but with slightly thinner margins. From here on in—with your approval, we trust—the new trim size will be standard for *The Journal* and its annual bound volumes.

We sincerely hope that the return of *The Journal of Historical Review*, together with the advances Historical Revisionists are making around the world, signals the onset of a tidal wave of historical truth, a Revisionist tsunami, which will sweep away decades- and age-old falsehoods, a wave that Revisionists and their supporters will ride high, wide and handsome to victory.

—Theodore J. O’Keefe

About the Contributors

ALEXANDER V. BERKIS received a Master of Law degree from the University of Latvia in 1940. After coming to the United States, Dr. Berkis earned an M.A. (1954) and a Ph.D. (1956) from the University of Wisconsin. Dr. Berkis was professor of history for twenty years at Longwood College in Virginia. He is the author of two books in English, *The Reign of Duke James, 1638-1682* and *The History of the Duchy of Courland*.

ROBERT FAURISSON is Associate Professor of French Literature at the University of Lyon-2 in France. He specializes in the appraisal and evaluation of texts and documents. A frequent contributor to *The Journal of Historical Review*, Professor Faurisson has published numerous articles and books, including *Is the Diary of Anne Frank Genuine?* and *Réponse à Pierre Vidal-Naquet*.

GEORG FRANZ-WILLING earned a doctorate in history at the University of Munich. He has taught history at the naval academy of the Bundeswehr in Flensburg and been associated with a number of scholarly institutes. Dr. Franz-Willing is the author of numerous books and articles on modern history, including *Die Reichskanzlei 1933-1945* and *Trilogie zur Entstehungs- und Frühgeschichte der Hitlerbewegung*. His most recent book, *Bin ich schuldig?*, is a

biography of Dr. Gustav Adolf Scheel, leader of the Reichsstudentenbund and Gauleiter of Salzburg.

R. CLARENCE LANG is a retired professor of German and history. He earned a B.A. at Wartburg College in Iowa and a baccalaureate of divinity from the Wartburg Seminary. After an M.A. in history at the University of South Dakota, he obtained a Ph.D. in history at the University of Kiel (Germany). Dr. Lang has served as an Evangelical Lutheran pastor in Canada and the Dakotas.

MARTIN A. LARSON received a Ph.D. in English literature at the University of Michigan in 1927. Throughout his life Dr. Larson has taken a keen interest in comparative religions, taxation and the monetary system. In 1980 he published *The Essene Christian Faith*, one of over 20 books he has authored. He makes his home with his wife in Arizona.

OTTO ERNST REMER was born in 1912 in Neubrandenburg, Mecklenburg. During the Second World War, Remer rose to the rank of brigadier general (Generalmajor), and received numerous combat decorations, including the Knight's Cross with Oak Leaf. After the war Remer headed the Sozialistische Reichspartei (Socialist Reich Party) until its suppression by the West German government. Today, General Remer is the leader of the Deutsche Freiheitsbewegung (German Freedom Movement).

HENRI ROQUES, a retired agricultural engineer, is sixty-seven years old. During the 1960's he became a close friend of Paul Rassinier, the father of Holocaust Revisionism. His longstanding interest in the history of the Second World War and the promptings of Rassinier led Roques to undertake a doctoral dissertation on the "confessions" of Kurt Gerstein, with results he has described here. The first man in the history of French university studies to have had his doctorate revoked by state decree, Mr. Roques makes his home in a suburb of Paris.

WILHELM STÄGLICH served as an anti-aircraft officer in the German army during World War II. He received a doctorate in law (Dr. Jur.) from the University of Göttingen in 1951. Dr. Stäglich served for 20 years as a judge in Hamburg. He is the author of *Der Auschwitz Mythos*, which has been banned from open sale in West Germany, and which has been published in English as *The Auschwitz Myth* by the IHR.

H. KEITH THOMPSON, a graduate of Yale University, is the co-author (with Henry Strutz) of *Doenitz at Nuremberg: A Reappraisal*. He has been a frequent contributor to *The Journal of Historical Review*.

JACK WIKOFF is a writer and researcher living in central New York state.

Finally, an Honest History of WORLD WAR ONE.

The First World War cost more than eight million dead and twenty million wounded. It shattered empires, spawned blood-drenched revolutions, and set the Third World ablaze with anti-colonial fervor. And from the bloody trenches and bomb-cratered no-man's-land of its most furious battles would spring forth an unsung German infantryman, Adolf Hitler, to put his stamp on the twentieth century as has no man before or since.

Author Leon Degrelle, a highly decorated combat officer and former confidant of the German Fuehrer at the height of his power, has exploited long-neglected documents in this comprehensive history of the war that ignited what he calls "The Hitler Century," the modern Iron Age of total war and fragile peace. His findings smash once and for all the myth of German war guilt. Degrelle argues with passion and eloquence that the corrupt leaders of France's Third Republic, the power-hungry intriguers of Pan-Slavism, the buccaneers of British imperialism, and the shadowy eminences of international finance and world Zionism unleashed and prolonged the carnage. He also unveils the sordid postwar maneuvers of the West's intellectually and morally bankrupt leaders, as they carved up a prostrate central Europe wracked by the alien contagion of Bolshevism.

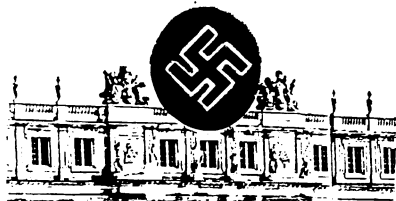
Readers will learn the sinister secret of Sarajevo and the real culprits who sent the *Lusitania* to its doom; penetrate the *real* origins of today's Mideast conflict; discover the hidden forces that brought Communism to Russia. They'll slog with British Tommies, French Poilus and German Landsers through the muck of Passchendaele and Verdun; ride with Lawrence through Arabia's sun-dazzled sands; plot with Lenin and a handful of conspirators in Zurich and St. Petersburg; battle Bolsheviks in furious street fights in Munich and Berlin. And those who read this book will grasp the key to the secret origins of Adolf Hitler: that the Third Reich's leader was born, not in Austria in 1889, but in 1919, at Versailles.

No man has done more to shape the twentieth century than Adolf Hitler, nor has any man so completely embodied its tangled leitmotives. Romantic and technocrat, man of the people and tyrant, master builder and pitiless destroyer who vaulted his nation to the heights of world power only to oversee its ruin, Adolf Hitler has been idolized and reviled as no other man of the age. Yet despite thousands of books about Hitler, no convincing portrait of the man and his motives has yet appeared. Now, Leon Degrelle, the charismatic scourge of Belgium's prewar establishment has combined his firsthand knowledge of Hitler and more than forty years of research in an unprecedented biographical project. This first volume, *Hitler: Born at Versailles*, inaugurates a series planned to comprise more than a dozen books, in each of which Degrelle will analyze an aspect of the Fuehrer's personality, career and times. No one with an interest in this turbulent century's most compelling and, until now, most enigmatic figure, will want to miss a single one of them.

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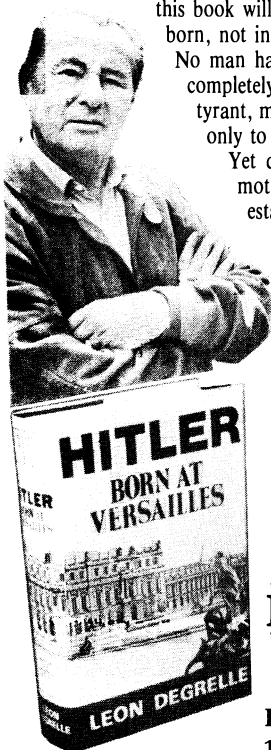
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The Journal of Historical Review

Carlo Mattogno

*The Myth of the
Extermination of the Jews*

Mark Weber

*An Open Letter
to the Rev. Mark Herbener*

Paul Grubach

*A Critique of
the Charge of Anti-Semitism*

Martin Merson

On the Treadmill to Truth

—Reviews—

*Waldheim • Stalin's War • An American in Exile
Heckling Hitler • Keeper of Concentration Camps
Marxism in the United States*

—Historical News and Comment—

*West Germany's Holocaust Payoff to Israel and World Jewry
Pearl Harbor Survivors Association Honors Kimmel and Short*

The Journal of Historical Review

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From the Editor

In this issue *The Journal of Historical Review* is proud to introduce Italian Revisionist Carlo Mattogno to the English-speaking world. Mr. Mattogno, a classicist and Orientalist trained in Latin, Greek, Sanskrit, and Hebrew, has during the past three years produced a stream of Revisionist monographs painstakingly analyzing and debunking Exterminationist claims relating to the Holocaust. This first part of Mr. Mattogno's "historico-bibliographical introduction to Revisionist historiography," which ran first in the outstanding French Revisionist quarterly *Annales d'histoire révisionniste*, is as lucid and salient an exposure of Exterminationist rodomontade on the "Final Solution"—myth and reality—as we've seen anywhere. (Part II will appear in the Fall issue of *The JHR*.)

The Journal is also pleased to welcome Paul Grubach, a graduate student in sociobiology, to the ranks of Revisionist writers. Mr. Grubach's careful study of the function of the charge of "anti-Semitism" as not merely thwarting but rendering taboo discussion of the role of Jews in American and world politics could not be more timely in the light of recent developments in Washington and the Middle East.

Two important articles by Editorial Advisory Committee member Mark Weber appear in this issue. Weber's "Open Letter to the Reverend Herbener" is not only an important survey of the scanty documentary evidence on the transit camps of Belzec, Sobibor, and Treblinka, which Exterminationists present as "killing centers," but a challenge to Exterminationists to debate their claims in the public forum, a challenge that has been taken up by a group of fundamentalist Christian Exterminationists subsequent to the appearance of the "open letter" in 1987. The debate is scheduled for early 1988, in Washington, D.C. Weber's analysis of West Germany's huge reparations payments to Jews, and to the state of Israel, since the 1950's is noteworthy, not merely for documenting the massive subvention these enforced payments have represented for Jewry, but for using the reparations statistics to impugn still further the arbitrary and false figure of six million Jews dead in Europe during the Second World War.

Martin Merson, a former naval officer, veteran of the Pacific War, and retired federal administrator, has, in reviewing an important testimony by the late Admiral James O. Richardson, leveled important criticisms at the American Establishment historians of Pearl Harbor, who remain as anxious as ever to safeguard the Roosevelt flame by continuing to tarnish the reputations of the unwitting defenders of Pearl Harbor. Merson has further reported

(continued on page 254)

The Myth of the Extermination of the Jews: Part I

CARLO MATTOGNO

1. "Not a document remains, or perhaps ever existed."

What strikes one most in the voluminous literature dedicated to the "extermination" of the Jews is the disparity existing between so grave an accusation and the fragility of the evidence furnished for its support.

The elaboration and realization of so gigantic an "extermination plan" would have required a very complex organization, technically, economically, and administratively, as noted by Enzo Collotti:

It is easy to understand that so horrifying a tragedy could not physically be carried out by only a few hundred, or even by a few thousand, that it could not be accomplished without a very extensive organization, benefiting by the help and collaboration of the most diverse sectors of national life, practically all branches of government, in other words, without the collusion of millions of people who knew, who saw, who accepted, or who, in any case, even if they did not agree, kept silent and, most often, worked without reacting in making their contribution to the machinery of the persecution and the extermination.¹

Gerald Reitlinger underscores that:

Hitler Germany was a police state of the highest degree, that has left hundreds of tons of documents and thousands of precious pieces of evidence.

So that, finally,

. . . there is, in truth, nothing that this adversary has not confided to paper.²

At the end of the Second World War the Allies seized

. . . all the secret archives of the German government, including the documents of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Army and the Navy, of the National Socialist Party, and of the Secret State Police [Gestapo] of Heinrich Himmler.³

Those archives were sifted by the victorious powers with a view toward the Nuremberg trials:

Hundreds of thousands of seized German documents were assembled in all haste at Nuremberg in order to be used as evidence against the principal Nazi war criminals.⁴

The Americans alone examined 1,100 tons of documents⁵ from which they selected 2,500 documents.⁶

One would expect, then, to be submerged by a flood of documents establishing the reality of the "extermination" of the Jews, but matters presented themselves in a very different manner, as is recognized by Léon Poliakov:

The archives torn from the bowels of the Third Reich, the depositions and accounts of its chiefs permit us to reconstruct in their least detail the birth and the development of its plans for aggression, its military campaigns, and the whole range of processes by which the Nazis intended to reshape the world to their pattern. Only the campaign to exterminate the Jews, as concerns its completion, as well as in many other essential aspects, remains steeped in fog. Psychological inferences and considerations, third- or fourth-hand accounts, allow us to reconstruct the developments with a considerable verisimilitude. Certain details, nevertheless, will remain unknown forever. As concerns the concept proper of the plan for total extermination, the three or four principal actors are dead. No document remains, and has perhaps never existed. That is the secret of the masters of the Third Reich. As boastful and cynical as they were on other occasions, they covered up their major crimes.⁷

Since the first version of Léon Poliakov's work⁸ the situation has not changed:

Despite the great harvest of Nazi documents captured by the Allies at the end of the war, it is precisely the documents concerning the process of the formation of the idea of the "final solution of the Jewish question" that are missing, to the point that up until the present it is difficult to say how, when, and exactly by whom the order to exterminate the Jews was given.⁹

The "plan for total extermination" still remains a mystery, even from the technical, economic, and administrative viewpoint:

The technical genius of the Germans allowed them to mount, within a few months, an efficient, rationalized death industry. Like every industry it comprised research and development, and administrative services, accounting, and records. Many aspects of these activities remain unknown to us, and remain hidden by a secret incomparably more opaque than that of the German war industries. The German rocket and torpedo technicians, the economic planners of the Reich have survived, and have given up their plans and their processes to the victors; almost all the technicians of death have disappeared, after having destroyed their records.

Extermination camps had sprung up at first with rudimentary

installations, which were then perfected; who perfected them? A veritable mastery of crowd psychology was manifested, to the end of assuring the perfect docility of the men intended for death: who were the promoters? There are so many questions to which, at the moment,¹⁰ we can find only fragmentary, and sometimes hypothetical, replies.¹¹

Fragmentary information allows us to have an imperfect notion of the part played by the technicians of euthanasia in the extermination of the Polish Jews. But many points still remain in darkness; in general the history of the Polish camps is very imperfectly known.¹²

But a systematic "extermination plan" evidently presupposes a specific order that, by force of circumstance, can be imputed only to the Führer. Now one must set down that this phantom-like *Führerbefehl* (command of the Führer) is submerged in the most impenetrable blackness.

Walter Laqueur acknowledges:

To the present day a written order by Hitler regarding the destruction of the European Jewish community has not been found, and, in all probability, this order was never given.¹³

Colin Cross admits:

There does not exist then, anything like a written order signed by him for the extermination of the Jews in Europe.¹⁴

Christian Zentner acknowledges:

One cannot fix the exact moment when Hitler gave the order—without doubt never drawn up in writing—to exterminate the Jews.¹⁵

Saul Friedländer admits:

It is not known precisely when the idea of the physical extermination of the Jews imposed itself on Hitler's spirit.¹⁶

Joachim Fest acknowledged:

To the present day the question of knowing when Hitler made the decision for the Final Solution of the Jewish question is in abeyance, and for the simple reason that not a single document on the subject exists.¹⁷

The total absence of evidence permits the official historians to give free rein to the most diverse speculations.

After having insinuated that "it is Adolf Hitler in person who undoubtedly signed the death sentence of the Jews of Europe,"¹⁸

Léon Poliakov continues:

All that we can affirm with certainty is that the genocidal decision was made by Hitler at a time that may be set between the end of the campaign in the west, in June 1940, and the aggression against Russia, a year later. Contrary to the account of Dr. Kersten, it seems to us more probable to set it some months later [the autumn of 1940], that is to say, at the beginning of 1941.

Here we get into the game of psychological deductions, to which we are obliged to appeal in order to provide a response to the second and throbbing question: what could have been the factors that weighed in the Hitlerian resolution?¹⁹

Poliakov affirms, consequently, "with certainty" that the "extermination" decision was made in the space of a year (June 1940 - June 1941)!

That he brings into play here largely "the game of psychological deductions" is demonstrated by the fact that in another work, he moves forward imperturbably by a year and a half the fateful decision of the Führer (September 1939 instead of June 1941).

The program of the National Socialist Party called for the elimination of Jews from the German community; between 1933 and 1939 they were methodically bullied, plundered, forced to emigrate; the decision to kill them to the last man also dated from the beginning of the war.²⁰

Arthur Eisenbach declares on this subject:

It is today verified that the plans for the massive extermination of the Jewish population of Europe had been prepared by the Nazi government before the outbreak of the Second World War, and were thereupon carried out gradually, according to the European political and military situations.²¹

According to Helmut Krausnick, Hitler gave the secret order to exterminate the Jews "at the latest in March 1941."²²

Item 79 of the judgement in the Eichmann trial in Jerusalem, on the contrary, maintains that the extermination order "was given by Hitler himself shortly before the invasion of Russia,"²³ while the judgement of the Nuremberg trial pronounces:

The plan for the extermination of the Jews was formulated immediately after the aggression against the Soviet Union.²⁴

In a report drawn up in Bratislava 18 November 1944, Dieter Wisliceny, former Hauptsturmführer and Eichmann's representative in Slovakia, affirmed that to his knowledge "the decision of Hitler that ordered the biological extermination of European Judaism [sic]" must be dated back to "after the beginning of the war with the United States,"²⁵ that is, it would have been after 11 December 1941.

This is why all that the official historians can affirm "with certainty," to use Poliakov's expression, is that the supposed "decision of the Führer" and the alleged "extermination order" were given over a time lapse of nearly two years!

Just as fanciful is the sham order of Himmler that would have put an end to the extermination of the Jews.

Olga Wormser-Migot asserts on the subject:

No more than there exists a written order in clear text for extermination by gas at Auschwitz does there exist a written order to stop it in November 1944.²⁶

She adds more precisely:

Last remark on the gas chambers: Neither at the Nuremberg trial, nor in the course of the different [occupation] zone trials, nor at the trial of Höss at Cracow, of Eichmann in Israel, nor at the trials of the camp commanders, nor from November 1964 to August 1965 at the Frankfurt trial [Auschwitz “second echelon” accused] was there ever produced the famous order signed by Himmler 22 November 1944 ending the extermination of the Jews by gas and putting a finish to the Final Solution.²⁷

Kurt Becher, former SS Standartenführer, affirmed that Himmler gave this order “between mid-September and mid-October 1944,”²⁸ which contradicts the testimony of Reszö Kastner, according to whom Kurt Becher had told him that Himmler on 25²⁹ or on 26³⁰ November 1944 had ordered the crematories and the “gas chambers” to be destroyed and to suspend the “extermination” of the Jews.

Strangely, this phantom order that even the Auschwitz *Kalendarium* puts at 26 November 1944³¹ is deemed to have gotten into the Auschwitz crematories on 17 November, or nine days before the order itself was delivered!³²

According to other testimony reported in *Het doedenboek van Auschwitz*, the order came from Berlin even sooner, on 2 November 1944.³³

At Nuremberg Wisliceny declared that Himmler's counterorder was sent in October 1944.³⁴

In conclusion there exists no document establishing the reality of the “plan to exterminate” the Jews, so that “it is difficult to say how, when, and exactly by whom the order to exterminate the Jews was given.”

Such is the most recent conclusion of Exterminationist historiography.

From 29 June to 2 July 1982, the School of Higher Studies in Social Sciences and the Sorbonne organized, in Paris, an important international conference on the theme: “Nazi Germany and the Extermination of the Jews.”

In the introductory report, titled “The historiographical debate on Nazi anti-Semitism and the extermination of the Jews,” Saul Friedländer adduced in evidence the presence of two fundamental tendencies of the most recent historiography in regard to the genesis and development of the “extermination” of the Jews.³⁵

The first is the thesis of the continuity “that established right from the start a cause-and-effect relationship between Nazi ideology since its origins, in particular, that of Hitler and the annihilation of the Jews.”³⁶ The other is the idea of discontinuity that implies “a certain

anarchy at the level of the decision-making centers, that restores to certain responsible subalterns of the Nazi hierarchy their importance and eliminates, in part, the idea of one supremely responsible man, Hitler, in that which concerns the Jewish policy.”³⁷

Not only are these two interpretations contradictory, but indeed both are without foundation.³⁸

Neither the thesis of inexorable continuity and of planning the total extermination of the Jews before the attack on the USSR, nor that of discontinuity and improvisation can be demonstrated in reality, in view of the present state of the sources; such is the conclusion reached by Krausnick and Wilhelm at the end of their monumental study of the Einsatzgruppen.³⁹

At the end of his report Saul Friedländer traces a “framework of the acquisitions of [Exterminationist] historiography” in which, regarding the extermination of the Jews, he admits:

The question of the date on which the total physical extermination of the Jews was decided, as well as the elaboration of the plan for the “final solution” remain unresolved.⁴⁰

These “acquisitions” have been fully confirmed in the presentations of two other historians.

Uwe Dietrich Adam in his account “Nazi measures regarding the Jews from the start of the Second World War up to the German attack against the USSR,” declared:

However, the precise date at which this “final solution” was ordained constitutes a problem not yet resolved for German and for world history.⁴¹

And again:

Insofar as no one has yet discovered a written trace of this order [to liquidate the Jews under German control] in the sources which have been exploited up to the present, and insofar as that seems unlikely, it is incumbent on the historian to date it as precisely as possible by appealing to interpretation. Since the methods and the hypotheses on this subject are very numerous, we find ourselves confronted with very diverse opinions.⁴²

In his account “The decision concerning the final solution,” Christopher R. Browning spoke of “essential divergences” among Exterminationist historians:

The decision concerning the final solution has been the object of a large number of historical interpretations. The essential divergences seem to involve two connected questions: on the one hand, the nature of the decision process and, more particularly, the role of Hitler and his ideology; on the other hand, the moment when the decision was made. As Martin Broszat rightly remarked, so great a variety of interpretations warns us that every theory on the origin of the final solution is in the domain of probability rather than of certitude.⁴³

Browning then presents a survey recapitulating these “essential divergences”:

For Lucy Dawidowicz, the conception of the final solution preceded its accomplishment by twenty years; for Martin Broszat, the idea emerged from praxis—the sporadic murder of groups of Jews gave birth to the idea of killing the Jews systematically. Between these two polar extremes, one finds a large variety of interpretations. Thus Eberhard Jäckel maintains that the idea of killing the Jews formed in Hitler's mind around 1924. Stressing Hitler's threatening declarations at the end of the thirties, Karl Dietrich Bracher supposes that the intention existed from this period. Andreas Hillgruber and Klaus Hildebrand affirm the primacy of ideological factors but propose no precise date. Others, not all functionalists, place the turning point in 1941; however, several dates are proposed for that year. Léon Poliakov judges that the beginning of 1941 is the most likely date, and Robert Kempner and Helmut Krausnick maintain that Hitler made the decision in the spring, in connection with the preparations for the invasion of Russia. Raul Hilberg thinks that the decision was made during the summer, when the massacres carried out in Russia fostered the belief that this solution was possible for a victorious Germany throughout Europe. Uwe Dietrich Adam states that it was made in autumn, at the time when the military offensive faltered and a “territorial solution” for a massive expulsion to Russia proved impossible. Finally Sebastian Haffner, who is certainly not a functionalist, defends a still later date, at the beginning of December, when first presentiment of defeat pushed Hitler to seek an irreversible victory over the Jews.⁴⁴

At this point, Browning asks:

How to explain such a diversity of interpretations regarding the character and the date of the decision on the final solution?

This diversity is explained, according to Browning, by a subjective ground—the different vantage points occupied by the “intentionalists” and the “functionalists”—and an objective ground which is in reality the real reason, “by the lack of documentation.”⁴⁵

Browning continues:

There are no written archives in which Hitler, Himmler, and Heydrich discuss the subject of the final solution, and none of the three survived to testify after the war. That is why the historian must himself reconstruct the decision process at the top by extrapolating from events, documents, and external testimony. Just like Plato's man in the cave, he only sees reflections and shadows, not reality. This risky process of extrapolation and reconstruction leads inevitably to a large variety of conclusions.⁴⁶

Browning insists many times on the nearly total absence of documents concerning the “extermination plan” for the Jews:

Nevertheless, in spite of everything known about the German invasion of Russia, there is no specific documentation on the destiny

reserved for the Russian Jews. In order to obtain an answer to this question it is necessary to have recourse to postwar testimony, to indirect proofs and to scattered references in the later documents.⁴⁷

If the decision to kill the Jews in Russia indeed was taken before the invasion, on the other hand the circumstances and the exact moment of this decision remain obscure. It is impossible to determine if the initiative came from Hitler or from someone else, from Heydrich for example. Moreover, it is not known whether Hitler had already made his decision in March, when he announced clearly to the military that the Russian war would not be a conventional war, or if the complaisance of the military pushed them in the end to widen the circle of intended victims beyond the "Judeo-Bolshevik intelligentsia." Insufficient documentation does not permit a definite response to these questions, allowing only informed hypotheses.⁴⁸

It is not known, and doubtless will never be known when and how Heydrich and his immediate superior, Himmler, became aware of their new mission.⁴⁹

Finally:

There was no written order for the final solution, and we have not a single reference to a verbal order, outside of that furnished by Himmler and Heydrich, who stated they acted in accord with the Führer.⁵⁰

To conclude, the "acquisitions" of Exterminationist historiography, up to the present, are still: "Not a document remains, or perhaps ever existed."

2. The National Socialist Policy for Jewish Emigration

The alleged "extermination plan" for the Jews, aside from not being corroborated by any document, is refuted decisively by National Socialist policy in the matter of Jewish emigration, a policy which we can trace here only in its essential lines.

In a letter to his friend Gemlich of 16 September 1919, considered to be "the first written document of Hitler's political career,"¹ he states on the subject of the Jewish question:

Rational anti-Semitism must, however, lead to the struggle against the privileges of the Jew that he alone possesses, in contrast to the other foreigners who dwell among us (legislation relative to foreigners), and to their legal and systematic suppression. But its ultimate goal must be, immutably and above all else, the removal of the Jews.²

On 13 August 1920 in Munich Hitler gave a speech, "Why Are We Anti-Semites?," in which he repeated that a scientific knowledge of anti-Semitism must translate into action ending in "the removal of the Jews from among our people."³

The solution of the Jewish question became the principal inspiration of the National Socialist political program and of the racial doctrine. Indeed, as Poliakov notes:

. . . that there had to be exterminations is not apparent, furthermore, from any of the National Socialist dogmas, or their principal writings. *Mein Kampf*, where the word "Jew" appears on almost every page, is mute on the fate that will befall them in the National Socialist state. The official party program⁴ declares that "a Jew cannot be a compatriot" nor, consequently, a citizen, while the commentaries on the program call more explicitly for "the expulsion of the Jews and undesirable foreigners."⁵

The removal of the Jews from the Reich was the focal point of Hitler's policy toward the Jews from his accession to power. On 28 August 1933 the Reich Economics Ministry and the Jewish Agency for Palestine agreed to what was called the *Haavara Abkommen*, which was an accord (*Abkommen*) to facilitate the transfer (*Haavara*)⁶ of German Jews to Palestine.⁷

A note of the Foreign Affairs Ministry dated 19 March 1938 presaged the breaking of the accord because, as may be read in point 3, it was not in the interest of Germany to organize the emigration of rich Jews with their capital, which [German] interest rested rather "on a mass emigration of Jews."⁸

The Nuremberg laws of 15 September 1935⁹ reaffirmed, by legislation, Articles 4 and 5 of the party program formulated in Munich 24 February 1920. The goal of the law on Reich citizenship, and of that for the defense of German blood and honor, was to separate and isolate the Jewish foreign body from the German organism in view of the approaching expulsion, as underscored by Reitlinger:

In 1938, shortly before the Munich "agreement," when the Fifth Supplementary Decree had just finished ousting the Jews from the last of the free professions, Wilhelm Stuckart, who not only drafted, but was in large part the promoter of the Nuremberg laws, wrote that from here on the objective of the racial laws was attained. A great number of decisions carried out thanks to the Nuremberg laws "lose importance as one nears the final solution of the Jewish problem." The phrase, as is evident, was not yet a mask for the concept of the extermination of the race; on the contrary, it alluded clearly to the fact that the laws did not intend to perpetrate the Jewish problem, but rather to eliminate the reasons for it. The Jews had to leave the Reich, once and for all.¹⁰

In fact at the end of 1936 a service for Jewish questions was constituted as part of the SS Security Service. "The essential goal of the new agency was the study of all questions preparatory to a mass emigration of the Jews."¹¹

In 1938 there was instituted in Vienna the Central Office for Jewish Emigration (*Zentralstelle für jüdische Auswanderung*), the direction of which was entrusted to Adolf Eichmann by Heydrich.¹²

On 12 November 1938, some days after what was called "Crystal Night" (the night of broken glass) Göring convened the Council of

Ministers to face the difficult situation thereby created.

The attitude of the National Socialist chiefs appears unequivocally as one goes through the stenographic record of the meeting. Heydrich declared that the ejection of the Jews from German economic life did not resolve "the fundamental problem of the end objective: the removal of the Jews from Germany." At Vienna, by order of the Reichskommissar, a central office for Jewish emigration had been set up, by whose intervention at least 50,000 Jews had left Austria, while in the same period only 19,000 had left the Old Reich. That is why he proposed to establish, in the Reich as well, a central service similar to that of Vienna, and to establish an emigration operation to be completed in 8 to 10 years. Finance Minister von Krosigk approved Heydrich's proposal: he agreed to make every effort toward the evacuation abroad of the Jews. Interior Minister Frick repeated that the objective had to be to make the largest possible number of Jews emigrate.¹³

In order to overcome the economic difficulties entailed by Jewish emigration, in December 1938 Hitler approved the Schacht plan.

The proposition discussed by Schacht with Lord Bearsted, Lord Winterton, and Mr. Rublee in London in December was, in large outline, the following: The German government would freeze the assets of the Jews to use them as a fund to guarantee an international loan amortizable in 20-25 years. Supposing that the Jewish assets were valued at 1.5 billion marks, there would have been a sufficient amount of foreign exchange to finance the emigration of Jews from the greater Reich over 3-5 years in the normal course of events.

After Schacht's return to Germany, he met with Hitler in Berchtesgaden on 2 January 1939 concerning the reception his proposals had received in London. Hitler seemed to be impressed, as three days later he named Schacht special delegate for the augmentation of Jewish emigration.¹⁴

In January 1939 Schacht and [George] Rublee, director of an "intergovernmental" committee for the emigration of German Jews, agreed in London to a basic plan forseeing the emigration of about 400,000 Jews in the space of 3 years.¹⁵

Reitlinger attributes the failure of the Schacht plan to the reaction aroused in Hitler by Schacht's refusal to increase the circulation of paper money, following which, on 20 January 1939, Schacht was dismissed from the presidency of the Reichsbank. However, in an interview given Rolf Vogel in January 1970, Schacht declared that the plan was checkmated by the opposition of Chaim Weizmann.¹⁶

Meanwhile, National Socialist policy in the matter of Jewish emigration forged ahead.

On 24 January 1939 Göring promulgated a decree authorizing the establishment of a Reich Central [Office] for Jewish Emigration.

Göring summarized at the outset National Socialist policy toward

the Jews in lapidary fashion:

The emigration of the Jews from Germany is to be furthered by all means [*Die Auswanderung der Juden aus Deutschland ist mit allen Mitteln zu fördern*].

It is precisely to that end that he established the Reich Central Office for Jewish Emigration mentioned above, which had as its assignment "the adoption of all measures to prepare for an intensified emigration of the Jews," and lastly to facilitate the bureaucratic procedures for the emigration of each individual.

The direction of the Reich Central Office for Jewish Emigration Göring entrusted to Heydrich, Chief of the Security Police.¹⁷

In the course of the first meeting of the Committee of the Central Office for Jewish Emigration (11 February 1939), Heydrich discussed, above all, the Schacht-Rublee plan:

This plan evidently is destined to become the basis of a massive and organized Jewish emigration, but its implementation seems not yet to be ensured; it would be an error to count solely on it. We must therefore continue to encourage emigration by all the means at our disposal, leaving the plan aside.¹⁸

A Foreign Affairs Ministry report 25 January 1939 titled *The Jewish Question as a Factor of Foreign Policy in 1938* unequivocally confirmed the animating principle of National Socialist Jewish policy:

The end objective of German policy in regard to the Jews is the emigration of all Jews living in the territory of the Reich [*Das letzte Ziel der deutschen Judenpolitik ist die Auswanderung aller im Reichsgebiet lebenden Juden*].¹⁹

This report upheld "a radical solution of the Jewish question by emigration—such as has been pursued here for years [*eine radikale Lösung der Judenfrage durch die Auswanderung—wie sie hier schon seit Jahren verfolgt wird*]," according to the commentary of SS-Obersturmführer Ehrlinger of the Reich Central Security Department.²⁰

After the creation of the Protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia, Eichmann received an order from Heydrich to establish "a central office for Jewish emigration" in Prague.²¹ In the pertinent document, signed by Reich Protector von Neurath on 15 July 1939, one reads this:

In compliance with Reich regulations, to the end of obviating hindrances and delays it is necessary to group together the treatment of all questions relating to Jewish emigration. In view of the accelerated increase and regulation of the emigration of Jews from Bohemia-Moravia, the "Central Office for Jewish Emigration" of Prague is therefore created.²²

Despite growing difficulties, National Socialist policy in the matter of Jewish emigration was pursued even during the war.

The major difficulty was undoubtedly the poorly dissimulated anti-Semitism of the democratic countries, which on the one hand made an outcry against the persecution of the Jews by the National Socialists, and on the other, refused to accept the persecuted Jews, as appeared clearly in the course of the Evian conference that unfolded from 6 to 15 June 1938.

This conference was organized at the initiative of President Roosevelt to the end of facilitating the emigration of the victims of National Socialist persecution and, first of all, the Jews. But the good intentions of the American president appeared suspect from the beginning. Michel Mazor writes:

At his Warm Springs press conference President Roosevelt limited the possibilities of Evian by saying that no revision or increase of immigration quotas into the United States was envisioned because of it. In his invitation to that conference, addressed to thirty-three countries, Roosevelt emphasized that it was not expected of any country that it would consent to receive more immigrants than the norm stipulated by its legislation then in force.

On such a basis, the Evian conference, from its inception, was doomed to failure. In fact, its result was "that the free world abandoned the Jews of Germany and of Austria to their pitiless fate."²³

For her part, Rita Thalmann recalls:

Drawing a lesson from the conference, the *Danziger Vorposten* notes that "one loves to pity the Jews as long as such pity heightens an evil-intentioned agitation against Germany, but that no state was disposed to fight the culture damage to central Europe by taking some thousands of Jews. The conference," concluded the newspaper, "therefore is a vindication of German policy toward the Jews."

At all events, the German leaders had the evidence that the thirty-two states which took part in the Evian conference (the USSR and Czechoslovakia were not represented; Italy had declined the invitation; Hungary, Romania, and Poland had sent observers with the sole intent of asking that they be relieved of their own Jews) had no intention of taking charge of the persecutees, or indeed of concerning themselves seriously about their fate.²⁴

Paradoxically, immediately after the Evian conference, beginning at the end of 1938, one notes a diminution in emigration from the Reich, "because other countries opposed themselves more and more to new immigrations of Jews."²⁵

In March 1943 Goebbels could again remark sarcastically:

What will be the solution of the Jewish question, will a Jewish state be created one day anywhere whatsoever? We'll know that later. But it is curious to note that the countries whose public opinion is aroused in favor of the Jews still refuse to receive them. They say these are the pioneers of civilization, geniuses of philosophy and artistic creation,

but when one wants them to accept these geniuses, they close their frontiers: "No no, we don't want them!" This is, it seems to me, a unique example in world history of one declining to welcome genius!²⁶

The rapid defeat of Poland suggested a provisional solution to the National Socialist leaders. On 23 September 1939 Heydrich sent an express-letter [*Schnellbrief*] to all chiefs of the *Einsatzgruppen* of the Security Police. In that letter, which had as subject "The Jewish Question in the Occupied Territory," he set forth the measures that were agreed on in Berlin at a meeting that same day, which were summarized in two points: the final goal [*Endziel*] and the stages of its achievement. In view of this final goal, the Jews were to be concentrated in towns after the campaign.²⁷

Poliakov comments:

It is a question of a "final end." What was it? Not at all extermination, yet; we are only in 1939. A passage in the document gives us a key: in the territory "lying to the east of Cracow" the Jews are not to be touched; and if in other regions they are gathered together near the railroad stations, it is evidently so they may be evacuated more easily. To what destination? Very certainly to that "region to the east of Cracow."²⁸

It is thus, always according to Poliakov, that there was designed:

The project to resolve the Jewish question by gathering all Jews under Nazi domination into the region of Lublin, at the frontier of the USSR. The plan for the creation of a "Jewish reservation" was given a certain publicity in the columns of the German press of the period. A territory was chosen, delimited, it seems (the information is incomplete and contradictory) by the Vistula, the San, and the USSR border, within which the Jews were to devote themselves to works of colonization, under surveillance of the SS.²⁹

But, because of unfavorable circumstances the project was never completely realized.

During this period the German government continued its traditional emigration policy. In effect, as Poliakov remarks:

... parallel to these deportations to the east, the "Center [Central Office – Ed.] for Jewish Emigration" made efforts to expel the German Jews to other destinations. Legal emigration had become almost impossible: a thin stream of emigrants meanwhile continued to trickle out, from Austria in particular, via Italy toward overseas countries. Some clandestine convoys, formed with the cooperation of Eichmann, attempted to go down the Danube by boat, with Palestine as their destination; but the British government refused to allow these travelers without visas to enter the Jewish national homeland. We shall later on meet again with this bitter paradox of the Gestapo pushing Jews to safety, while His Majesty's democratic government bans access to the future victims of the crematory ovens.³⁰

The defeat of France furnished the occasion for carrying out the

policy of Jewish emigration on a large scale:

When, after the collapse of France, enormous prospects opened before the eyes of the Nazis, a plan long cherished by certain persons among them returned to the agenda with new topicality. They believed, in short, to have in hand the key to “the definitive solution of the Jewish question.” We have seen that in the course of the astonishing meeting of 12 November 1938, Göring had mentioned the “question of Madagascar.” Himmler himself had dreamed of that since 1934, a witness assures us. Park all the Jews on a big island, that, moreover, belongs to France—that must have satisfied their love of symbolism. Whatever the case, after the armistice of June 1940 the idea was propounded by the Foreign Affairs Ministry, taken up enthusiastically by the RSHA and approved by Himmler as well as by the Führer himself, it seems.³¹

During the meeting of 12 November 1938, Göring had in fact informed those present that the Führer, according to what he had told Göring personally three days before, was preparing a foreign policy gesture toward those powers which had raised the Jewish question, in order to arrive at a solution to the Madagascar question. “He will say to the other states: ‘Why are you always talking about the Jews? Take them!’”³²

Himmler was equally favorable to a massive Jewish emigration, as is seen by the note “Some thoughts on the treatment of foreign population groups in the East” of May 1940, in which he wrote:

I expect to see the idea “Jew” effaced definitively, thanks to the emigration of all Jews to Africa, or to a colony.³³

In the same note he rejected:

. . . the Bolshevik method of physically exterminating a people, with the innermost conviction that that is un-German and impossible.³⁴

On 24 June 1940 Heydrich informed Foreign Affairs Minister Ribbentrop that more than 200,000 Jews had emigrated from the territory of the Reich, but that . . .

. . . the overall problem [*Gesamtproblem*] constituted by the 3,250,000 Jews who found themselves under German rule could no longer be resolved by emigration [*durch Auswanderung* — words underlined in the original]; which is why the necessity of a “final territorial solution (*eine territoriale Endlösung*) becomes apparent.”³⁵

Following that letter, the Foreign Affairs Ministry worked out the “Madagascar project.”

On 3 July 1940 Franz Rademacher, responsible for Jewish affairs at the Foreign Affairs Ministry, drew up a report titled: “The Jewish Question in the Peace Treaty” which opens with the following declaration:

The imminent victory gives Germany the possibility and, in my opinion, also the duty, to resolve the Jewish question in Europe. The

desirable solution is: all the Jews out of Europe.

After having set forth the responsibilities of the Foreign Affairs Ministry relative to that solution, Rademacher goes on: "Section D II proposes as a solution to the Jewish question: in the peace treaty France should make Madagascar available for the solution of the Jewish question and transfer and indemnify the 25,000 French who live there. The island will come under German mandate."³⁶

It is precisely in this, just as Joseph Billig discerned, that "the territorial solution of the Jewish question, as Heydrich designated it to Ribbentrop," consisted.³⁷

Rademacher's report was approved by Ribbentrop and transmitted to the Reich Central Security Department, which "elaborated a detailed plan for the evacuation of the Jews to Madagascar and for their settlement there; this plan was approved by the Reichsführer-SS."³⁸

On 12 July 1940, upon returning from Berlin, where he had been received by Hitler, Hans Frank, governor of Poland, made a speech in which he declared:

From the viewpoint of general policy, I would like to add that it was decided to deport all the Jewish communities of Germany, of the General Government [Poland], and of the Protectorate [Bohemia-Moravia] to an African or an American colony as soon as possible after having made peace: Madagascar, which France would have to abandon to that end, has been suggested.³⁹

On 29 July Frank repeated that Hitler had decided that the Jews would be completely evacuated as soon as overseas transport permitted.⁴⁰

Otto Abetz, former German ambassador to Paris, declared, in return, that the destination of the Jews would be the United States:

I have spoken just once, 3 August 1940, with the Führer about the Jewish question. He told me that he wanted to resolve the Jewish question for Europe in general, that is, by means of a clause in the peace treaty making it a condition that the vanquished countries transfer their Jewish nationals out of Europe. He wanted in the same way to influence the states with which he was allied. On that occasion he mentioned the United States of America as a country that had not long been overpopulated as was Europe, and therefore was able still to take in some millions of Jews.⁴¹

In October 1940 Alfred Rosenberg wrote an article titled: "Jews to Madagascar." As far back as 1927, he recalled, at the anti-Jewish congress in Budapest:

... the question of a future evacuation of Jews from Europe was taken up, and on that occasion appeared for the first time the proposal to promote precisely Madagascar as the future domicile of the Jews.

He reiterated that proposal, hoping that "the Jewish high finance" of the United States and of England⁴² would collaborate in the

installation of a "Jewish reservation" on Madagascar, a matter that he considered to be a "world problem."

According to a communication, dated 3 November 1940, from Bormann to Rosenberg, Hitler at that time opposed the publication of the article in question, while not ruling out its possible publication in the following months.⁴³

This was because the Germans at the time were in contact with the Vichy government on the subject of the Madagascar project:

It was therefore natural that Hitler put off public notice of the project until later. In his speech of 30 January 1941 (anniversary of the assumption of power) he limited himself to proclaiming that "Judaism will cease to play its role in Europe." That also was in harmony with the Madagascar plan.⁴⁴

It seems, nevertheless, that Hitler did not thereafter authorize Rosenberg to publicize the Madagascar project. In fact, at the conference on "The Jewish Question as a World Problem" held by Rosenberg 28 March 1941, he declared, in the name of all Europeans:

For Europe the Jewish question will not be resolved until the last Jew has left the continent for a Jewish reservation.

On the subject of that reservation, Rosenberg limited himself to declaring:

In regard to the practical realization and the place of transfer, or evacuation, many things naturally have been said over the years. It is not necessary at present to deal with that question. Its solution will be left to a future accord.⁴⁵

Goebbels, in turn, according to the testimony of Moritz von Schirmeister, a former Propaganda Ministry official, spoke publicly and repeatedly of the Madagascar project.

Dr. Fritz: Where were the Jews to be evacuated to according to the declarations of Dr. Goebbels?

Von Schirmeister: Up until the first year, including the Russian campaign, Dr. Goebbels mentioned several times the Madagascar plan at conferences at which he presided. Afterwards, he changed his mind and said it was necessary to set up a new Jewish state in the east, to which the Jews then would be sent.⁴⁶

Interrogated at Nuremberg about a document of 24 September 1943, Ribbentrop responded:

The Führer then proposed the evacuation of the European Jews to North Africa—but Madagascar also came up. He ordered me to make contact with the various governments to induce emigration of Jews, and their exclusion from important organizations as far as possible. That order was then directed by me to the Foreign Affairs Ministry and, as far as I can remember, contacts were made repeatedly with

several governments on the subject of emigration of Jews to North Africa, which was anticipated.⁴⁷

In the note, "Madagascar Project", 30 August 1940, Rademacher declared that the establishment of the General Government of Poland and the annexation of the new eastern districts had put a very great number of Jews under German rule. That and other difficulties, such as the hardening immigration legislation on the part of overseas countries, made it difficult to complete the "solution of the Jewish question in the territory of the Reich, and including the Protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia, by means of emigration,"⁴⁸ on schedule, or for a date not too far distant, whence, precisely, the Madagascar project.

Eichmann went to work with a will:

He surrounded himself with maritime experts, to work out a transport plan; this was to be carried out by a pool of the big German navigation companies. Embarkation would be at the principal North Sea and Mediterranean ports. At the same time, he strove to have all Jewish fortunes confiscated for the benefit of the "Central Fund." He sent emissaries to the occupied or controlled countries in order to gather statistics on the number, age, occupational distribution, etc., of the Jews. These detailed statistics, we shall see, will serve another end. . . Everything was in readiness so that the machinery could go into action when peace was concluded.⁴⁹

Indeed, in the note quoted from above, Rademacher, reckoning that the transfer of four million Jews to Madagascar would take about four years, wrote:

After the conclusion of peace, the German merchant marine will no doubt be thoroughly occupied in another fashion. It is therefore necessary to include in the peace treaty that France and England put at our disposal the tonnage required for the solution of the Jewish problem.⁵⁰

The paragraph "Financing" in the "Madagascar Project" note opens with the following phrase:

The realization of the proposed "final solution" requires considerable means.⁵¹

The infamous "final solution of the Jewish question," then, reduces simply to the transfer of the European Jews to Madagascar, as acknowledged in the judgement of the Eichmann trial:

Until it was abandoned, the "Madagascar Plan" was sometimes referred to by the German leaders as "the final solution of the Jewish question."⁵²

As we know, that expression would later become, according to the official historians, synonymous with the "extermination" of the Jews:

Final Solution of the Jewish question was one of the conventional phrases to designate the Hitlerian plan to exterminate the European

Jews. German functionaries employed it, beginning in the summer of 1941, in order to avoid having to admit to each other the existence of this plan; however, even before then, on diverse occasions, the expression had been used to designate, essentially, the emigration of the Jews.⁵³

In reality, this assertion is arbitrary, and entirely without foundation, not only because no evidence supports it, but because existing documents refute it categorically.

Here we must limit ourselves to some brief considerations. The investigators at Nuremberg knew perfectly well that an "extermination plan" which, according to the prosecution, brought about the death of "more than four and a half million"⁵⁴ or of "six million"⁵⁵ Jews could not have been carried out without leaving the least trace in the Nazi archives and, from the juridical standpoint, they could not have recourse to the subterfuges of the official historians, according to whom all the compromising documents were destroyed.

Thus they worked out an audacious method of exegesis, allowing one to say whatever he wants, regardless of any document. The foundation of that exegetic method rests on an arbitrary speculation according to which the supreme National Socialist authorities adopted, even for their most private documents, a kind of code language, to which the Nuremberg investigators pretended, naturally, to have discovered the key. Whence the systematic distortion—to serve the extermination thesis—of completely harmless documents.

The most widely known example of this systematic travesty concerns precisely the interpretation of the term *Endlösung* (final solution), which has been made a synonym for "extermination of the Jews."⁵⁶ As we shall soon see, the "final solution" by the transfer of European Jews to Madagascar was succeeded—but only as an alternative—by "the final territorial solution" of deporting the European Jews to the eastern territories occupied by the Germans.

On 20 May 1941 Heydrich stopped Jewish emigration from France and from Belgium, and the immigration of Jews into the occupied territories, in order to reserve all emigration possibilities for the Jews of the Reich, and "in consideration of the no doubt early final solution of the Jewish question."⁵⁷

Uwe Dietrich Adam comments:

This document was later often, due to its formulation, poorly interpreted. Göring ordered all authorities to facilitate the emigration of the Jews from the Reich and the areas under its protectorate, insofar as possible, even during the war. On the other hand, the emigration of Jews from France and from Belgium was to be forbidden due to "the final solution which, without a doubt, draws near." The deceptive term "final solution" was interpreted by generations of historians as

designating a physical destruction, whereas at that time it signified only the emigration of the Jews to Madagascar.^{57a}

In the event, by a letter of 31 July 1941 Göring entrusted to Heydrich the task of making all necessary preparations regarding the “final solution,” that is, to organize the total and definitive emigration or evacuation of the Jews who found themselves under German rule. The letter declared, in effect:

Supplementing the task already assigned to you by decree of 24 January 1939, to find the most advantageous solution of the Jewish question, by means of emigration or evacuation, possible in the circumstances, I charge you herewith to proceed with all preparations necessary on the organizational, concrete, and material levels in order to arrive at a total solution [*Gesamtlösung*] of the Jewish question in the German sphere of influence in Europe. Insofar as the competent authorities of other branches may find themselves concerned here, they will have to participate. I charge you also to submit to me quickly a complete plan [*Gesamtentwurf*] showing the organizational, the concrete, and material preliminary measures to achieve the final solution of the Jewish question to which we all aspire.⁵⁸

According to the method of interpretation mentioned above, that letter would constitute one of the fundamental documents of the history of the “extermination”⁵⁹: the expression “final solution” appears indeed, to designate, as Reitlinger maintains, “the Hitlerian plan for the extermination of the Jews of Europe.”

In reality, and the text shows it clearly, the desired “final solution of the Jewish question” is a solution by means of emigration or evacuation.”

Heydrich himself, writing 6 November 1941 that for years he had been charged with preparing the “final solution” in Europe, ⁶⁰ made clear that this responsibility was derived from the decree 24 January 1939 and identified the “final solution” precisely as “the final solution by way of emigration or of evacuation.”

That the official historians’ interpretations are tendentious is evidenced by the fact that G. Reitlinger and W. Shirer, citing the letter in question, suppress precisely that part of the document that speaks of emigration and evacuation.⁶¹

Göring’s letter of 31 July 1941 refers exclusively to Jewish emigration and evacuation, and that is confirmed by a very important document, the 21 August 1942 memorandum of Martin Luther.

In this document Martin Luther, chief of the department “Germany” in the Foreign Affairs Ministry, recapitulates the essential points of National Socialist policy in regard to the Jews. Luther goes on:

The principle of German policy on the Jewish question after the

assumption of power was to promote Jewish emigration by every means. To accomplish this General Field Marshal Göring, in his capacity as chief of the Four Year Plan, established in 1939 a Reich Central Office for Jewish Emigration, the direction of which was entrusted to Gruppenführer Heydrich in his role as chief of the security police.

After having referred to the Madagascar plan, which had at that time been by-passed by events, Luther went on to note that Göring's letter of 31 July 1941 followed up Heydrich's letter, which we have already cited, in which Heydrich informed Rademacher that:

The overall problem constituted by the 3,250,000 Jews who found themselves under German rule could no longer be resolved by *emigration*; which is why the necessity of a "final territorial solution" becomes apparent.

Luther went on to write:

Knowing that, Reich Marshal Göring on 31 July 1941 charged Gruppenführer Heydrich with making, in collaboration with all German central agencies interested, all necessary preparations for a total solution of the Jewish question in the German sphere of influence in Europe

Luther continues:

In compliance with that order, Gruppenführer Heydrich called a meeting 20 January 1942 of all interested German agencies, a meeting at which the under secretaries of the other ministries, and I myself from the Foreign Ministry, were present.

At that meeting Gruppenführer Heydrich explained that the responsibility assigned him by Reich Marshal Göring had been given him by order of the Führer, and that the Führer from then on authorized the evacuation of the Jews to the east, as a solution other than emigration.

In compliance with that order by the Führer, the evacuation of the German Jews was undertaken.

The destination consisted of the eastern territories, via the General Government:

Evacuation via the General Government is a provisional measure. The Jews ultimately will be transferred to the eastern occupied territories when the necessary conditions are created.⁶²

In a note of 14 November 1942 headed "Financing the measures related to the solution of the Jewish problem," Ministerial Counselor Maedel confirmed:

It is some time ago that the Reichsmarschall charged the Reichsführer-SS and chief of the German police with preparing measures appropriate to assuring the final solution of the Jewish problem in Europe. The Reichsführer-SS has charged the Chief of the Security Police and the SD with the execution of that task. The latter

has, first of all, expedited, by special measures, the legal emigration of the Jews to overseas countries. When the war made overseas emigration impossible he made preparations for the progressive clearance of the Reich territory of its Jews by their evacuation to the east.⁶³

The difficulties of the war and the prospects opened by the Russian campaign had brought about the provisional abandonment of the policy of total emigration.

In consequence, emigration of Jews from Germany was suspended 23 October 1941⁶⁴ for the duration of the war, but, it seems, the order was not executed because it was sent out again 3 January 1942⁶⁵ and promulgated finally by Himmler 4 February 1942. On that date the "military commander" in France published the following ordinance:

The Reichsführer-SS and Chief of the German Police at RMDJ has ordered the general cessation of all Jewish emigration from Germany and from the occupied countries.

Himmler reserved to himself authorization of particular emigrations when the interests of Germany required.⁶⁶ Yet up until 31 March 1943, Jews of Italian, Finnish, Swiss, Spanish, Portuguese, Danish, and Swedish citizenship were permitted to return to their countries.⁶⁷

Heydrich's conference mentioned by Luther was held 20 January 1942 in Berlin at Gross Wannsee 56/58. The "minutes" relating to that conference open with a summary of National Socialist policy regarding the Jews:

The Chief of Security Police and of the Security Service, SS Gruppenführer Heydrich, opened the meeting by announcing his appointment to responsibility for the preparation of the final solution of the European Jewish question [Endlösung der europäischen Judenfrage], and indicated that the object of the meeting was to clear up questions of principle. To respond to the wish of the Reichsmarschall to see a plan for organizational measures, and on concrete and material questions posed by the final solution of the Jewish question in Europe, all central agencies directly interested must agree first of all to coordinate their efforts.

It is the Reichsführer-SS and Chief of the German Police (and of the security police and of the security service) who will be responsible for the totality of the measure necessary for the solution of the Jewish question regardless of geographical boundaries.

The Chief of the Security Police and of the Security Service thereupon gave a brief insight into the fight against this adversary up to the present time. Its essential phases are:

- a) Forcing the Jews out of the vital spheres of the German people
- b) Driving the Jews out of the living space of the German people.

To arrive at these goals, the only possibility of provisional solution has been to accelerate and to undertake in systematic fashion the

emigration of the Jews out of the territory of the Reich.

In January 1939, at the order of the Reichmarschall, there was created a Reich Central Office for Jewish Emigration, at the head of which was placed the Chief of the Security Police and of the Security Service. This service had as its mission, in particular:

- a) to take all measures for the *preparation* of an intensified emigration of the Jews;
- b) to orient the course of emigration;
- c) to hasten emigration in *particular cases*.

The object was to cleanse the German living space of its Jews by legal means.

In consequence of that policy, up to 31 October 1941, and this despite manifold difficulties, about 537,000 Jews emigrated from the old Reich, from Austria, and from the Protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia.

The minutes continue:

Meanwhile, the Reichsführer-SS and Chief of the German Police [Himmler], in view of the dangers of emigration in wartime, and in view of the possibilities offered in the east, has forbidden the emigration of Jews.

From that time on, with the prior authorization of the Führer, emigration gave way to another possible solution, evacuation of the Jews to the east.

Although one will not fail to recognize these actions as merely alternative possibilities [*Ausweichsmöglichkeiten*], the practical experience already gathered in this field is of signal importance for the final solution of the Jewish question.⁶⁸

By order of the Führer the final solution, i.e., the total emigration of the European Jews, thus was replaced by evacuation to the occupied territories of the east, but only as a palliative, until taking up the question again after the end of the war. In the event, by a memorandum dated Berlin August 1940, Luther had communicated to Rademacher the following:

On the occasion of a conference with Ambassador Abetz in Paris, he informed me that when he reported to the Führer on France about two weeks ago, the Führer told him that he intended to evacuate all the Jews from Europe after the war.⁶⁹

This is not the only document in which Hitler manifests this intention regarding the European Jews. Indeed, according to a Reich Chancellery note of March-April 1942, Hitler intended to take up the Jewish question after the war,⁷⁰ and on 24 July 1942 he himself affirmed that after the end of the war he "would strike town after town if the Jews did not move out and did not emigrate to Madagascar or to another Jewish national state."⁷¹

Some months earlier, on 7 March 1942, Goebbels had written in his diary:

The Jewish question will have to be written up in a plan on a pan-European scale. There remain more than eleven million Jews in Europe. In the first place it is necessary to concentrate them all in the east. After the war we will be able eventually to assign them an island, perhaps Madagascar. In any case, there will be no peace in Europe as long as the Jews on the Continent are not totally excluded.⁷²

The intention of the Nazis to resolve the Jewish question after the end of the war appears also in the so-called "Brown File," which goes back to the summer of 1941.

The paragraph "Directive for the solution of the Jewish question" of this document, which B. Nellessen says "sanctioned severe measures, but not extermination,"⁷³ opens with the following phrase:

All measures concerning the Jewish question in the occupied territories of the east must be taken with the thought that after the war the Jewish question in Europe will find a general solution.⁷⁴

A note by Luther of 17 October 1941 likewise mentions, in reference to Jews interned in France, "the measures to be taken after the war toward fundamental solution of the Jewish question."^{74a}

In compliance with Hitler's directives the Madagascar project was then provisionally abandoned. An informative letter of 10 February 1942 by Rademacher gives the reason for this:

In August 1940, I sent you, for your files, the plan for the final solution of the Jewish question [zur Endlösung der Judenfrage] formulated by my office, according to which in the peace treaty the island of Madagascar was to be required of France but the practical execution of that task was to be entrusted to the Reich Central Security Agency. In conformance with that plan, Gruppenführer Heydrich has been charged by the Führer with solving the Jewish question in Europe.

Meanwhile, the war against the Soviet Union has put more territory for the final solution [für die Endlösung] at our disposal. Consequently, the Führer has decided to expel the Jews not to Madagascar, but to the east. Therefore it is no longer necessary to look to Madagascar for the final solution. [Madagaskar braucht mithin nicht mehr für die Endlösung vorgesehen zu werden].⁷⁵

Some weeks before then, on 27 January 1942, the Führer had declared:

The Jews must leave Europe. The best thing is that they go to Russia.⁷⁶

A "notice" of 9 October 1942 captioned, "preparatory measures for the solution of the Jewish problem in Europe. Rumors about the condition of the Jews in the east" summarizes the stages and explains clearly the meaning of "final solution":

For almost 2,000 years a struggle, until now in vain, has been

carried on against Jewry. It is only since 1933 that the ways and means have been found to separate Jewry completely from the German masses.

The task, with a view to a solution, accomplished up until the present, may be summarized, *grosso modo*, as follows:

- I. Exclusion of the Jews from the private spheres of the German people. Laws will guarantee to future generations protection against a new influx of the enemy.
- II. The attempt to drive the enemy completely out of the Reich territory. By reason of the very limited living space at the disposal of the German people, it is expected that this problem can be resolved principally by an accelerated Jewish emigration.

After the declaration of war, in 1939, the possibilities for emigration diminished more and more. On the other hand, as distinct from the living space of the German people, its economic space grew rapidly, although, by reason of the great number of Jews living in those territories, a total evacuation of the Jews by emigration is no longer possible.

Since the next generation itself will no longer feel the problem so intimately and will no longer understand it as clearly as in the light of past experience, and since this question, once put, demands a definitive answer, the problem must be solved by the present generation.

The removal or the total withdrawal of the millions of Jews living in the European economic space [*Lebensraum*] constitutes an urgent need for the vital security of the German people.

Beginning with the territory of the Reich, continuing with the other European territories comprehended in the definitive plan, the Jews will be deported progressively to large camps already established, or in course of being established, where they will have to work and from whence they will be deported farther to the east.

The accomplishment of these tasks calls for a "merciless strictness," which is to say that the deportation of the Jews to the east must be total and inflexible.

Final solution of the Jewish question, then, never meant "Hitlerian plan for the extermination of the European Jews."⁷⁸

At the Nuremberg trial Hans Lammers, former chief of the Führer's chancellery, interrogated by Dr. Thoma, affirmed he knew many things on the subject of the "final solution."

In 1942 he learned that the Führer had entrusted to Heydrich—through the intermediation of Göring—the task of solving the Jewish question. In order to know more, he contacted Himmler and asked him "What exactly was meant by the final solution of the Jewish question?" Himmler answered that he had received from the Führer the assignment to bring about the final solution of the Jewish question and that "this task consisted essentially of the fact that the Jews had to be evacuated from Germany." Subsequently this

explanation was confirmed to him by the Führer personally.

In 1943 rumors, according to which the Jews were killed, circulated. Lammers tried to get at the source of these rumors, but without results, as they were founded always on other rumors, so he came to the conclusion that they were the product of enemy radio propaganda.

Nevertheless, to clarify the matter, Lammers again turned to Himmler, who denied that Jews might be killed legally: they were simply evacuated to the east, and that was the task that Hitler had entrusted to him. In the course of these evacuations aged or sick persons could have died, of course, and there could have been accidents, air attacks, and revolts that Himmler had been constrained to repress bloodily, to set an example, but that was all.

Lammers then went once more to the Führer, who gave him the same reply as Himmler:

He told me: I shall decide later where the Jews will go; at the moment they are being put there.

Dr. Thoma then asked Lammers:

Himmler never told you that the final solution for the Jews consisted in their extermination?

Lammers: There was never a question of that. He spoke only of executions.

Dr. Thoma: When did you learn that five million Jews had been exterminated?

Lammers: I learned it here, some time ago.⁷⁹

So it is only at Nuremberg that the chief of the Reich Chancellery received knowledge of the alleged "extermination" of the Jews!

The statistical report: "The Final Solution of the European Jewish Question" [*Die Endlösung der europäischen Judenfrage*] by Richard Korherr summarizes numerically the results of National Socialist policy in the matter of Jewish emigration until 31 December 1941. 557,357 Jews had emigrated from the Old Reich, from the Sudetenland, from the Protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia, and from Austria. At least an equal number had emigrated from the eastern territories and from the Central Government, as the figure reproduced by Korherr, 762,593 Jews, combines emigrations and the excess of natural mortality.⁸⁰

In conclusion, Adolf Hitler, from 1933 to 1942, had authorized the emigration of at least a million Jews who found themselves under his control.

As to the others, why exterminate them? Poliakov himself remarks on this subject:

From a more down-to-earth viewpoint, to what good? It is so much more economical to put them to work at the hardest tasks, parking them on a reservation, for example.⁸¹

This is precisely what Hitler did.

As the war went on, the concentration camps and the ghettos became indeed important centers for the German war economy, and this is why "the exploitation of Jewish manpower was another source of substantial revenue for the Third Reich and its men."⁸²

The concentration camp at Auschwitz, for example, the territory of which comprised a "sphere of interest" of about 40 square kilometers, was the center of gravity of a vast industrial zone. It furnished manpower to numerous German industries, among which were Farbenindustrie, Berghütte, Vereinigte Oberschlesische Hüttenwerke AG, Hermann Göringwerke, Siemens-Schuckertwerke, Energie Versorgung Oberschlesien AG, Oberschlesische Hydrierwerke, Oberschlesische Gerätebau G.m.b.h., Deutsche Gas u. Russgesellschaft, Deutsche Reichsbahn, Heeresbauverwaltung, Schlesische Feinweberei, Union-Werke, Golleschauer Portland-Zement AG.

In the course of the years 1942-1944 the central Auschwitz camp counted 39 outside camps, of which 31 were for detainees used as manpower, 19 among them employing mainly Jewish detainees.⁸³

At Monowitz 16 Farbenindustrie factories employed 25,000 Auschwitz detainees, about 100,000 civilian workers, and about 1,000 English POWs.⁸⁴

Even the ghettos were transformed into economic centers of great importance. With the revolt of the Warsaw ghetto "the German war industry in the east lost one of its important supply centers."⁸⁵

The second ghetto in economic importance after that of Warsaw was the Lodz ghetto: "Its manufactures of all kinds, and in particular, its textile industries, constituted support of great value to the German economy."⁸⁶

On 19 January 1942 there was created the SS Economic Management Head Office [SS-Wirtschafts- und Verwaltungshauptamt: SS-WVHA],⁸⁷ the aim of which was precisely "to utilize on a large scale the detainee manpower."⁸⁸ On 3 March Himmler ordered the inspectorate of the concentration camps to be transferred from the SS Main Directorate [SS-Führungshauptamt] to the SS-WVHA in order to centralize in Agency Group D [Amtsgruppe D] the direction of the war effort in relation to manpower.⁸⁹ An important modification was thus made in the function of internment in concentration camps, as is underscored by SS-Obergruppenführer Pohl, Chief of the SS-WVHA, in a letter of 30 April 1942 to the Reichsführer SS:

The war evidently has made necessary a change in the structure of the concentration camps, and to radically modify their functions in regard to the employment of detainees. The increase in the number of detainees solely for reasons of security, of re-education, or of prevention, is no longer of primary concern. The main emphasis is

placed on the economic aspect. The mobilization of all work capacity for war purposes (increase of armament) first of all, and later for construction in peacetime, must be given higher priority with each day.⁹⁰

These dispositions were equally valid for the Jews. As early as 25 January 1942 Himmler had sent the following order to SS-Brigadeführer Glücks, Inspector-General of Concentration Camps:

Inasmuch as soon we shall not be able to reckon with Russian prisoners of war, I shall send a great number of Jews and Jewesses expelled from Germany into the camps. Prepare to receive, in the course of the next four weeks, 100,000 Jews and up to 50,000 Jewesses in the concentration camps. Important economic tasks will be entrusted to the concentration camps in the coming weeks. SS Gruppenführer Pohl will inform you about this in detail.⁹¹

At the beginning of 1943, about 185,000 Jews were employed in war industry on territory under the control of the Reich.⁹²

On 7 September 1943 all the Jewish work camps in the General Government—10 in the district of Lublin alone—were released by the SS-WVHA and became auxiliary camps of Lublin.⁹³

On 5 April 1944 in the territories under Reich jurisdiction there were 20 concentration camps and 105 work camps.⁹⁴

In May 1944 Hitler ordered the employment of 200,000 Jews as manpower in the Jäger construction program of ministerial director Dorsch. The order concerning guard personnel was issued by Himmler on May 11:

The Führer has ordered that 10,000 Waffen-SS, including officers and non-commissioned officers, be assigned to the surveillance of 200,000 Jews that the Reichsführer-SS is sending into the concentration camps of the Reich in order to employ them on the great construction projects of the Organization Todt and on other important military works.⁹⁵

The former Hungarian Interior Minister, Gabor Wajna, reported a declaration by Himmler according to which: "Since the Jews have been employed on the Jäger program, production has increased 40%."⁹⁶

According to an SS-WVHA letter dated "Oranienburg, 15 August 1944" it appeared that the internment of 612,000 persons—among whom were 50,000 Jews of the Hungarian program—in concentration camps was imminent.⁹⁷

The importance of the work potential represented by the Jews appears even more plainly when the pressing need of the German war industry for manpower is considered.

On 21 March 1942 Hitler named Fritz Sauckel general plenipotentiary for the employment of manpower with the assignment of providing for that need.⁹⁸ According to a report sent by Sauckel to

Hitler and Göring 27 July 1942, 5,124,000 foreign workers were employed in the Reich. Despite that, the need for manpower was so great that in January 1943 Sauckel ordered the total mobilization of all Germans for the war economy. On 5 February 1943 at the Gauleiter Congress held in Posen, Sauckel declared:

The extraordinary harshness of the war has constrained me, in the name of the Führer, to mobilize several million foreigners for employment in the German war economy, in order to assure maximum output.

But at the beginning of 1944 Hitler called for 4,000,000 additional workers.⁹⁹ At the same time living conditions in the concentration camps were made easier in order to get higher production from the detainee labor force.

On 20 January 1943 SS-Brigadeführer Glücks, Chief of Agency Group D of the SS-WVHA, transmitted to the concentration camp commanders Himmler's order of 20 December 1942¹⁰⁰ to reduce the deathrate in the camps by every means, and holding them "personally responsible for exhausting every possibility to preserve the physical strength of the detainees."¹⁰¹

Following that order—as is noted by SS-Obergruppenführer Pohl on 30 September 1943 in a statistical report to the Reichsführer-SS—thanks to the amelioration of hygienic conditions, nourishment, and clothing, the mortality in the concentration camps was in constant decline, having fallen from 10% in December 1943 to 2.09% in August 1943.¹⁰²

An SS-WVHA order of 18 November 1943 to the Auschwitz command recommended giving a bonus to the detainees—even to the Jews—who distinguished themselves by their work.¹⁰³

The "extermination" of the Jews therefore was an economic absurdity, as Poliakov himself recognized,¹⁰⁴ the more so as, according to Colloti:

... it was, among other reasons, the economic necessity of making use of their labor that prevented the massive extermination of Soviet war prisoners wanted by Hitler.¹⁰⁵

But if the economic need of the Germans was so pressing in regard to the Russians, why was it not equally so in regard to the Jews?

The official historians reply by maintaining that the "extermination" of the Jews, corresponding to the fundamental objective of the Führer, took precedence over no matter what economic exigency, even at the risk of assuming a clearly counter-economic character. Hannah Arendt formulated this thesis in admirable fashion:

The incredible character of these horrors is closely tied to their uselessness on the economic plan. The Nazis stubbornly pushed the useless to the injurious when, in the midst of war, despite their

shortage of construction materials and of rolling stock, they erected enormous and costly enterprises of extermination, and organized the transport of millions of people. From the viewpoint of a strictly utilitarian world the contradiction manifest between that manner of behavior and the military imperatives lends the whole undertaking a crazy and chimerical air.¹⁰⁶

It is only too easy to object that if the “extermination” of the Jews was so important to Hitler to the point of allowing the imperative needs of the German war economy to take second place, and even harm it, he certainly would not have permitted—up through the first two years of the war—the emigration of at least a million Jews!

In reality, the “Europa Plan,” on which talks began in official form in the spring of 1944, shows to what extent the Nazis were utilitarian in that which concerned the Jews. Himmler proposed to exchange one million Jews (children, women, old people) for “10,000 trucks, a thousand tons of coffee, and a bit of soap.”¹⁰⁷

Joel Brand, who conducted the negotiations for the Jewish side, went to Istanbul and from there to Cairo:

In truth, it was the Allies who raised obstacles. Joel Brand was interned by the British authorities without having had the possibility of accomplishing his mission; and the State Department forbade Dr. Schwarz, the director of the American Jewish Joint [Committee] to deal with enemy subjects.¹⁰⁸

Joel Brand succeeded in transmitting the German proposal to Lord Moyne, then British Minister of State for the Middle East, who answered him:

And what am I supposed to do with a million Jews? Where shall I put them?¹⁰⁹

The fragility of the abovementioned thesis is linked closely to the fragility of the reasons that are supposed to explain “the extermination of the Jews.” Almost all the official historians are certain that it is necessary to investigate those reasons in the presumed National Socialist concept according to which the Jews “as an inferior race” were to be exterminated “for the sole fact of being Jewish.” That thesis is rejected categorically by the reality of the policy in the matter of Jewish emigration—which became even forced emigration—pursued by the government of the Reich up through the first two years of the war.

Poliakov himself acknowledges, without quibbles, the lack of foundation for that thesis. After having asked himself the throbbing question of why the decision for “extermination” was made, he goes on:

“Hatred of the Jews,” “Hitler’s madness,” are the more general terms, which, at the same time, say nothing; and Hitler—at least as long as the fate of the Reich had not been sealed—was a calculating and informed

politician. For the rest, we have seen the extermination of the Jews has no part in Nazi aims. Why, then, was that decision, of which we have seen all the irrationality it comprised, taken, and why just at that given time?

Let us try then to look further ahead, always remaining fully aware of what such deductions, in the absence of all testimony, all minutes of proceedings, all irrefutable documents, can offer in the way of speculation and fragility.¹¹⁰

In other words, not only *when*, and *by whom*, but even *why* the decision to exterminate the Jews would have been taken, is unknown.

On the subject of the reasons for that presumed decision, in fact, the official historiography is able to supply nothing but "deductions" that are "speculative" and "fragile" and beyond that are in manifest contradiction with the **REALITY** of National Socialist policy in the matter of Jewish emigration, as Christopher Browning recognizes:

The assumption that Nazi Jewish policy was the premeditated and logical consequence of Hitler's anti-Semitism cannot be easily reconciled with his actual behavior in the years before 1941. For example, Hitler's view of the Jews as the "November criminals" who caused Germany's defeat in World War I was as fervently held as any of his anti-Jewish allegations. Indeed, the oft-cited passage from *Mein Kampf* lamenting that twelve or fifteen thousand Jews had not been gassed during the war makes far more sense in the context of the stab-in-the-back legend than as a prophecy or intimation of the Final Solution. The "logical" consequence of the thesis of the Jew as wartime traitor should have been a "preventive" massacre of German Jewry before the western offensive or at least before the attack on Russia.

In actual practice Nazi Jewish policy sought a *judenrein* Germany by facilitating and often coercing Jewish emigration. In order to reserve the limited emigration opportunities for German Jews, the Nazis opposed Jewish emigration from elsewhere on the continent. This policy continued until the fall of 1941, when the Nazis prohibited Jewish emigration from Germany and for the first time justified the blocking of Jewish emigration from other countries in terms of preventing their escape from the German grasp. The efforts of the Nazi Jewish experts to facilitate Jewish emigration both before and during the war, as well as their plans for massive expulsions (what the Nazis euphemistically called "resettlement" or *Umsiedlung*) were not merely tolerated but encouraged by Hitler. It is difficult to reconcile the assumption of a long-held intention to murder the Jews of Europe with this behavior. If Hitler knew he was going to murder the Jews, then he was supporting a policy that "favored" German Jews over other European Jews and "rescued" from death many of those he held most responsible for Germany's earlier defeat.

It has been argued that Hitler was merely awaiting the opportune moment to realize his murderous intentions. Not only does that not explain the pursuit of a contradictory policy of emigration in the meantime, it also does not explain the long delay. If Hitler was merely

awaiting the outbreak of conflict to pursue his “war against the Jews,” why were the millions of Polish Jews in his hands since the fall of 1939 granted a thirty-month “stay of execution”?¹¹¹

That this is true almost to the letter is shown by the following judgement of Robert Cecil, deputy director of the school specializing in contemporary European studies of the University of Reading in England, and since 1968 professor of history at that university:

The massacre of the Slavs, like that of the Jews, was a ritual homicide, that not only contributed nothing to the military victory, but, as we shall soon see, considerably impeded the Wehrmacht in its task.¹¹²

[Like that of the Jews, the “massacre of the Slavs” is without foundation, of course. —Ed.]

Notes

Part I

1. Enzo Collotti, *La Germania nazista (Nazi Germany)*, Turin, 1973, p. 146.
2. Gerald Reitlinger, *La soluzione finale: Il tentativo di sterminio degli ebrei d'Europa 1939-1945 (The Final Solution: The Attempt to Exterminate the Jews of Europe 1939-1945)*, Milan, 1965 p. 593.
3. William L. Shirer, *Storia del Terzo Reich*, Turin, 1971, p. xiii.
4. *Idem*, p. xv.
5. Werner Maser, *Nuremberg: A Nation on Trial*, New York, 1979, p. 305.
6. *The Trial of the Major War Criminals by the International Military Tribunal*, Nuremberg 14 November 1945-1 October 1946. Published in Nuremberg, Germany 1947. (Hereafter IMT, Vol. II, p. 169.)
7. Léon Poliakov, *Bréviaire de la haine (Breviary of Hate)*, Paris, 1979, p. 134.
8. See note 10.
9. Liliano Picciotto Fargion, “La congiura del silenzio” (The Conspiracy of Silence), *La Rassegna mensile d'Israel*, May-August 1984, p. 226.
10. The first edition of Poliakov's book is 1951. In the 1979 edition, here is what one can read in the preface: “This complete edition of *Bréviaire de la haine* conforms to the original 1951-1960 edition. There is no place to introduce important changes or supplements into it. Indeed, the knowledge we have of the ‘racial’ policy of the Third Reich, which sought to exterminate the Jews, and, with the help of sometimes similar processes, to reduce the number of Slavs, has not been enriched perceptibly since 1951.” p. xiii.
11. Léon Poliakov, *Bréviaire . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 208.
12. *Idem*, p. 218.
13. Walter Laqueur: *Was niemand wissen wollte: Die Unterdrückung der Nachrichten über Hitlers Endlösung (What Nobody Wanted to Know: The Suppression of News About Hitler's “Final Solution”)*, Frankfurt/M-Berlin-Vienna, 1981, p. 190.

14. Colin Cross, *Adolf Hitler*, Milan, 1977, p. 313.
15. Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*. An edition with commentary by Christian Zentner, Munich, 1974, p. 168.
16. Saul Friedländer, *Kurt Gerstein ou l'ambigüité du bien* (*Kurt Gerstein or the Ambiguity of Good*), Casterman, 1967, p. 92.
17. Joachim Fest, *Hitler*, 1974, p. 631.
18. L. Poliakov, *Bréviaire . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 124.
19. *Idem*, p. 126.
20. Leon Poliakov, *Auschwitz*, Paris (1964), 1973, p. 12.
21. Arthur Eisenbach, "Operation Reinhard, Mass Extermination of Jewish Population in Poland," in: *Polish Western Affairs*, 1962, Vol. III, No. 1, p. 80.
22. Broszat, Jacobsen, Krausnick, *Anatomie des SS-Staates* (*Anatomy of the SS-State*), Munich, 1962, Vol. 2, p. 297.
23. Bernd Nellessen, *The Jerusalem Trial*, Düsseldorf-Vienna, 1964, p. 201.
24. IMT, Vol. 1, p. 280.
25. Document XXXVIII-67 of the Jewish Contemporary Documentation Center, Paris, (hereafter: CDJC), cited by Poliakov & Wulf, *The Third Reich and the Jews*, Berlin, 1955, p. 94.
26. Olga Wormser-Migot, *Le Système concentrationnaire nazi (1933-1945)*, (*The Nazi Concentration [Camp] System, 1933-1945*), Presses Universitaires de France, 1968, p. 544.
27. *Idem*, p. 13.
28. PS-3762.
29. PS-2605.
30. *Der Kastner-Bericht über Eichmanns Menschenhandel in Ungarn*, (*The Kastner Report on Eichmann's trading in human beings in Hungary*), Preface by Prof. Carlo Schmidt, Munich, 1961, p. 242.
31. *Hefte von Auschwitz* (*Auschwitz Notebooks*), Wydawnictwo Panstwowego Muzeum w Oswiecimiu, 8, 1964, p. 89, note 130.
32. Miklos Nyiszli, *Auschwitz: A Doctor's Eyewitness Account*, trans. Tibere Kremer and Richard Seaver, New York, 1961, p. 139.
33. L. Poliakov, *Bréviaire . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 374, p. 328.
34. IMT, Vol. IV, p. 398.
35. Saul Friedländer, "Il dibattito storiografico sull'antisemitismo nazista e lo sterminio degli ebrei d'Europa," (*The historiographical debate on Nazi anti-Semitism and the extermination of the European Jews*), in: *Storia Contemporanea*, a. XIV, n. 3, June 1983, p. 399-422.
36. *Idem*, p. 413. This thesis is called "intentionalism."
37. *Idem*, p. 417. This thesis is known as "functionalism."
38. See on this subject Martin Broszat, "Hitler und die Genesis der 'Endlösung.' Aus Anlass der Thesen von David Irving." (*Hitler and the Genesis of the "Final solution."* Prompted by the Theses of David Irving), in *Vierteljahreshefte für Zeitgeschichte* (hereafter VfZ), 1977, p. 739-775, and Christopher R. Browning, "Zur Genesis der 'Endlösung.'

Ein Antwort auf Martin Broszat." (On the Genesis of the 'Final Solution.' A reply to Martin Broszat), in the same review, 1981, p. 97-109.

39. Saul Friedländer, "Il dibattito . . .," *art. cit.*, p. 419. See the last pages titled "On the role of the Einsatzgruppen in the framework of the genesis of the 'Final Solution' of the Jewish question" in Helmut Krausnick's and Hans-Heinrich Wilhelm's *Die Truppe des Weltanschauungskrieges. Die Einsatzgruppen der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD, 1938-1942* (The Soldiers of the Ideological War. The Einsatzgruppen of the Security Police and of the SD-Security Service 1936-1942), Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, Stuttgart, 1981, p. 622-636.
40. Saul Friedländer, *art. cit.*, p. 420. The article by Saul Friedländer which appears in the proceedings of the 1982 Paris conference has been profoundly reshaped: there the author has quite simply passed over in silence "the acquisitions of [Exterminationist] historiography" that we have cited. Colloquium of the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, *L'Allemagne nazie et le génocide juif*, Gallimard, Le Seuil, 1985, pp. 13-38.
41. *L'Allemagne nazie et le génocide juif*, *op. cit.*, p. 177.
42. *Ibid.*, pp. 177-178.
43. *Ibid.*, pp. 190.
44. *Ibid.*, pp. 192.
45. *Ibid.*, pp. 192-193.
46. *Ibid.*, pp. 193.
47. *Ibid.*, pp. 196.
48. *Ibid.*, pp. 197.
49. *Ibid.*, pp. 200.
50. *Ibid.*, pp. 211.

Footnotes – Part 2

1. Eberhard Jäckel, *La concezione del mondo in Hitler* (Hitler's World Concept), Milan, 1972, p. 66.
2. Ernst Deuerlein, "Hitlers Eintritt in die Politik und die Reichswehr" (Hitler's Entry Into Politics and the Reichswehr) in *VfZ*, 1959, p. 204.
3. Reginald H. Phelps, "Hitlers 'grundlegende' Rede über den Antisemitismus" (Hitler's 'ground-laying' speech on anti-Semitism), in *VfZ*, 1968, p. 417.
4. PS-1708.
5. L. Poliakov, *Bréviaire . . .*, Paris, 1979, p. 2.
6. Hebrew term meaning precisely "transfer." Properly transliterated, it reads "ha'abhārāh."
7. Broszat, Jacobsen, Krausnick, *Anatomie des SS-Staates* (Anatomy of the SS-State), Munich 1982, Vol. 2, p. 263. Joseph Walk (editor), *Das Sonderrecht für die Juden im NS-Staat*, (The special legislation for the Jews in the NS-State), Heidelberg-Karlsruhe, 1981, p. 48.
8. NG-1889.

9. PS-1417.
10. Gerald Reitlinger, *La soluzione finale* . . . (The Final Solution), Milan, 1965, p. 23.
11. L. Poliakov, *Bréviaire* . . . , *op. cit.*, p. 16.
12. *Idem*, p. 30. IMT, Vol. XXI, p. 586.
13. PS-1816, pp. 47, 55, and 56.
14. Gerald Reitlinger, *La soluzione finale* (The Final Solution), *op. cit.*, p. 36. At Nuremberg Schacht declared that if his plan had been carried out "not even a single German Jew would have perished." IMT, Vol. XX, p. 442.
15. *Les Archives secrètes de la Wilhelmstrasse* (The Secret Archives of the Wilhelmstrasse), V, book II, Paris, 1954, p. 135.
16. Erich Kern, *Die Tragödie der Juden* (The Tragedy of the Jews), Verlag K.W. Schütz KG, Preussisch Oldendorf, 1979, p. 73.
17. NG-2586-A.
18. *Les Archives secrètes* . . . , V, book II, *op. cit.*, p. 122.
19. PS-3358.
20. Reichsführer-SS to SD Führer of the SS-O.A. Re: "The Jewish question as a factor in foreign policy in 1938," 13 March 1939 in: *Brown Book: War Criminals and Nazis in West Germany*, Verlag Zeit im Bild, Dresden, n.d., Document 35 (photocopy without text; translation on p. 383).
21. *Ich, Adolf Eichmann. Ein historischer Zeugenbericht*, (I Adolf Eichmann: A Historical Testimony), published by Dr. Rudolf Aschenauer, Druffel-Verlag, Leoni am Starnberger See, 1980, p. 99.
22. H.G. Adler, *Der Kampf gegen die "Endlösung der Judenfrage"* (The Struggle against the "Final Solution" of the Jewish Question), published by the Bundeszentrale für Heimatdienst, Bonn, 1958, p. 8.
23. Mr. Mazor, "Il y a trente ans: la conférence d'Evian" (Thirty Years Ago: The Evian Conference), in *Le Monde Juif*, April-June 1968, No. 50, pp. 23 and 25.
24. *Dix leçons sur le nazisme* (Ten Lessons On Nazism), under the direction of Alfred Grosser, Paris, 1976, pp. 215-216.
25. Heinz Boberach (Editor), *Meldungen aus dem Reich: Die geheimen Lageberichte des Sicherheitsdienstes der SS 1938-1945* (Reports from the Reich: The Secret Situation Reports of the SS Security Service 1938-1945), Pawlak Verlag, Herrsching 1984, Vol. 2, p. 7. Compare pp. 22 and 223.
26. L. Poliakov, *Bréviaire* . . . , *op. cit.*, p. 302.
27. PS-3363.
28. L. Poliakov, *Bréviaire* . . . , *op. cit.*, p. 41.
29. *Ibidem*.
30. L. Poliakov, *Bréviaire* . . . , *op. cit.*, p. 44.
31. *Idem*, pp. 50-51.
32. PS-1816, p. 56.

33. "Denkschrift Himmlers über die Behandlung der Fremdvölkischen im Osten (Mai 1940)" (Himmler's memorandum on the treatment of foreign population groups in the East [May 1940]), VfZ, 1957, p. 197.
34. *Ibidem*.
35. T-464.
36. NG-2586-B. Compare Documents on German Foreign Policy 1918-1945, Series D, Vol. X, London, 1957, pp. 111-113.
37. Joseph Billig, *La solution finale de la question juive* (The Final Solution of the Jewish Question), Paris, 1977, p. 58.
38. L. Poliakov, *Bréviaire . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 52.
39. PS-2233, IMT, Vol. XXIX. H. Monneray, *La Persécution des Juifs dans les pays de l'Est présentée à Nuremberg* (The Persecution of the Jews in the Eastern Countries Presented at Nuremberg), Paris, 1949, p. 202.
40. PS-2233, IMG, Vol. XXIX, p. 405.
41. NG-1838, p. 5.
42. CDJC Documents CXLVI-51 and CXLIII-229. Compare J. Billig, *Alfred Rosenberg dans l'action idéologique, politique et administrative du Reich hitlérien* (Alfred Rosenberg in the Ideological, Political, and Administrative Activity of the Hitlerian Reich), CDJC 1963, p. 196, notes 632 and 636.
43. CDJC Doc. CXLIII-229. Compare J. Billig, *ibidem*, p. 196.
44. *Idem*, p. 193.
45. CDJC Doc. CXLVI-23, pp. 83, then 67.
46. IMT, Vol. XVII, p. 275-276.
47. IMT, Vol. X, p. 449.
48. NG-2586-C. Compare Rolf Vogel, *Ein Stempel hat gefehlt: Dokumente zur Emigration deutscher Juden* (A [rubber] stamp was missing: documents on the emigration of German Jews), Munich-Zurich, 1977, p. 324.
49. L. Poliakov, *Bréviaire . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 54.
50. NG-2586-C. Compare Rolf Vogel, *Ein Stempel . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 324.
51. NG-2586-C. Compare Rolf Vogel, *Ein Stempel . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 330.
52. L. Poliakov, *Le Procès de Jérusalem* (The Trial in Jerusalem), Paris, 1963, p. 152.
53. Gerald Reitlinger, *La soluzione finale . . .* (The Final Solution . . .), *op. cit.*, p. 19.
54. IMT, Vol. II, p. 140.
55. IMT, Vol. I, p. 283; Vol. III, p. 635; Vol. XXII, p. 289.
56. IMT, Vol. I, p. 280. Another well-known example of this systematic travesty concerns the interpretation of the term "Sonderbehandlung" (special treatment) which is considered by the official historians to be a simple synonym for "execution, putting to death, or assassination (a)." In reality, as Robert Faurisson points out: "Sonderbehandlung" can have a whole series of meanings, from the gravest to the most benign," and it is only in context that the precise meaning can be determined (b).

At Nuremberg Kaltenbrunner explained that the "special treatment" to which political personalities of rank, such as François-Poncet and Edouard Herriot, were subjected consisted in being put up in hotels under the most privileged conditions(c).

Another case where "Sonderbehandlung" indicated privileged treatment appears in Document PS-660(d). In the paragraph "Sonderbehandlung rassisch wertvoller Kinder" (special treatment of racially valuable children) it is affirmed that these children must be excluded from evacuation measures and sent into the Old Reich to be educated as Germans(e).

On p. 24, in the paragraph "special treatment of non-Polish minorities," it says that some ethnic minorities in Poland have not adopted, on the whole, Polish chauvinism, but, on the contrary, have often placed themselves on the German side politically. "The members of the minorities who have acted according to Polish [nationalist] thought are to be treated like Polish nationalists and deported, but the great mass of these minority populations must be left in their homeland, and not be subjected to particular restrictions." In both cases, consequently, "special treatment" means favorable treatment.

- (a) Georges Wellers, *Les Chambres à gaz ont existé* (The Gas Chambers Existed), *op. cit.*, p. 36.
- (b) Robert Faurisson, *Réponse à Pierre Vidal-Naquet* (Reply to Pierre Vidal-Naquet), *op. cit.*, p. 23.
- (c) IMT, Vol. XI, pp. 374-375.
- (d) *Die Frage der Behandlung der Bevölkerung der ehemaligen polnischen Gebiete nach rassenpolitischen Gesichtspunkten* (The question of the treatment of the population of the former Polish territories from racial-political viewpoints), report by Dr. E. Wetzel, Berlin, 25 November, 1939.
- (e) PS-660, pp. 18-19.

- 57. NG-3104.
- 57a. *L'Allemagne nazie et le génocide juif*, *op. cit.*, p. 187.
- 57b. *Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts*, Inland II A/B, A2 83-25 Sdh. 4, Bd. 5913.
- 58. NG-2586-E, PS-710.
- 59. L. Poliakov, *Le Procès . . .* (The Trial . . .), *op. cit.*, p. 158.
- 60. Henri Monneray, *La Persécution des Juifs en France et dans les autres pays de l'Ouest présentée par la France à Nuremberg* (The persecution of the Jews in France and in the other countries of the West, presented by France at Nuremberg), CDJC, 1947, p. 358.
- 61. William L. Shirer, *Storia del Terzo Reich* (History of the Third Reich), Turin, 1971, p. 1464; Gerald Reitlinger, *La soluzione finale* (The Final Solution), *op. cit.*, p. 108.
- 62. NG-2586-J.
- 63. NG-4583. Cf. *Le Monde Juif*, January 1952, p. 9.
- 64. T-1209.
- 65. *Das Sonderrecht . . .* (The Special Legislation . . .), *op. cit.*, p. 361.

66. NG-1970.
67. NG-2586-P
68. NG-2586-G. As is known, even what is called the "Wannsee Protocol" is interpreted in the sense of "extermination" of the Jews by the official historians. We shall limit ourselves here to pointing out that if evacuations to the east really had meant the deportation of the Jews to "extermination camps" in the east, they [evacuations—Ed.] certainly would not have been described as "palliatives." For a deeper examination of the question, v. Wilhelm Stäglich, *Le Mythe d'Auschwitz: Etude critique* (The Auschwitz Mythos: A Critical Study), La Vieille Taupe, Paris, 1986, pp. 42-62.
69. *Documents on German Foreign Policy 1918-1945*, Series D, Vol. X, op. cit., p. 484.
70. PS-4025.
71. Henry Picker, *Hitlers Tischgespräche im Führerhauptquartier* (Hitler's Table Conversations at the Führer's Headquarters), Wilhelm Goldmann Verlag, Munich, 1981, p. 456.
72. Wilhelm Stäglich, *Der Auschwitz Mythos*, Grabert-Verlag, Tübingen, 1979, p. 116-118.
73. Bernd Nellessen, *Der Prozess von Jerusalem* (The Jerusalem Trial), op. cit., p. 29.
74. PS-702. H. Monneray, *La Persécution des Juifs dans les pays de l'Est présentée à Nuremberg* (The Persecution of the Jews . . . in the East), CDJC, 1949, p. 78. The document, undated, goes back, probably, to soon after the nomination of Rosenberg as Minister of the Eastern Occupied Territories (17 July 1941).
- 74a. Politische Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts, Politische Abteilung III 245, AZ Po 36, Bd.I.
75. NG-5770.
76. Adolf Hitler, *Monologe im Führerhauptquartier 1941-1944* (Monologues in the Führer's Headquarters 1941-1944), annotated by Heinrich Heims, published by Werner Jochmann, Albrecht Knaus Verlag, Hamburg, 1980, p. 241.
77. PS-3244. H. Monneray, *La Persécution . . . dans . . . l'Est . . .* (The persecution . . . in the . . . East), op. cit., pp. 91-92.
78. Given the great importance attached to Göring's letter of 31 July 1941 by Exterminationist historiography, it may be permitted us to return to this point in order to refute one of the rare attempts of explanation that it offers on this subject.

George Wellers, in his polemic against Robert Faurisson, interprets the letter in question in the sense that "the task assigned on 24 January 1939, that is the emigration and the evacuation of the Jews, was superseded, if not closed," and that "it must thereafter have been completed, if not replaced by another, the total or final solution of the Jewish question" in a manner that, in conclusion, "the total or final solution is thus neither emigration or evacuation, nor the Nisko plan nor the Madagascar plan" (a) and, in consequence, cannot be but "extermination." This interpretation is without foundation.

First of all, "extermination," being something radically different from emigration or evacuation, cannot be reasonably considered as a "complement"(b) to "the task" consistent with solving the Jewish question "by way of emigration and of evacuation."

In the second place, Jewish emigration was not officially "superseded" and "closed" until the Wannsee Conference, as is seen clearly in the "minutes" referring to it: "With the prior authorization of the Führer, emigration from now on has given place to another solution: the evacuation of the Jews to the east."

In his memorandum 21 August 1942, Luther, referring to the Wannsee conference, confirms: "At that meeting Gruppenführer Heydrich explained that his assignment by Reichsmarschall Göring had been given him by order of the Führer, and that the Führer thereupon had authorized the evacuation of the Jews to the east, instead of emigration."

It is evident that, on 31 July 1941, at least two months before the Führer authorized evacuation to the east, "instead" of emigration(c), it was precisely emigration that was being practiced.

This point is confirmed further by Luther's memorandum of 21 August 1942, in which is stated that it is precisely that fact of having recognized the impossibility of resolving by emigration (legal, to other countries) the overall problem of some 3,250,000 Jews from the territories occupied by the Germans, and consequently of having recognized the necessity of a "final territorial solution," that had led Göring to draw up his letter of 31 July 1941.

Rademacher's informational note of 10 February 1942 explains still more clearly that Heydrich had been charged by the Führer to bring about the solution of the Jewish question in Europe conforming to the "plan for the 'final solution' of the Jewish question," that is, conforming to the "Madagascar plan" that subsequently had been abandoned, and consequently no longer could be looked to for the "final solution," as in the meantime the war against the Soviet Union had offered the possibility of disposing of "other territories for the final solution."

The 31 July 1941 letter was thus plainly in conformity with the Madagascar plan, and this is why, in conclusion, Göring's "complement" consisted simply of the replacement of the emigration/evacuation solution—i.e., legal emigration to other countries—or deportation to the east (Poland, October 1939-March 1940) or to the west (non-occupied France: October 1940) of the Reich Jews only, according to the decree of 24 January 1939, by the final territorial solution through the emigration or the evacuation to Madagascar of all Jews from the European territories occupied by the Germans, a solution which, precisely for that reason, was called the "total" solution.(d)

(a) Georges Wellers, *Les Chambres . . .*, op. cit., pp. 33-34.

(b) *Idem*, p. 31 (Translation of Göring's letter 31 July 1941. The German word is "Ergänzung" (which can be either "complement" or "supplement.")

(c) The Wannsee conference had been scheduled originally for Dec-

ember 1941 (PS-709; NG-2586-F). The Führer decision goes back probably to the month of October, as on 23 October 1941 Jewish emigration from Germany was stopped (T-1209), and, on the following day, the evacuation of 50,000 Jews from the old Reich, from Austria, and from Bohemia-Moravia to the east was ordered (PS-3921).

- (d) The term "Gesamtlösung" thus was not originally a simple synonym for "Endlösung." At the time, it had, in effect, a purely quantitative sense in that it meant that the solution of the Jewish question limited previously to the territory of the Reich was now extended to the occupied European territories.

79. IMT, Vol. XI, pp. 61-63.
80. NO-5193.
81. L. Poliakov, *Bréviaire . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 3.
82. *Idem*, p. 83. In this regard see the documentation—from the Exterminationist angle—of Joseph Billig in: *Les Camps de concentration dans l'économie du Reich hitlérien* (The Concentration Camps in the Economy of the Hitlerian Reich), Presses Universitaires de France, 1973.
83. *Contribution à l'histoire du KL Auschwitz* (Contribution to the History of the Auschwitz Concentration Camp), State Museum at Oswiecim, n.d., pp. 44-57.
84. Central Commission for Investigation of German Crimes in Poland, *German Crimes in Poland*, Warsaw, 1946, Vol. I, p. 37.
85. L. Poliakov, *Bréviaire . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 270.
86. *Idem*, p. 120.
87. NO-495; NO-719.
88. L. Poliakov, *Bréviaire . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 84.
89. PS-1063.
90. R-129.
91. NO-500.
92. NO-5194.
93. NO-599.
94. NO-020-a.
95. NO-5689.
96. NO-1874.
97. NO-1990.
98. Enzo Collotti, *La Germania nazista* (Nazi Germany), Turin, 1973, p. 266.
99. *Idem*, p. 267.
100. G. Reitlinger, *La Soluzione finale* (The Final Solution), *op. cit.*, p. 149.
101. NO-1523.
102. PS-1469.
103. *Hefte von Auschwitz* (Auschwitz Notebooks), Auschwitz Museum, 6, 1962, p. 78.

104. L. Poliakov, *Bréviaire . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 89.
105. Enzo Collotti, *La Germania nazista* (Nazi Germany), *op. cit.*, p. 267.
106. Hannah Arendt, *Le Système totalitaire* (The Totalitarian System), Paris 1972, p. 182.
107. G. Reitlinger, *La Soluzione finale* (The Final Solution), *op. cit.*, p. 544.
108. L. Poliakov, *Bréviaire . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 296.
109. G. Reitlinger, *La Soluzione finale*, (The Final Solution), *op. cit.*, p. 545.
110. L. Poliakov, *Bréviaire . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 126.
111. C. Browning, *Fateful Months*, Holmes & Meier, New York and London, 1985, pp. 14-15.
112. Robert Cecil, *Il mito della razza nella Germania nazista: Vita di Alfred Rosenberg*, (The Myth of Race in Nazi Germany: The Life of Alfred Rosenberg), Milan, 1973, p. 199.

An Open Letter to the Rev. Mark Herbener

MARK WEBER

The following open letter was first published in *Christian News*, (Box 168, New Haven, MO 63068) a traditionalist Lutheran weekly friendly to Holocaust Revisionism, on April 27, 1987. In it Mark Weber responded to several letters by the Reverend Mark Herbener, a clergyman of the Association of Evangelical Lutheran Churches and a member of the Dallas (Texas) Memorial Center for Holocaust Studies. Weber's letter has been translated into French and published in the excellent French Revisionist quarterly, *Annales d'Histoire Révisionniste* (Autumn-Winter 1987, No. 3; B.P. 9805, 75224 Paris CEDEX 05, France). Readers of *The Journal of Historical Review* will be happy to learn that the challenge to debate the historicity of the Holocaust issue at the conclusion of "An Open Letter to the Rev. Mark Herbener" has been accepted by a group of Christian fundamentalists led by attorney Glen Peglau; as of this writing the debate is projected for early 1989, and will be held in Washington, DC. The Rev. Herbener has not replied to Mr. Weber's arguments or to his questions. — Editor

Rev. Mark Herbener
Mount Olive Lutheran Church
Dallas, Texas

Dear Rev. Herbener:

Over the years, I have written a number of Revisionist articles and essays challenging the story that the German government systematically exterminated some six million European Jews during the Second World War.

I was therefore particularly interested to read your letters of March 5, 18 and 27 to Rev. Herman Otten, along with his replies, in recent issues of the weekly *Christian News*. I also felt called upon to reply with this open letter to some of the questions and points you raised.

You pose a question that you apparently believe that Revisionists cannot answer. You ask: "What happened to the Jews who were transported to Sobibor or Chelmno or Treblinka?"

No “Extermination Camps” In Germany

Here is my answer to your question:

The Holocaust story has changed quite a lot over the years. At one time it was alleged that the Germans exterminated Jews at camps in Germany proper, such as Dachau, Buchenwald, Oranienburg, and so forth. That part of the Holocaust story proved so untenable that it was quietly dropped more than twenty years ago. Not even prominent Jewish Holocaust historians still claim that there were any “extermination camps” in the territory of the old German Reich.

At the great Nuremberg trial of 1945-1946 and during the decades following the end of the Second World War, Auschwitz (especially Auschwitz-Birkenau) and Majdanek (Lublin) were generally regarded as the really important “death camps.” At Nuremberg, for example, it was alleged that four million people were killed at Auschwitz and another one and half million at Majdanek. These fantastic figures have since been drastically revised downwards. In addition, more and more striking evidence has been presented in recent years which simply cannot be reconciled with the allegations of mass extermination at these camps.

For example, detailed aerial reconnaissance photographs taken of Auschwitz-Birkenau in 1944 (during the height of the alleged extermination period there) were made public by the CIA in 1979.¹ They show no trace of the piles of corpses, smoking crematory chimneys and masses of Jews awaiting death which should have been clearly visible if Auschwitz had indeed been an extermination center.

Sobibor, Treblinka, Chelmno, Belzec

During the last several years, the emphasis in the Holocaust story has been shifting once again, this time to four small camps in Poland: Sobibor, Treblinka, Chelmno and Belzec.

In keeping with this strategic shift, the question you pose does not deal with Dachau, Buchenwald or even Auschwitz, but rather with three small camps of which no trace remains and for which almost no documents are available. Virtually the only evidence presented to support the claim that these were extermination centers are a few very dubious and often contradictory postwar “testimonies.” Especially in recent years, an effort has been made to present a coherent and self-consistent “Exterminationist” account of these camps. As a result, some of the more outrageous claims about them have been suppressed.

Let’s take a closer look at each of the camps you ask about.

Sobibor:

For years this camp did not figure very prominently in Holocaust accounts, but that’s no longer the case. Earlier this week, for

example, the CBS television network broadcast a new "docudrama" movie entitled "Escape From Sobibor."

Between 200,000 and 600,000 Jews were supposedly gassed at Sobibor in 1942 and 1943. Holocaust historians are not able to agree about what gas was supposedly used, how the camp was laid out, or even how many gas chambers there were.

Fortunately, a few secret documents have survived which explain the camp's function. On July 5, 1943, SS chief Heinrich Himmler sent a personal directive to several top SS leaders. In this directive, which was issued at the same time that Sobibor was supposedly functioning as an extermination center, Himmler ordered that . . .

. . . the Sobibor transit camp in the Lublin District is to be transformed into a concentration camp. A center for dismantling captured ammunition is to be established in the concentration camp.

In a letter dated July 15, 1943, the head of the SS concentration camp system, Oswald Pohl, explained to Himmler that a center for dismantling captured Soviet ammunition could be set up at Sobibor without having to transform it into a concentration camp. Sobibor would remain a transit camp with a special section for dismantling ammunition. This correspondence (Nuremberg document file NO-482) clearly shows that neither Himmler nor Pohl regarded Sobibor as an "extermination center."² These documents simply cannot be reconciled with the Holocaust portrayal of Sobibor.

Sobibor's location close to the border between German-ruled Poland and German-occupied Ukraine is consistent with its designation as a transit camp. Large numbers of Jews were in fact deported to the occupied Soviet territories in 1942 and 1943. It's quite logical that Jews would first be brought to transit camps near the border before being transported further east.

Rev. Herbener, you write that trainloads of Jews arrived at camps such as Sobibor and then returned empty to their places of origin. "What happened to them?" you ask, suggesting that these deported Jews must have been killed. The rather obvious answer is that Jews were kept in the transit camps only temporarily, and were then soon transported across the nearby Polish-Soviet border to camps and ghettos further to the east.

Like Sobibor, Belzec was a small camp located near the Polish-Ukraine border. It is now regarded [by Exterminationists] as a major extermination center. A secret German memorandum dated March 17, 1942, by an official named Reuter specifically referred to Belzec as the "furthest border station" in Zamosc county from where many thousands of Polish "Jews will then be sent across the border [into the Ukraine] and will never again return to the [Polish] General Government."³

Polish underground courier Jan Karski (who now teaches at

Georgetown University), secretly visited the Belzec camp in 1942 in order to find out what was happening to the Polish Jews who were being sent there. In his book *The Secret State*, Karski described his visit to Belzec in detail.⁴ He did not see any evidence of "gas chambers." To the contrary, he reported seeing trainloads of Jews leaving Belzec. This observation is completely consistent with Belzec's function as a transit camp, and cannot be reconciled with its alleged role as an extermination center.

For a time, the acting commandant of Sobibor was Gustav Franz Wagner. Some years after the war, he was found living in Brazil and was put on trial there. Jewish witnesses testified in court that he was responsible for 150,000 deaths and took special delight in brutally killing women and children. Wagner, however, swore that Sobibor had been a "model" work camp, not an extermination center. The Brazilian court rejected the prosecution's case and decided to neither convict nor extradite him. Wagner was released in 1979, but was found dead a short time later at his farm, knifed in the chest.

Chelmno:

So little is known about Chelmno (or Kulmhof) that it is difficult to effectively refute the charge that it was a mass extermination center. Because there is no trace of a camp left today, even the precise location is uncertain. Shortly after the end of the war, the *American Jewish Year Book* (Vol. 47, p. 398) reported that 1,350,000 Jews were killed at Chelmno. The numbers of Jews now said to have been killed in this camp vary between 150,000 (Raul Hilberg) and 360,000 (Polish government).

Chelmo is the only camp where Jews were supposedly gassed, not in gas chambers, but in the sealed rear compartment of a large truck ("gas van"). This story is inconsistent with the allegation that the Germans exterminated Jews as part of a well-coordinated program. Although the German officials in charge of the "final solution" were supposedly very methodical and organized, they were never even able to decide on a single efficient means of killing Jews.

Treblinka:

Holocaust historians regard this as one of the most important German extermination centers. These days, it is often said that 850,000 Jews were killed at Treblinka, although figures of 700,000 to more than a million victims are sometimes also cited.

Contrary to what many believe, Treblinka was not a secret camp. A statement published in both German and Polish in the December 2, 1941, issue of the *Amtlicher Anzeiger*, the official bulletin of the government of German-ruled Poland, announced the establishment of the "Treblinka Labor Camp."⁵ An internal German document dated July 7, 1942, likewise refers to the "Treblinka labor camp."⁶

It is true that a number of documents exist which show that trainloads of Jews arrived at Treblinka, and that empty trains then left the camp. Holocaust historian Raul Hilberg has cited these German railway records as proof that Jews were therefore exterminated at Treblinka. But these documents prove nothing of the kind.

Although definitive evidence is not available, it would seem that Dr. Arthur Butz of Northwestern University is correct in concluding that Treblinka served both as a labor camp and as a transit camp for Jews being deported eastwards to the occupied Soviet territories.⁷ Like Sobibor and Belzec, Treblinka was located near the Polish-Soviet border.

Since the war, a number of diagrams based on the memories of “eyewitnesses” have been produced which purport to show the layout of the camp. Interestingly these diagrams differ from each other in every important respect. Compare the diagrams given, for example, in these books: *Into That Darkness*, by Gitta Sereny; *The Death Camp in Treblinka*, edited by Alexander Donat; and, *German Crimes in Poland*, vol. 1, published by the Polish government in 1946.

The Contradictions of “Eyewitnesses”

There is considerable confusion about just how Jews are supposed to have been killed at Treblinka.

According to one wartime “eyewitness” account compiled by the OSS, the U.S. government’s main intelligence agency, Jews at Treblinka “were in general killed by steam and not by gas as had been at first suspected.”⁸ The *New York Times* reported on August 8, 1943, that two million Jews had already been killed at Treblinka by steaming them to death.⁹

U.S. prosecutors at the main Nuremberg trial supported the steam story. According to a Polish government report dated December 5, 1945, Jews were killed at the camp “by suffocating them in steam-filled chambers.” This report was submitted as U.S. prosecution exhibit USA-293, and was published in the official Nuremberg trial record as document PS-3311.¹⁰ An American prosecutor quoted from this document during his address to the tribunal on December 14, 1945.¹¹

However, Samuel Rajzman, a Jew who took part in the Treblinka inmate revolt of August 1943, testified that Jews were “suffocated to death” at the camp with a machine that pumped air out of death chambers.¹²

Shortly after the war, the Jewish Black Book Committee of New York compiled and published a lengthy volume entitled *The Black Book* which described alleged German wartime atrocities in gruesome detail. The Jewish Black Book Committee carefully

calculated that "Treblinka must have destroyed three million persons." The Germans supposedly used three diabolical techniques, including poison gas and steam, to kill some 10,000 Jews daily. But "the most widespread" method "consisted of pumping all the air out from the chambers with large special pumps."¹³

In the Nuremberg trial against Oswald Pohl (Case No. 4), U.S. Judge Michael A. Musmanno declared that "death was inflicted here [at Treblinka] by gas and steam, as well as by electric current." Citing Nuremberg document PS-3311, Musmanno declared: "After being filled up to capacity the chambers were hermetically closed and steam was let in."¹⁴

The story these days is that Jews were gassed at Treblinka with carbon monoxide from the exhaust of an engine, usually described as a diesel engine. However, as engineer Freidrich Berg has persuasively demonstrated, this story is highly improbable for technical reasons.¹⁵ In spite of their obnoxious odor, diesel engines produce much smaller quantities of carbon monoxide than ordinary gasoline motors. It would thus be very difficult, if not impossible, to gas efficiently large numbers of people using diesel exhaust.

It's important to keep in mind that the "evidence" presented for steaming and suffocating at Treblinka is no less credible than the "evidence" now usually cited for gassing. The steaming and suffocating stories have apparently been dropped for the sake of credible consistency and because even upholders of the Holocaust story regard them as too bizarre to be readily believed.

Where Are the Remains ?

Rev. Herbener, if more than a million Jews were exterminated at Sobibor, Chelmno and Treblinka, as you and other defenders of the Holocaust story insist, where are the remains of the dead? If more than 800,000 Jews were cremated at Treblinka alone, as many claim, and each cremated corpse resulted in, let us say, six pounds of ash and residual bone, there should be more than 240 tons of remains still left at the camp site. Why has no one bothered to present this persuasive evidence of mass extermination to the world?

It is quite true that the great bulk of the many hundreds of thousands of Jews who lived in eastern Europe at the outbreak of the Second World War were no longer there at the end of the conflict. The loss of this ancient center of Jewish life was certainly a catastrophic misfortune for the Jews of the world.

The question of what precisely happened to the Jews of eastern Europe is indeed an important one. One book that deals with this subject in some detail is Walter Sanning's impressive analysis, *The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry*.¹⁶

Compare Fate of Jews with Germans

In this regard, it is perhaps worth comparing the fate of the Jews of eastern Europe with that of the Germans in this part of the continent. Before the war there were more than nine and a half million Germans in eastern Germany, including East Prussia, Silesia, and so forth. There were another three million in what is now Czechoslovakia, and many hundreds of thousands in Poland and elsewhere. But in just a few turbulent years (late 1944 to 1948), more than 16 million Germans vanished from their ancient homelands in eastern and central Europe. Some 14 million fled or were forcibly expelled, and about two million perished. Hundreds of thousands were killed. (On this subject, the book *Nemesis at Potsdam* by American historian Alfred M. de Zayas is worth consulting.)¹⁷

In support of your view of the Holocaust story, you recommend the well-known "Stroop Report" on the destruction of the Jewish ghetto in Warsaw in April-May 1943. However, your quotation from the report that 56,000 Jews were apprehended in the ghetto and destroyed is misleadingly translated and taken out of context. The report refers elsewhere specifically to "about 7,000 (Jews who) were destroyed within the former ghetto in the course of the large-scale action."¹⁸ In other words, these "destroyed" Jews perished during the fierce battle that raged there for almost three weeks. As the "Stroop Report" indicates, and as Jewish Holocaust historian Raul Hilberg confirms in his major study, the vast majority of the 56,000 Jews in the ghetto were transferred to various concentration and labor camps.¹⁹

The Mermelstein—IHR Debate?

Rev. Herbener, you reject Rev. Otten's call for a fair and open exchange of views on the Holocaust, charging that it "has only wickedness as its intent." You inaccurately claim that such a debate has already taken place between Revisionists and Mel Mermelstein, a former Auschwitz inmate. It is true that the Institute for Historical Review paid a substantial sum to Mr. Mermelstein in an out-of-court settlement of his law suit. But this dispute was over whether Mermelstein had filed his claim properly and during the time period specified. The basic historical disagreement was never debated or settled.

It is also not true, as you assert, that "the Revisionist is running as fast as his legs can carry him to dodge the law." (Which Revisionist?) It is more accurate to say that the upholders of the Holocaust story are the ones who are running away. They refuse to answer or even discuss some very serious questions. Instead, they hide behind a propagandistic smoke screen of spectacular movies and television broadcasts, expensive "memorials" and polemical "museums."

In contrast to the situation in our country, where all that most people ever see and hear is the "Exterminationist" side, the

Holocaust story has been the subject of significant controversy in Europe. It was heatedly debated for several hours on Swiss television and over French national radio. The consensus of impartial observers was that the Revisionists were the clear winners in these exchanges. The leading French daily, *Le Monde*,²⁰ and the respected Italian historical journal, *Storia Illustrata*,²¹ have also given extensive coverage to both sides of this issue.

Who is "Self Serving?"

Rev. Herbener, you describe Revisionist material as "largely self-serving." In fact numerous Revisionists have suffered terribly for daring to write what they regard as the suppressed truth about this very emotional chapter of contemporary history. One French Revisionist, a teacher named François Duprat, was murdered with a car bomb.²² Prof. Robert Faurisson of the University of Lyon in France has suffered in countless ways, including assaults by thugs. The homes and offices of American Revisionists have been fire-bombed. West German judge Wilhelm Stäglich wrote an essay about his wartime experiences at Auschwitz. As a result, he was forced into early retirement and his pension was cut. Later, because he wrote a critical analysis of the Holocaust claims about Auschwitz, the West German government revoked his doctorate in law.

No, Rev. Herbener, it is not the Revisionists who are self-serving, but rather those who uphold the Holocaust story. The politicians, businessmen and, yes, clergymen who support the Holocaust campaign are rewarded with acclaim and praise from powerful and influential organizations. You write that you "proudly serve" as a member of the Board of Directors of the Dallas Center for Holocaust Studies. Well, it doesn't take any courage to join the wealthy and prominent "beautiful people" who lend their names to the lavishly funded Holocaust committees, councils and centers around the country.

No media campaign is more self-serving than the sophisticated and well-financed Holocaust blitz. Zionist leaders frankly regard the perpetual effort as crucially important for their own interests. That's why, for example, the Israeli government provided \$850,000 to produce the *Shoah* film you endorse.²³ It's also no wonder the Zionist organizations are so determined to silence anyone who challenges their portrayal of history. As Professor W.D. Rubinstein of Australia candidly acknowledged in September 1979: "If the Holocaust can be shown to be a myth, the strongest of all weapons in Israel's propaganda armory collapses."²⁴

The Holocaust – A New Religion

Among American Jews, the Holocaust has become both a flourishing business and a kind of new religion. Jewish author and

newspaper publisher Jacobo Timmerman put it this way in his book, *The Longest War*: "Many Israelis feel offended by the way in which the Holocaust is exploited in the Diaspora. They even feel ashamed that the Holocaust has become a civil religion for Jews in the United States. They respect the works of Alfred Kazin, Irving Howe, and Marie Syrkin. But of other writers, editors, historians, bureaucrats and academics they say, using the word Shoah, which is Hebrew for Holocaust; 'There's no business like Shoah business.'"²⁵ Another Jewish writer, Leon A. Jick, commented: "The devastating barb, 'There is no business like Shoah business' is, sad to say, a recognizable truth."²⁶ Well, at least a few perceptive Jews recognize this truth, even if many non-Jews do not.

Over and over again, the public is exhorted to "Never Forget." Given the relentless media campaign to make the fate of the Jews during the Second World War the central event of human history, how can anyone ever forget? There is no end to the heavy-handed motion pictures, the simplistic television specials, the vindictive hunt for "Nazi war criminals," the one-sided "educational courses," the self-righteous appearances by politicians and celebrities at Holocaust "memorial services," and so forth and so on.

Non-Jewish victims, of course, just don't merit the same concern. For example, there are no American memorials, "study centers," or annual observances for Stalin's victims, who vastly outnumber Hitler's.

Distortion of Reality

You write proudly, Rev. Herbener, of your annual participation in the "Interfaith Pleas for Soviet Jewry" in Dallas. You go on to charge that "the Soviet Union has virtually imprisoned all Jews in Russia." This claim, like so much of what we are told regarding Jewish affairs, is a distortion of reality.

It is certainly true that the Soviet government cracks down on all expressions of anti-Soviet nationalism, including Zionism. But Soviet Jews are not oppressed any more than, say, Soviet Ukrainians. Contrary to what Americans have been led to believe, Jews are not persecuted in the Soviet Union simply because they are Jews. In fact, Jews in the USSR are generally better off than most Soviet citizens, and Jews are well-represented among the members of the Soviet elite. This was documented, for example, in the CBS "60 Minutes" broadcast of March 22, 1987.

Moreover, in one important regard, Soviet Jews are a privileged group. They are virtually the only Soviet citizens who are allowed to emigrate to the United States (and other countries) in large numbers. About 98 per cent of the "Russians" who have moved to the U.S. in recent decades are Jews.

Since you express such concern for the victims of oppression, I

would be interested to know what public action you have taken on behalf of persecuted Christians in the Soviet Union. Have you participated in any "interfaith" pleas on behalf of oppressed fellow Lutherans in the USSR? It would be interesting to see how many Jewish leaders would be willing to participate in such an event.

Questions For Herbener

In your letters to Rev. Otten, you asked several pointed questions that I have tried to answer here. Now, I have some questions that I hope you will answer:

1. Do you believe that Jews were gassed at Dachau during the war years, as was alleged at Nuremberg and elsewhere, or do you agree with Jewish Holocaust historians who now concede that this story is not true? If you reject this story, why do you believe that the evidence for gassings at Dachau is less credible than the evidence for gassings at Auschwitz, Sobibor and other camps?

2. Do you believe the evidence that Jews were steamed to death at Treblinka? If so, why do you think that Holocaust historians now reject that evidence? If not, why not? Is the evidence for "steam chambers" any less credible than the evidence for "gas chambers"?

3. Do you believe the story that the Germans manufactured bars of soap from Jewish corpses during the war? If so, why do you think that Holocaust historians now reject this story? If not, are you ready to condemn those who spread this story as liars or misinformed defamers?

4. The prominent Jewish writer and former Auschwitz inmate Elie Wiesel wrote in his book, *Legends of Our Time*: "Every Jew, somewhere in his being, should set apart a zone of hate—healthy, virile hate—for what the German personifies and for what persists in the German." Do you agree with Wiesel?

5. Do you agree that spreading and supporting lies about the German nation and people is a violation of the commandment: "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor?"

If you wish, Rev. Herbener, I can readily provide documentation for any of the statements I've made in this open letter. Furthermore, I am willing to speak to any appropriate group about the points made in this letter or about the Holocaust issue in general. I am also prepared to publicly debate the Holocaust issue, as explained in the challenge recently issued by the Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust (P.O. Box 931089, Los Angeles, CA 90093).

As limited as it is, your exchange of letters with Rev. Otten is a rare and welcome public exchange of views about an important issue. I thus appreciate this opportunity to reply to some of the questions and points you raised.

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A Critique of the Charge of Anti-Semitism: The Moral and Political Legitimacy of Criticizing Jewry

PAUL GRUBACH

I

As the distinguished scholar, Noam Chomsky, has noted elsewhere, even in open democratic societies such as ours, which lack the cruder forms of ideological control, there is still a public orthodoxy: a set of assumptions, ideas, and doctrines which is rarely, if ever, questioned.¹ A key aspect of the public orthodoxy is the psychosocial taboo. The latter can be defined as a private emotional aversion and a public social ban attached to certain modes of thinking and public criticism.

Specifically, if a belief deemed to be a component of the public orthodoxy is rejected, or even questioned, in public, the offender is liable to be labeled as "evil" and be subjected to social ostracism. There is a private, internal counterpart to this public inhibition: if an individual who accepts the reigning public orthodoxy rejects, or questions, one of its tenets privately, he will likely subject himself to feelings of guilt approaching a kind of "holy dread." In the words of Sigmund Freud, "The violation of the taboo makes the offender himself taboo."²

Examples of societies with public orthodoxies, which are in turn protected by psychosocial taboos, are not hard to find. For instance, consider the status of the Catholic Church and its theological doctrines in Medieval Europe and during the era of the Inquisition. To question the cardinal tenets of Christian belief was to risk not only ostracism but imprisonment, torture, and death. A more contemporary example is the case of Marxism-Leninism in the Soviet Union. Every Soviet citizen is aware that to criticize the Communist party or its ideological doctrines exposes one to charges of "bourgeois corruption," "anti-Soviet slander," and "retrogressive counterrevolution," and corresponding censure and punishment. Finally, every sentient, dutiful American citizen knows that to criticize Jews as a group, Jewish culture, Jewish behavior patterns, the alleged Holocaust, etc., is to partake of "immoral, anti-Semitic

racism." Carefully nurtured by the public media, the taboo on criticizing Jewry is deeply lodged in the consciousness of the great majority of Americans, directly influencing their acceptance or rejection of criticisms of Jewish attitudes and behavior, irrespective of the truth or falsity of such claims.

Is direct criticism of the Jews anti-Semitism, and, by implication, morally and politically illegitimate, and thus unworthy of serious examination? If not, what is the true meaning of the label "anti-Semitic" applied to such criticism?

This paper is directed toward those who harbor the following beliefs:

1. Criticism of the Jewish people, Jewish culture and behavior, etc., is synonymous with immoral racism;
2. At best this criticism is only to be tolerated due to First Amendment protection of free speech, or, at worst, to be censured and censored.

May the psychic chains of these opponents of taboo-free speech be broken.

II

According to the democratic political theory on which our republic is founded, the ultimate source of all political power resides in the people. Every citizen in a truly democratic state is supposedly endowed with an equal opportunity to state a case for a particular viewpoint, and to influence the decisions of the powers which govern.³

Concomitant to the democratic theory is the tenet that the various powers and forces—unconnected though they may be with government—which influence the social, economic, or political direction of society are subject to scrutiny and criticism by citizens of a democracy. According to the historian Bernard Bailyn, the notion that "preservation of liberty rests on the ability of people to maintain effective checks upon the wielders of power" was one of the political doctrines upon which the American Revolution was based.⁴ Political and social power must be checked; otherwise, it becomes repressive. Public scrutiny and criticism are an effective check upon political and social power; immunity from criticism is tantamount to power unchecked.

Indeed, the First Amendment to the Constitution guarantees—among other forms of free speech—the citizen's right to examine and criticize publicly the various social and political forces which influence our nation's destiny. Granted, the First Amendment does not sanction crying "fire" in a crowded theater. It certainly does, however, safeguard criticism of ideas, theories, ideological forces, and sectarian groups which steer the sociopolitical course of

society, irrespective of the fact that the criticism in question may violate the sensibilities of a powerful group. Any factor—be it a group, institution, body of ideas, set of cultural values, etc.—which affects the social system, laws, historical development, and political policies of a democratic nation is subject to public criticism by citizens of that democracy.

In short, citizens of our democracy have a moral and political right to publicly analyze, debate, and criticize the powers which influence the sociopolitical direction of the nation. It follows, then, that anything which inhibits or silences public criticism of a socially and politically powerful group amounts to an infringement of a basic democratic right.

Consider the impact, then, of a psychosocial taboo which links in the minds of citizens a sense of evil and shame with negative criticism of a socially and politically powerful group, and affixes a public label of “evil person” to anyone who criticizes this same group. The taboo then amounts to an infringement of a citizen’s right to question a group which has a decided effect upon the fortunes and fate of his society. How many will endure moral censure by their own conscience (an overwhelming sense of “I am evil”) for thinking “heretical thoughts”? Of those forthright thinkers undeterred by such self-censure, how many will publicly voice their criticism of such a group, if the end result is being tarred as “evil” and exposed to consequent social ostracism?

Let us examine different aspects of Jewish social and political influence upon the American scene.

Since Jews vote in disproportionately high numbers (unlike other ethnic groups, which are usually underrepresented at the polls), the Jewish vote is a significant factor in many elections. According to the author of *Jews and American Politics*, Stephen D. Isaacs, the Jewish vote is “. . . certainly enough to be decisive in a close election, and even more influential considering that these votes tend to be cast as a bloc and are clustered in big electoral-vote states.”⁵ Thus, Jewish voting power cannot be viewed merely as individual Jews exercising power individually. Rather, the Jewish vote is a type of political power which Jews exercise as a group.⁶

2. Jews are 2½ to 3 times as likely to be found in Congress than are non-Jews, in proportion to their numbers in the general population.⁷ Eight members of the Senate and thirty members of the House are Jewish.⁸ Regarding Jewish influence in the halls of Congress and the government bureaucracy, Jewish political commentator Wolf Blitzer wrote:

Whether in the Pentagon, the State Department, the Central Intelligence Agency, the White House, the National Security Council, the Justice Department, the FBI or the Congress, there is no shortage of Jews working in very senior and extremely sensitive positions.⁹

3. Approximately 50 percent of monetary contributions to the Democratic Party come from the Jewish community.¹⁰ There is an intimate connection between economic contributions to a political party and the overall policies which that party will espouse. The Jewish contributions to the Democratic Party are large enough to enable immense Jewish influence over a mainstay of the American political system. In the words of one Democratic strategist, "You can't hope to go anywhere in national politics, if you're a Democrat, without Jewish money."¹¹

4. The Left has exerted a significant influence upon American society as a whole culturally as well as politically, and Jews have always been a major force on the Left.¹² According to a major study of the left, "From its inception, Americans of Jewish background played a key role in the Communist Party."¹³ Of the New Left of the 1960s, the same authors point out that American Jews "... provided a majority of its most active members and perhaps even a larger proportion of its top leadership."¹⁴ Jewish intellectuals Erich and Rael Jean Isaac were much more blunt: "The students [of the New Left student movement] were mostly Jews."¹⁵

5. The mid 1970s saw the emergence of a "neo-conservative" movement, the political impact of which, on Democrats as well as Republicans, has been profound. Jews played—and continue to play—a central role in "neo-conservatism."¹⁶

6. The Israel lobby is a powerful outgrowth of the American Jewish community. Its political and social power, its ability to influence American foreign policy vis-a-vis the Middle East, have been amply documented elsewhere.¹⁷ Bernard Gwertzman, writing in the pro-Zionist *New York Times*, admits:

I don't think there is really any doubt that Israel has the most efficient, most influential domestic lobby in this country. The Reagan Administration, for instance, never makes any move in the Middle East without consulting with the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, the chief pro-Israeli lobby, and many senators and congressmen routinely look to that group for guidance on Middle East issues.¹⁸

7. Organized crime has made an undoubted impact on the social and economic history of the United States. According to *The Jewish Almanac*, in reference to Jewish gangsters, "It would not be an exaggeration to say that their influence on organized crime in the United States during the 1920's and 1930's rivaled, if not exceeded, that of their Italian counterparts."¹⁹

8. Jewish economic influence in the United States is significant—to put it mildly!—and no short, one-paragraph essay could possibly do it justice. For a discussion of Jewish influence in banking, finance, industry, etc., the reader is referred to one such study.²⁰

9. One of the key instruments of Jewish influence in the United States has been the American mass media and book publishing industry. As early as 1936, approximately 50 percent of the taste-making and taste-influencing media (the book-publishing industry included) was Jewish-owned.²¹ The pervasive Jewish ownership of major media outlets has continued to the present.

The largest commercial chain of radio stations in America today, Universal Broadcasting, is owned by a Jew, Howard Warshaw.²² A significant number of the most influential newspapers and periodicals—such as the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, *TV Guide*, *New Republic*, to name just a few—are owned by individuals of Jewish background.²³ One of the largest communications empires in the United States is the Jewish-owned Newhouse chain. It encompasses twenty-one daily newspapers, five magazines, six television stations, four radio stations, and twenty cable-TV systems.²⁴

In 1974, a writer who closely studied Jewish socio-political influence in the United States found that “. . . the (television) networks are owned and managed largely by Jews.”²⁵ He subsequently added:

. . . all three commercial networks grew up under brilliant Jews—the National Broadcasting Company as part of General David Sarnoff's Radio Corporation of America, the Columbia Broadcasting System under William S. Paley, and the American Broadcasting System under Leonard Goldenson, after its split from NBC's old “Blue Network.”²⁶

In a study published in 1973, it was estimated that 58 percent of the television news producers and editors at ABC television were Jewish.²⁷ A 1971 study revealed that approximately half of the producers of prime-time television shows were Jews.²⁸

In a very recent study of Jews and the American cinema, a Jewish researcher concluded: “Jews have had control of the means of [film] production and thus have enjoyed a protected image despite their minority status in society.”²⁹ Fifty percent of the major book publishing houses are Jewish-owned.³⁰ Accordingly, the Jewish cultural establishment, through its massive influence in the mass media, is able to determine to a large degree what will and what will not be published, and can thus project its ethno-cultural beliefs upon the mass of American people.

One is therefore justified in agreeing with psychoanalyst Ernst Van den Haag, presented in *The Jewish Mystique: Jews as a group—diaspora Jewish culture in America*—are a considerable social and political force in American society. They form a cultural elite which exerts a decided impact upon the sociopolitical direction of American society. In the words of the president of the American Jewish Congress, Theodore Mann, “We [Jews] have real political

power, and have come to feel our strength.”³¹ In the cautionary words of Marshal Bregar, former Jewish liaison to the Reagan White House, “We must be sober and not just exult in all the Jewish power we have.”³²

To make the argument perfectly clear, it is framed in the form of a simple syllogism.

Major premise: Inherent in democratic political theory is the right of every citizen to publicly and privately examine and criticize those powers which influence the social, political, or economic life of society.

Minor premise: American Jewry—inclusive of its cultural values—is one such powerful group which has a significant impact upon the social, political, and economic life of democratic society.

Conclusion: Therefore, it is the right of the citizen to examine and criticize, Jewry and its sociopolitical power structure.

There is, further, a direct corollary to this syllogism: the existence of the psychosocial taboo by which “criticism of Jewry is synonymous with immoral racism” is an infringement of the democratic right to question any powerful sociopolitical interest. This taboo functions as a self-administered censure, making one feel guilty for thinking critically about the political and social power of Jewry, and also subjects any public criticism of the Jews to derisive labeling as “racist anti-Semitism.” Bearing these caveats in mind, how many Americans dare risk exercising their right to criticize American Jewry? How many businessmen, professionals, labor leaders, academics, intellectuals, and politicians will close their minds and abdicate their duties under the spell of this taboo, dismissing out of hand possibly truthful claims concerning Jewry merely because these claims constitute negative, unflattering criticism?

To render Jews, their cultural values, beliefs, biases, history, etc., exempt from critical scrutiny has traditionally been the chief function of the charge of anti-Semitism. It is, as we shall soon see, a politico-intellectual weapon of the powerful Jewish establishment, used to silence its critics. In a historical sense, it is similar to the charge of heresy employed by powerful theocratic powers in ages gone by, or the charge of anti-Soviet slander used by the Communist Party in the Soviet Union today. In all these cases, entrenched powers employ such charges, the very raising of which is intended to terrorize, against critics which they deem a threat. By associating a sense of evil with criticism of their power or the doctrines they promote, these politico-cultural establishments protect their power and ideological doctrines from rational criticism.

Even against the claim that Jews as a group do not have power, that only individual Jews have power,³³ the argument still applies. If particular Jewish cultural values, beliefs, customs, and the like are causing politically or socially influential Jewish *individuals* to make decisions which affect society at large, then it is the citizen's right to subject these same Jewish values, beliefs, or cultural characteristics, which affect society through the decisions of individual Jews, to rational criticism.³⁴

The implications of these arguments are even greater than they may appear at first glance. It is not here argued that criticism of the Jews should be "tolerated" for "freedom of speech" reasons, to satisfy a legal technicality of the First Amendment. Rather, within a society which espouses a democratic philosophy, it is indeed morally correct to examine and criticize all aspects of the sociopolitical power of the Jews. Thus negative criticism of the Jews is not immoral *per se*. Quite to the contrary! It is the blanket charge of anti-Semitism, raised in the face of any challenge to Jewish power and influence, which is immoral.

III

The question remains: if the taboo ("criticism of Jewry is evil"), and the manner in which the charge of anti-Semitism is utilized are incompatible with democratic principles, then why does the anti-Semitism taboo hold sway in a society such as ours which is based upon democratic principles? If neither from reason or the principles of American democracy, from where do they derive their power to influence? To which irrational proclivities of man—if not to his rational faculties—do they appeal in order to make them so effective and persuasive? What functions do they really serve? Whose interests or needs do they meet?

To answer these questions we must start at the beginning, with properly defined terms. According to the *American Heritage Dictionary*, an "anti-Semite" is defined as "a person who is hostile towards or prejudiced against the Jews."³⁵ In a previous issue of this publication, L.A. Rollins alluded to the *criteria* used by many Jews and non-Jews to determine who fits this definition.³⁶ If an individual makes a statement critical of Jews, it is *inferred* that this person harbors a hatred of and prejudice toward Jews. These criteria, the manner in which anti-Semitism is determined (i.e., if a statement is critical of Jews, then the individual who made the claim is thereby an anti-Semite) are firmly implanted in the minds of many Jews and Gentiles. Needless to say, this outlook is a part and parcel of the public orthodoxy.

Mr. Rollins certainly exposed the non sequitur involved here. Critical statements of Jews do not necessarily indicate hatred and prejudice toward Jews. Indeed, critical statements directed toward

Jews might equally serve to indicate that the individual who made the statements harbors within himself—rather than hatefulness and prejudice—a deep sense of humanitarianism.

For example, consider the case of John Demjanjuk, a Ukrainian-American who was accused of war crimes, stripped of his citizenship, and sent to Israel for a show trial. In regard to the Demjanjuk case, Dr. Edward Rubel made the statement: "Jewish Zionist pressure groups in Washington speak through the OSI for the U.S. government." Quite expectedly, a Jewish member of the ADL, Yitzhak Santis, charged Rubel with "anti-Semitism."³⁷ That is, Santis *interpreted* Rubel's statement as being critical of Jews, and thus has *inferred* that he harbors a hatred of irrational beliefs about Jews. But does this latter inference necessarily follow? By no means!

On the basis of Rubel's statement, one could justifiably make quite another inference. Specifically, Rubel could instead harbor a firm belief in Mr. Demjanjuk's innocence, and out of deep, humanitarian concern for the latter's plight, have spoken out against the forces which he sincerely believes are wrongfully persecuting Demjanjuk. In other words, humanitarian concern for Demjanjuk, and not hatred of Jews, may have caused Rubel to speak critically of Jewish pressure. Santis, however, has automatically assumed hostile intent on the part of Rubel. (The question now remains: what psychosocial forces have induced Santis to assume hostile intent? More on this point later.) In addition, Rubel's claim—that the OSI functions as a governmental arm of Jewish Zionist pressure groups—is not an irrational prejudice, but rather a quite plausible view which is supported by the evidence.³⁸

But even if statements critical of Jews do indicate that the expounder of such statements harbors hostility toward Jews, the statements in question may nevertheless be true. An example will serve to illustrate the point.

Ernest Dube, a black professor who at one time held a teaching position at the State University of New York (Stony Brook), taught that Zionism is a form of racism in his courses.³⁹ A visiting Israeli professor, Selwyn K. Troen, charged Dube with "anti-Semitism," adding that the equation of Zionism with racism is "sloganeering that is practiced by the anti-Semite."⁴⁰ In accusing Dube of anti-Semitism, precisely what does Troen mean? Stating that Dube is an anti-Semite, according to the dictionary definition of the term cited above, is tantamount to claiming that he harbors, deep down, a neurotic hatred of Jews. This hatred of the Jews has caused him to make irrational, derogatory, and prejudicial statements about them ("anti-Semitic sloganeering").

Case closed, end of story. Dube should be dismissed as a neurotic crank, dismissed from his teaching job, as well, and his claim that Zionism is a form of racism should likewise be dismissed as an

obviously false and prejudicial statement.⁴¹

Here we have an excellent example of an admixture of an *ad hominem* fallacy and an “emotional language” fallacy. The fact that Professor Dube may have an alleged character deficiency—a deep-rooted hatred of Jews—has nothing to do with the objective truth or falsity of his teaching that Zionism equals racism. Dube’s personal character traits are logically irrelevant to the correctness or incorrectness of his arguments or claims concerning political Zionism. That is, Zionism could indeed be a form of racism, regardless of whether Dube harbors a personal hatred of Jews.

In addition, to label the belief in question as the “sloganeering of the anti-Semite” is to do just that and nothing else. “Anti-Semitic sloganeering” is an emotion-loaded phrase attached to the claim, but it does nothing to disprove the truth of the claim. It is a linguistic artifice, the effect of which is to conjure up all the negative emotions and responses associated with the code word of “anti-Semitism” in the minds of listeners, and thus induce them to reject out of hand Dube’s statement that Zionism equals racism. In the words of the logician, Alex Michalos, “The fallacy of confusion with emotional language is committed when, without increasing the supporting evidence for a view, the view is made more persuasive by the use of emotional language.”⁴²

Has there in fact been any evidence offered to demonstrate that Dube’s teaching is false? No evidence at all was offered in the statements of Dube’s accusers to disprove his teaching. (That Zionism is indeed a form of racism, according to liberal-humanitarian definitions of the term, has been convincingly argued by many authors.)⁴³

The Dube case exemplifies beautifully the two-fold fallaciousness of the way in which the charge of anti-Semitism functions. On the one hand it is an argument *ad hominem*, attacking a person’s motives and character instead of his thesis. (Under objective conditions, an asserted theory or fact is to be examined quite independently of the attitude or psychic makeup of him who asserts it.) That the charge of anti-Semitism indeed functions as an argumentative bludgeon to silence all critics of Jews, Zionism, and the state of Israel has been noted by individuals—including Jews—of all political persuasions.⁴⁴ A classic diversionary tactic, it shifts attention away from a fair examination of the critic of Jewry’s claims, and casts ridicule on the critic and his character instead.

Instead of offering reasons or evidence to disprove the claims of the “anti-Semite,” the tactic places an emotive label (a code word which elicits automatic, negative responses) on the claims, thereby magically, through an illogical sleight of hand, disposing of them.

Regarding fallacies of this nature, the logician Irving Copi pointed out: “How they succeed in being persuasive despite their logical

incorrectness is in some cases to be explained by their expressive function of evoking attitudes likely to cause the acceptance of, rather than supplying grounds for the truth of, the conclusions they urge.”⁴⁵ That many learned intellectuals, well-schooled in the subtleties of logic, can throw rationality to the winds and accept such outright fallacies at face value is a tribute to the psychological power of the charge of anti-Semitism.

IV

It is to the psychological essence of the charge of anti-Semitism which our analysis must now turn. Specifically, what psychological attitudes does the charge evoke to make it so potent, coercive, and persuasive an instrument in the minds of Jews who employ it and Gentiles who are subject to it?

First, why is the label of “anti-Semite” such an awesome threat, to be greatly feared by any and all social critics of the Jews? According to anthropological observation in most societies known to man, there is a stigma attached to mental illness.⁴⁶ Our society is no exception to this rule. And it is here, in the reflexive, unthinking, subliminal association of anti-Semitism (read: criticism of Jews) with psychological sickness that the charge of anti-Semitism derives its awesome power to intimidate, coerce, and silence.

It is firmly rooted in the tenets of popular psychology (read: media-promoted ideology), that anyone who criticizes Jews as a group has an underlying emotional problem, and this supplies the underlying reason for his criticism. Jews as a group are presented as blameless and powerless, an oppressed minority forever being victimized: by Arab terrorists, Soviet anti-Semites, Germans, Austrians, East Europeans—the list is endless. By this reading the “racist” critic of Jews alleviates his own intense psychological problems by criticizing and attacking the powerless Jews. Needless to say, anything said by so confused an individual need only be disregarded.

According to Paul Findley, a former Congressman who dealt extensively with Middle-Eastern issues in his tenure, the charge of anti-Semitism “. . . is an accusation that brings disdain and horror to just about everyone. No one wants to be accused of being anti-Semitic, and the accusation has been developed into the most odious attack that can be made on an American citizen.”⁴⁷ Jewish interests, through their pervasive influence on American thinking, have successfully programmed the popular psyche as follows: criticism of the Jews equals hatred of the Jews, which in turn equals mental sickness.⁴⁸ Those charged with “anti-Semitism” are prey to the consequences of the distinctly human disgust, aversion and suspicion reserved for the mentally ill.

Furthermore, the charge of anti-Semitism serves both as a Jewish

sword and a Jewish shield. On the one hand, it is an *ad hominem* attack upon the character of a critic of Jewry. As such, it functions as a threat, used to intimidate and to coerce the critic or potential critic into silence, and to defame his character and dismiss his assertions if he speaks out. Thus it is an offensive weapon, a Jewish sword.

Now, let us see how it functions as a defensive shield for Jewish people. The charge of anti-Semitism can provide Jews psychological insulation from negative criticism, which, even though it be legitimate, is too painful for conscious acceptance. A Jew can easily sweep the criticism from conscious awareness by saying, "He [the critic of Jewry] is just an anti-Semite. Therefore, whatever he says about the Jews is false, and I don't have to listen to him." In a word, it is an excellent example of the Freudian defense mechanism of rationalization.

This could well be one of the major psychic forces behind this seemingly endless drive by certain Jewish organizations to "discover anti-Semitism" in the critics of Zionism and other forms of Jewish social and political influence. The charge of anti-Semitism could thus function as a conscience-salving self-deception for Jewish people.

V

Let us review some of the major points of this essay. The following cultural programming is a key part of the public orthodoxy: in America today: a) statements critical of Jews imply antipathy toward Jews, and b) antipathy toward Jews or Jewish organizations are the sign of a psychological disturbance. Previously, we have seen that statements critical of Jews do not necessarily arise from a hatred of Jews. Even if they did, this does not render the assertions false.

Let us analyze the validity of belief b. Let it be assumed, for the sake of argument, that a man bears hostility toward Jews or Jewish organizations. The public orthodoxy, the cultural conventions of our time, demand that we assume the man is either mentally disturbed or "evil." Is this necessarily true? Is it not possible that feelings of antipathy toward the Jews may stem from normal psychological reactions caused by the collective behavior of large numbers of Jews? Consider the following examples.

Israeli-Jewish rule of the Israeli-occupied Arab territories (the West Bank and the Gaza Strip) has been extremely oppressive. The native Palestinians living there are subject to confiscation of their lands, a wide range of legal discrimination; torture and cruel treatment of Palestinian dissidents; arbitrary arrest and deportation; administrative detention without trial for up to six months; collective punishment (the detonation of living quarters of families of individuals who are merely suspected of an offense); the

placement of arbitrary curfews on whole towns; murders and political killings; violation of the native Palestinian's right to privacy; the severe restriction of the press, freedom of speech, peaceful assembly and association, and movement within the territories; and severe restrictions on academic freedom.⁴⁹ According to Congressman George Crockett Jr. (D-MI), who made a fact-finding visit to the Middle East in 1985, the Israeli military government in the occupied territories is ". . . a finely honed instrument of oppression against an entire subject people."⁵⁰ Father Edward Dillon, a frequent lecturer on Middle-East-related issues, has summed up the situation perfectly when he wrote: "Palestinians have become resident aliens in their own land, without effective recourse for almost any infringement of basic human rights."⁵¹ [The brutal repression of desperate Palestinian demonstrations over the six months following December, 1987 has amply borne these statements out—Ed.]

In view of what Palestinian Arabs have experienced at the hands of groups of Israeli Jews, and considering that their awful experiences are the result of the policies of a Jewish Zionist government, is not one justified in concluding that any generalized feelings of hostility they may harbor toward the Jews are, in a psychological sense, explicable? Would not similar feelings flair up in a group so oppressed by Jews, or by like oppressors with so indentifiable a group character? (A psychological reaction may be explicable, even normal, but not necessarily morally justifiable, of course.)

The Hungarian Revolution of 1956 provides another case in point. Post-World-War-II Hungarian society was very oppressive, a virtual Stalinist concentration camp. By 1956 at least one quarter of the entire Hungarian population had been jailed at one time or another, most often on trumped-up charges. If one's father had been a landowner or an officer during the Horthy era, university education was denied him, the higher professions closed, and his fate seemed sealed: to perform menial tasks for the rest of his life. There was additionally the full gamut of Stalinist suppression of religion and freedom of speech, as well as torture and execution of political dissidents.

As historian David Irving has pointed out, the leadership of the Communist regime, including the top echelons of the secret police, was almost entirely Jewish.⁵² Working from CIA reports, Irving has demonstrated that the great majority of those Hungarians who took part in the revolution, and who subsequently were interviewed by psychologists in America, were motivated by anti-Jewish feelings.⁵³

In view of the oppression that these Hungarians had experienced at the hands of a virtual totalitarian, Jewish-controlled government, may one not be justified in concluding that their hostility to Jews was

a normal psychological response—in the sense that most people under the same set of circumstances would respond almost identically—caused by the collective, oppressive behavior of a large and influential group of Hungarian Jews?

The case of Jewish influence upon American foreign policy regarding the Middle East provides us with another instructive example. It has been well documented elsewhere that the Zionist establishment virtually controls the general direction of American Middle East foreign policy, and Jewish Zionist manipulation of our government for its own ends is quite extensive. In reference to this manipulation of the American government, Admiral Thomas Moorer has commented: "If the American people understood what a grip those people have got on our government, they would raise up in arms. Our citizens don't have any idea what goes on." In other words, if the American people knew how certain Zionist Jews are manipulating the American political system to the detriment of the American people, anti-Jewish hostility would become widespread—a quite normal, mass psychological response to the immoral collective behavior of a large group of Zionist Jews.

In a past issue of *The National Jewish Post and Opinion*, the Jewish columnist, Arlene Peck wrote: "I have my own feelings about the Germans and benevolence isn't one of them. I traveled to Munich briefly a few years ago and couldn't wait to get out of that country . . . I can't help if I'm not a forgiving person."⁵⁴ Quite obviously, she is telling us that she bears hostility toward the Germans. Yet, the public orthodoxy demands that we sympathize with her by saying: "Well, considering the oppression that Jews have suffered at the hands of Germans, it is certainly normal and understandable that Jewish people are hostile toward the Germans."

Just as hostility to Germans may be a normal psychological response for Jewish people under certain circumstances, so too, Arab, Hungarian, and American antipathy to Jews can also be a normal psychological response under certain circumstances. The equation of *all* anti-Jewish hostility with psychological sickness is false. Anti-Jewish feeling, at times, may be a normal psychological reaction—a reaction which could be induced in most humans given the circumstances—to the collective behavior of large groupings of Jews. (Of course, antipathy to the Jews as a group may be normal, but not morally justifiable. I am not suggesting that people who suffer at the hands of Jewish oppressors should hate all Jews, merely that, considering the psychic makeup of humankind, hostility to Jews can be a normal, not a pathological, reaction—though not an *ethical* reaction—given certain conditions.)

Conclusion

1. Jewry is an established social and political power in the United States. In concurrence with the democratic principles of our society, it is morally and politically correct to offer criticism of Jewry and its politico-cultural power.

2. The potency of the charge of anti-Semitism—its ability to silence critics of the Jews—derives not from the force of reason, but rather, from the force of an irrational, deeply ingrained, cultural convention: specifically, the unthinking association of a sense of evil with criticism of the Jews.

3. The charge of anti-Semitism is a Jewish sword and shield. A Jewish sword, it is an *ad hominem* attack on any critic of the Jews. By focusing on the critic's character, it induces people to reject his assertions on Jewish behavior out of hand, without fair examination.

A Jewish shield, the charge serves as a psychological defense mechanism whereby Jewish people can insulate themselves from criticism which is too painful to confront consciously.

In a political and sociological sense, the charge of anti-Semitism is a powerful weapon of the Jewish cultural and political establishment, used in an undemocratic manner to silence its opponents and to enable that establishment to operate with impunity. Thus, the accusation of anti-Semitism is an essential tool of Jewish power and influence.

4. In our society almost every form of social and political power has its share of critics. The government bureaucracy, the so-called military-industrial complex, the CIA, Big Business, the Catholic Church, Christian fundamentalists, the oil companies, Ronald Reagan, the political Left, the political Right: all have their outspoken critics.

Americans are told from their cradles to their graves that their country is the "land of the free," the "home of free speech," the nation in which the citizenry is able to question and challenge all forms of social and political influence. Let one invoke this right of free speech and engage in criticism of the power and influence of American Jewry, however, the reigning cultural conventions demand that we label him "anti-Semitic."

Our democratic philosophy allows for the political and moral legitimacy of criticism of the Jews as a group. If all forms of social and political influence have their tolerated, even respected critics, then let the critic of Jewish influence speak openly. By the canons of our free society, even Jewry should ultimately benefit from an open discussion of the power of Jews in politics, economics, and culture in modern America.

Notes

1. Chomsky's introduction to *Israel's Sacred Terrorism*, by Livia Rokach (Belmont, Mass.: Association of Arab-American University Graduates, 1980), p. xiii.
2. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., s.v. "Taboo," by Northcote W. Thomas, quoted in *The Basic Writings of Sigmund Freud*, 6 bks., trans. and ed. Dr. A.A. Brill, The Modern Library (New York: Random House, 1938), 5:823.
3. *The Encyclopaedia of Philosophy*, 1967 ed., s.v. "Democracy," by Stanley I. Benn.
4. *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1967), p. 65.
5. *Jews and American Politics* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co., 1974), p. 7.
6. See footnote 33.
7. "Jews in Congress show anti-Semitism reduced," *The National Jewish Post and Opinion*, 27 February 1985, p.3.
8. Wolf Blitzer, "Jewish political activists delighted at election returns," *Cleveland Jewish News*, 14 November 1986, p. A-16.
9. Wolf Blitzer, "U.S. sends Jewish envoys to help deal with Israel," *Cleveland Jewish News*, 27 June 1986, .
10. Charlotte Sailkowski, "America's Israel Aid Budget Grows," *Christian Science Monitor*, 30 November 1983, p. 5.
11. Quoted in Paul Findley, *They Dare to Speak Out: People and Institutions Confront Israel's Lobby* (Westport, Conn.: Lawrence Hill & Co., 1985), p. 47.
12. Arthur Liebman, *Jews and The Left* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1979), p. 1.
13. Stanley Rothman and S. Robert Lichter, *Roots of Radicalism: Jews, Christians, and the New Left* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), p. 98.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 80.
15. Review of *Roots of Radicalism*, in *The American Spectator*, vol. 16, no. 5 (May 1983), p. 26.
16. Rothman and Lichter, *Roots of Radicalism*, p. 105.
17. See Findley, *They Dare To Speak Out*; Cheryl Rubenberg, "The Middle East Lobbies," *The Link*, vol. 17, no. 1 (January-March 1984); Earl D. Huff, "A Study of a Successful Interest Group: The American Zionist Movement," *Western Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 25 (March 1972), pp. 109-124; Lee O'Brien, *American Jewish Organizations and Israel* (Washington, D.C.: Institute For Palestine Studies, 1986); Alfred M. Lilienthal, *The Zionist Connection II: What Price Peace?* (New Brunswick, N.J.: North American, 1982); Morrell Heald and Lawrence S. Kaplan, *Culture and Diplomacy* (New York, 1978).
18. Review of *The American House of Saud: The Secret Petrodollar Connection*, by Steven Emerson, 11 July 1985, p. 17.

19. Richard Siegel and Carl Rheins, comps. and eds., *The Jewish Almanac* (New York: Bantam, 1980), p. 58.
20. Wilmot Robertson, Chapter 15 of *The Dispossessed Majority*, "The Jews," (Cape Canaveral, Florida: Howard Allen, 1981), pp. 152-201.
21. See the short discussion of *Fortune* magazine's 1936 report on Jews in America in James J. Martin's, *The Man Who Invented "Genocide": The Public Career and Consequences of Raphael Lemkin* (Torrance, California: Institute for Historical Review, 1984), p. 54.
22. Edwin Black, "Owned by Jews, evangelical radio spreads Gospel," *Cleveland Jewish News*, December 1985, p. 13.
23. Alfred M. Lilienthal, *The Zionist Connection II*, p. 219.
24. Richard Siegel and Carl Rheins, *The Jewish Almanac*, p. 99.
25. Stephen D. Isaacs, *Jews and American Politics*, p. 46.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 46.
27. E.J. Epstein, *News From Nowhere* (New York: Random House, 1973), pp. 222-23, cited by Stanley Rothman and S. Robert Lichter, *Roots of Radicalism*, p. 97.
28. Muriel Cantor, *The Hollywood TV Producer* (New York: Basic Books, 1971), cited by Stanley Rothman and S. Robert Lichter, *Roots of Radicalism*, p. 97.
29. Patricia Erens, *The Jew in American Cinema* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), p. 28.
30. James Yaffe, *The American Jews* (New York: Random House, 1968), p. 225.
31. Cynthia Dettelback, "'Coming of Age' 54th GA Theme," *Cleveland Jewish News*, 22 November 1985, p. A-6.
32. *Ibid.*, p. A-6.
33. Hyman Bookbinder, of the American Jewish Committee, once made a claim to this effect, as quoted in Stephen D. Isaacs, *Jews and American Politics*, p. 246. Among other things, he said: "... But as for Jewish political power—large P partisan Power—there is relatively little organized Jewish political Power." Based upon the evidence presented in this essay, I believe that one is justified in rejecting this claim as false. Jews as a group do have political power—and a lot of it.
34. The view expounded here differs significantly from that of Dr. Robert A. Hall, Jr. ("The Persecution of P.G. Wodehouse," *The Journal of Historical Review* vol. 7, no. 3, Fall 1986, p. 350). Speaking of P.G. Wodehouse, he wrote: "He was very much aware that there are too many individual differences among members of any group to justify judging it en masse." By logical extension, then, there are too many individual differences among members of any group to justify criticizing it en masse. Although there are many individual differences among members of any cultural grouping, this still does not rule out the persistence of general patterns of behavior and thought among individuals of the group, nor characteristics common to the group as a whole. The Jewish historian, Lucy S. Dawidowicz, has made this clear in *The War against the Jews: 1933-1945* (New York: Bantam, published

- by arrangement with Holt, Rhinehart and Winston, 1975), p. 464. Jewish behavior during the crises of WW II, she noted, was in large part determined by "... the dominant values of Jewish tradition and culture and a modal national character and personality. National character reflects the enduring formative influences of a people's culture and history. Through the processes of socialization during which the values of the group and patterns of behavior common to all its members are transmitted by family and peers, each individual's uniqueness is modified and seasoned by national characteristics."
35. *American Heritage Dictionary*, (Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston. 1982, 1985), s.v. "anti-Semite."
36. Review of *Why the Jews? The Reason for Anti-Semitism*, by Dennis Prager and Joseph Telushkin, *The Journal of Historical Review*, vol. 5, nos. 2, 3, 4, (Winter 1984), pp. 376-77.
37. Yitzhak Santis, "Supporters of Demjanjuk seeking to discredit OSI," *Cleveland Jewish News*, 3 January 1986, p. 10.
38. For a good discussion on how some Americans are being railroaded, see Peter Carr, "Justice Department, Media, KGB Pump U.S. 'Nazimania,'" *The Spotlight*, 2 March 1987, p. 31.
39. David Bird, "State U. Professor in a Dispute on Zionism Stand Is Denied Tenure," *New York Times*, 18 August 1985.
40. Lee O'Brien, *American Jewish Organizations and Israel*, p. 219.
41. Dube was made to leave the university. See the source in footnote 39.
42. Alex C. Michalos, *Improving Your Reasoning* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1970), p. 78.
43. United Nations, General Assembly, 2400th Plenary Meeting, 10 November 1975, Resolution 3379 (XXX) *Determining That Zionism is a Form of Racism*; Sami Hadawi, "Who Are the Palestinians?," *The Journal of Historical Review*, vol. 4, no. 1, (Spring 1983), pp. 43-59; Abdeen Jabara, *Zionism and Racism*, Arab World Issues, Occasional Papers: No. 3 (Detroit: Association of Arab-American Graduates, 1976); Louise Cainkar, ed., *Separate and Unequal: The Dynamics of South African and Israeli Rule* (Chicago: Palestine Human Rights Campaign, 1985); Regina Sharif, *Non-Jewish Zionism: Its Roots in Western History* (London: Zed Press, 1983); David Hirst, *The Gun and the Olive Branch: The Roots of Violence in the Middle East* (Faber and Faber, 1977; London: Futura Publications, a division of MacDonald & Co., 1978); for a good discussion of the close ideological affinity between National Socialist and Zionist racialism, see Francis R. Nicosia, *The Third Reich and the Palestine Question* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1985), pp. 16-21.
44. Douglas Reed, *The Controversy of Zion* (Torrance, California: Noontide Press, 1985), p. 174; Vladimir Begun, "The Accusation of Anti-Semitism," *Sputnik*, September 1980, p. 31; Dewey M. Beagle, *Prophecy and Prediction* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Pryor Pettengill, 1978), pp. 201-02; Fred Reed, "Intimidating the Press in Israel," *Washington Post*, 28 June 1982; Charles M. Fischbein, "Money Talks to Media, and Media Controls Information," *The Spotlight*, 22 September

1986, p. 19; see the letter of Dr. Alfred M. Lilienthal, reprinted in Richard V. London, "Author Challenges GOP Lawmaker to Change Attitude on 'USS Liberty,'" *The Spotlight*, 2 February 1987, p. 5; finally see the statements of former Undersecretary of State George W. Ball, the journalist Harold Piety, and Jewish intellectual Roberta Strauss Feuerlicht in Paul Findley, *They Dare to Speak Out*, pp. 127, 268, 296.

45. *Introduction to Logic*, 5th ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1978), p. 88.
46. Joseph Julian, *Social Problems*, 3rd ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1980), p. 48.
47. "Congress and the Pro-Israel Lobby (Interview)," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, vol. xv, no. 1 (Autumn 1985), p. 107.
48. Examples and evidence in support of this statement are so numerous, it would be impractical to list it all here. However, the following should suffice to illustrate the point.

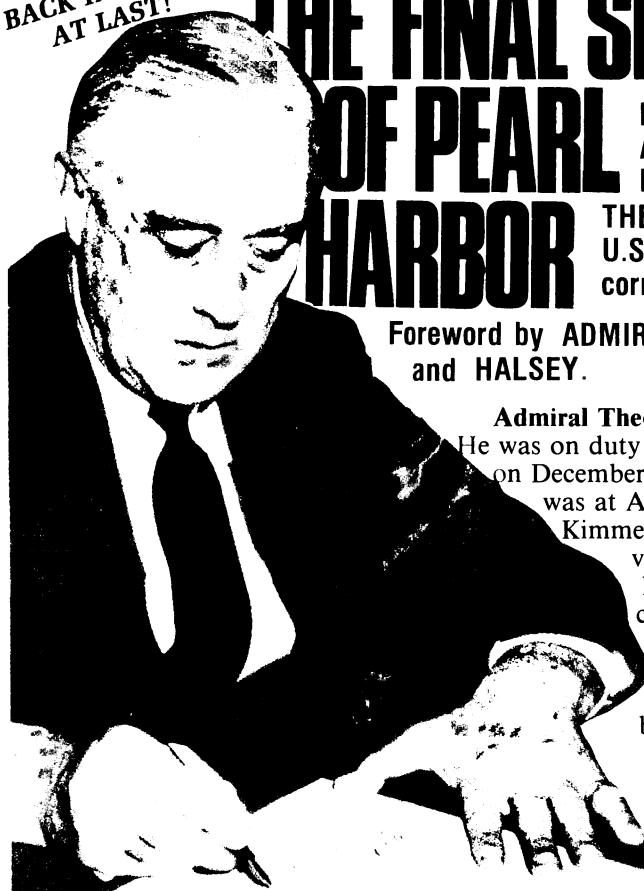
In reference to the legitimate criticism which Liberty Lobby (a populist institution based in Washington) has consistently advanced throughout the years, a very important ADL official, Arnold Forster, has stated the following: "There is more than ample scientific basis . . . for unequivocally stating that anti-Semitism is a disease, and that its disseminators are just as dangerous [as] any Typhoid Mary." See Liberty Lobby, *Conspiracy Against Freedom: A Documentation of One Campaign of the Anti-Defamation League Against Freedom of Speech and Thought in America*, ed. Willis A. Carto (Washington, D.C.: Liberty Lobby, 1986), p. 106.

Notice how Zionist ideologues deal with Revisionist critiques of the "Holocaust." Robert Faurisson has pointed out how Elie Wiesel uses the following terms—all of which conjure up the idea of mental illness—in reference to the Revisionists: "indecent pamphleteers with morally deranged minds;" "Those hateful and vicious persons;" "it is to take leave of one's senses;" "this entire affair arises from lunacy." See "Revisionism on Trial: Developments in France, 1979-1983," *The Journal of Historical Review*, vol. 6, no. 2 (Summer 1985), p. 177. L.A. Rollins has uncovered other examples of the same. See "The Holocaust as Sacred Cow," *The Journal of Historical Review*, vol. 4, no. 1 (Spring 1983), pp. 37-38.

49. Palestine Human Rights Campaign (U.S.A.) and Committee Confronting the Iron Fist (Jerusalem), *Special Report* (Chicago: Palestine Human Rights Campaign, 1986); Palestine Human Rights Campaign and American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, *Report on Israeli Human Rights Practices in the Occupied Territories for 1985* (Chicago: Palestine Human Rights Campaign, n.d.; Washington, D.C.: American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, n.d.); Jan Abu Shakrah, "The Making of a Non-Person," *The Link*, vol. 19, no. 2, (May-June 1986); Raja Shehadeh, *Occupier's Law: Israel and the West Bank* (Washington, D.C.: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1985); Israel Shahak, "A Summary of the System of Legal Apartheid Which Is in Force in the Occupied Territories," *Palestine Human Rights Newsletter* vol. VI, no. 4, (July-August 1986), p. 9; "Crockett Assails Repression of Palestinians," *Palestine Perspectives*, October 1985, p. 12.

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54. "Arlene Gets Serious on Mr. Reagan," *The National Jewish Post and Opinion*, 1 May 1985, p. 9.

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THE FINAL SECRET OF PEARL HARBOR

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Naval fleet, Rear Admiral Robert

FDR, sporting the black armband for the 3,303 Americans killed at Pearl Harbor, okays the December 8, 1941 Declaration of War on Japan

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REVIEW ARTICLE

On the Treadmill to Truth

ON THE TREADMILL TO PEARL HARBOR: THE MEMOIRS OF ADMIRAL JAMES O. RICHARDSON (USN RETIRED), AS TOLD TO VICE ADMIRAL GEORGE C. DYER (USN RETIRED). Washington DC: Naval Historical Division, Department of the Navy, 1973, 471 pages.

MARTIN MERSON

On the Treadmill to Pearl Harbor: The Memoirs of Admiral James O. Richardson (USN Retired), As Told to Vice Admiral George C. Dyer (USN Retired), with an introduction by Vice Admiral Edwin B. Hooper, (USN Retired), Director of Naval History, is a fundamental book for anyone interested in ascertaining the truth concerning the Japanese attack at Pearl Harbor, including the role of Franklin D. Roosevelt (FDR) and the Navy's state of readiness. A review of the Richardson book appeared in *Officer Review* (The Military Order of the World Wars), Vol. 27, No. 6, January 1988, page 5.¹ Although this book was completed in 1958, the publication date appearing in the book is 1973. To this reviewer's knowledge there is no satisfactory explanation for the fifteen-year delay in making the book available to the public. We have unofficial information that the delay may have been due to the fact that Harold Stark, Chief of Naval Operations during the crucial early war years, did not die until 1972; the book is indeed highly critical of Admiral Stark. This writer has also been told that Admiral Arthur Radford, then serving as Chief of Naval Operations, insisted that Chapter XXII, entitled "Retrospect," be included as a condition for publication.

The reader must bear in mind that Joe Richardson, to an extent unmatched in this century, had been personally groomed by FDR for the top operating job in the Fleet. The salient facts, as developed in the book, are summarized as follows (Admiral Richardson is the narrator):

1. "I held in my hand a piece of paper [just after leaving the White House on 9 March 1939]. It had just been handed to me by President Franklin D. Roosevelt":

Office	Relief
CNO Leahy retires 1 month after Congress adjourns	Stark

2. "I knew Rear Admiral Harold R. (Betty) Stark [at that time Commander of Cruisers, Battle Force, U.S. Fleet] very well. He was very capable, hard-working and one of the best-intentioned officers in the navy, as well as one of the most likeable. I believed then, and believe now, that his capacities, although marked, were not equal to those required by the Chief of Naval Operations billet, under conditions then existing.

"I believed also that few, if any, other senior officers in the Navy could have served the President so long and so satisfactorily as did Admiral Stark."

Two and a half years later, Executive Order 8984, which prescribed the duties of the Commander-in-Chief of the United States Fleet and the Cooperative Duties of the Chief of Naval Operations, made Ernest J. King COMINCH. Stark, although remaining as CNO, had his wings significantly clipped. To all intents and purposes, King became the top uniformed officer of the Navy. King assumed his new post on 30 December 1941. This marked the beginning of the end for Harold Stark. Ultimately, he was "kicked upstairs," to a post in London. Thus Joe Richardson's appraisal of Stark proved prophetic.

3. On page 251, Adm. Richardson begins a discussion of War Plans, expressing this thought: "... It has seemed to me that the very real part of our pre-Pearl Harbor War Plans played in the Pacific War has never been sufficiently pinpointed." Richardson devotes many pages to a discussion of the evolution of War Plans—a field in which he enjoyed a recognized expertise.

On 26 January 1940, within three weeks of taking command of the U.S. Fleet, Richardson wrote to Stark and expressed the view that the Orange War Plans were unrealistic. He pointed out to Stark: "... You are the principal and only Naval Adviser to the boss and he should know that our Fleet cannot just sail away, lick Orange, and be back at home in a year or so. Also the probable cost (human and physical resources) of any war should be compared [with] the probable value of winning the war."

The Orange War Plans had been in effect since 1927 and little had been done to provide the Navy with the special resources needed to project major Fleet Operations any significant distance west of Hawaii. The fact is that FDR and the bureaucrats in Washington were concerned more with events in Europe and the Atlantic Ocean than they were with the Pacific Ocean area.

In any event, by July 1941, after strenuous urging by Adm. Richardson, the Orange War Plans were shelved in favor of the Rainbow War Plans. In mid-October 1940 Richardson wrote an official letter to Stark, pointing out that it was Richardson's firm conviction that neither the Navy nor the country was prepared for

war with Japan. Two months passed before Stark replied to this letter.

Richardson comments:

My own belief is that Stark was not pleased by my official letter of 22 October 1940 . . . I believe my official letter of October 22, 1940, in regard to the dismal state of the Navy's War Plans, was probably one factor which made Stark accept with equanimity the President's urge to have me relieved.

4. The basing of the Fleet at Pearl Harbor followed Fleet Problem XXI, which began on 2 April 1940, and was to have been completed on 9 May 1940, with the Fleet projected to return to the West Coast about 17 May 1940. In fact these plans were changed in Washington and Richardson was instructed to remain in Hawaiian waters. Richardson concludes Chapter XV with this statement: "... Basing the Fleet at Pearl Harbor in May of 1940 was undertaken under a completely false premise, in my opinion. The false premise was that the Fleet so positioned would exercise a restraining influence on the actions of Japan."

The reviewer believes that Richardson—more than anyone in Washington—knew the state of readiness of the Fleet, and thus why it was essential that it return to the West Coast. In this regard, please note Richardson's wisdom in pointing out:

... In 1940, the policy-making branch of the Government in foreign affairs—the President and the Secretary of State—thought that stationing the Fleet in Hawaii would restrain the Japanese. They did not ask their senior military advisors whether it would accomplish such an end. They imposed their decision upon them.

It should be noted that Richardson has not in any way suggested that FDR deliberately stationed the Fleet at Pearl in order to "bait" the Japanese to attack. Such an implication might be derived from a similar set of facts, but Richardson, to his dying day, remained a dedicated naval officer, not a politician, thereby embodying the highest traditions of the Navy. One might wish that the Washington bureaucracy had among its number more men of the caliber of Joe Richardson.

5. Richardson risked his career by making two trips to Washington in order to confront the President personally on key issues of basing the Fleet at Pearl Harbor. Richardson expressed the danger of keeping a Fleet at Pearl, in view of his serious skepticism concerning its readiness. During his second visit Richardson told Roosevelt:

Mr. President, I feel that I must tell you that the senior officers of the Navy do not have the trust and confidence in the civilian leadership of this country that is essential for the successful prosecution of a war in the Pacific.

In view of what took place on 7 December 1941, who will judge whether or not the terrible loss of life and material damage suffered could have been avoided had the President and Stark paid greater heed to Richardson? At least we know that the brave men and women who make up Pearl Harbor Survivors Association have satisfied themselves that Kimmel and Short are not to blame [see p. 250 of this journal – Ed.].

6. The CINCUS post had customarily been held by its incumbent for a period of 18-24 months. Richardson was detached after barely 12 months, on 31 January 1941. His relief was Admiral Husband E. Kimmel.

7. One of the alleged failures of Kimmel was in not conducting long-range aerial reconnaissance. Regarding this we are told by Richardson that it was Stark's adverse reaction to Richardson's practice of long-range reconnaissance that prompted calling off this practice. In fact, Richardson received a letter from Stark on 23 December 1940 in which Stark said: "... While the extent of security measures required is increasing, it has not yet reached the demand of full wartime security." Under the circumstances, it was logical for Richardson to conclude:

So, I believed that some of the responsibility for the failure to have daily long-range air reconnaissance as part of the daily routine in 1941 at Pearl Harbor lies directly on the doorstep of the CNO. Having been told by the Commander-in-Chief that daily long-range reconnaissance would be carried out, he said it "was not necessary."

8. One might profitably read, in parallel, Admiral Kimmel's story.² This serves to confirm how the defenses of the Pacific Fleet were short-changed significantly in favor of both the Atlantic Fleet and the Philippines, to the detriment of the Pacific Fleet.

9. It will be recalled that Admiral Arthur Radford, while serving as CNO, was adamant that the Richardson book include a final chapter (XXII), "Retrospect." Readers of the Richardson book are urged to pay special heed to this final chapter. Among others points made are the following:

a. "I consider that, after Pearl Harbor, Admiral Kimmel received the rawest of raw deals from Franklin D. Roosevelt and, insofar as they acquiesced in this treatment, from Frank Knox and 'Betty' Stark."

b. "I consider 'Betty' Stark, in failing to ensure that Kimmel was furnished with all the information from the breaking of Japanese dispatches, to have been, to a marked degree, professionally negligent in carrying out his duties as Chief of Naval Operations. This offense was compounded, since in writing he had assured the Commander-in-Chief of the United States Fleet twice (both myself

and Kimmel) that the Commander-in-Chief was 'being kept advised on all matters within his own (Stark's) knowledge' and 'You may rest assured that just as soon as I get anything of definite interest, I shall fire it along.'"

c. Since the Navy had expected and planned for a Japanese surprise attack for many years, it must be kept in mind that subordinates in a military organization cannot stand with their arms raised in protective alertness forever. It is the superior who must ring the bell to move subordinates into the ring. Kimmel's superiors in Washington never rang that bell. Stark could have picked up the phone and given Kimmel a last minute alert on the morning of 7 December 1941. By failing to do so, Stark committed a major professional lapse. In Richardson's opinion, Stark utterly failed to display loyalty downward. This could only be explained if Stark acted under the mistaken impression he owed no loyalty downward and this may have been due to either to influence or direct orders from above.

Richardson concludes this section with an all-important statement:

I am impelled to believe that sometime prior to December 7, the President had directed that only Marshall could send any warning message to the Hawaiian area. I do not know this to be a fact and I cannot prove it. I believe this because of my knowledge of Stark and the fact that his means of communication with Kimmel were equal to, if not superior to those available to Marshall for communication with Short. He made no effort to warn Kimmel on the morning of December 7, but referred the matter to Marshall. [Emphasis added].

d. Placing the onus for the catastrophe at Pearl Harbor on Kimmel and Short, in effect, placed it on the Army and the Navy. For this reason it is pertinent to emphasize the extent to which, as Richardson observes: ". . . the seasoned officers of the navy over a twenty-year period had correctly diagnosed the aspirations and intentions and war habits of the Japanese."

As far back as 1 February 1934, when Richardson was a student at the War College, he submitted a thesis entitled: *The Relationship between Japanese Policy and Strategy in the Chinese and Russian Wars, and Its Lessons to Us*. In his thesis Richardson pointed out that in these wars the complete harmony and effective strategy of the Japanese are not to be found in the wars themselves, but in the preparations for these wars. It was in Japan's participation in conferences, peace and otherwise, that we find the harmony. Richardson predicted the same would be true with respect to naval conferences which Japan would hold with us. It would be the United States that through concessions would sink her modern fleet and bind herself not to fortify any possessions west of Hawaii. In return,

the U.S. would get no permanent compensating advantage. This is precisely what happened as a result of naval conferences.

To carry out the Orange War Plans, the U.S. would need a strong "train," i.e., the various auxiliaries, including repair ships, ammunition ships, refrigerator ships and above all oilers. Interestingly, during the peacetime years between World War I and World War II, the strong "peace" groups in Congress believed that the best way to keep the U.S. in its own backyard was to prevent the navy from building up an appropriate train. It is for this reason that Richardson, early on in his letters to Stark, pointed out how unrealistic were the Orange War Plans.

e. The Roberts Commission. According to Richardson it was Felix Frankfurter, then on the U.S. Supreme Court, who suggested to FDR the creation, under a carefully drawn precept, of a mixed commission composed of officers of the armed forces, with a civilian counsel and headed by a member of the Supreme Court, to investigate the attack on Pearl Harbor. Such a commission would not be led by rules of evidence governing a civilian court or a military court of inquiry. In the opinion of Richardson, the report of the Roberts Commission was: ". . . the most unfair, unjust, and deceptively dishonest document ever printed by the Government Printing Office."

Richardson finds that the military members of the Roberts Commission were: "... later rewarded for their services by favorable assignment and promotion, for employment after retirement." Richardson tells us that the decision to relieve Kimmel and Short was made prior to the initial meeting of the Roberts Commission. In effect, the Roberts Commission could not have been intended to determine culpability or blamelessness, since that had been decided beforehand.

According to Richardson:

A more disgraceful spectacle has never been presented to this country during my lifetime than the failure of the civilian officials of the Government to show any willingness to take their share of responsibility for the Japanese success at Pearl Harbor.

When reference is made in books and articles by academic historians—and even by high government officials, including the military, of dereliction of duty by men such as Kimmel and Short—without their having been given a trial, permitted to introduce evidence or being represented by counsel, we are in effect departing from those rules of jurisprudence which our constitution guarantees even the meanest criminal in our midst.

Finally, Richardson points out that he had known Admiral William H. Standely for a long time. He knew Standley as an honest,

fair-minded, sincere man and valued his friendship. This is precisely why Standely was chosen to be a member of the Roberts Commission, in order to induce the United States Navy to have confidence in the justness of the Roberts Commission findings. Below we shall discuss the Naval Court of Inquiry on Pearl Harbor and an incident involving Adm. Richardson.

f. Richardson observes that while Japan commenced its war with Russia in 1904 after breaking off diplomatic relations, but before a formal declaration of war, at Pearl Harbor, Japan did not bother to break off diplomatic relations beforehand. To Richardson, FDR "... consistently overestimated his ability to control the actions of other nations whose interests opposed our own." Richardson believes the President's responsibility was direct, real and personal insofar as Pearl Harbor is concerned.

(When we consider the moral values of Franklin D. Roosevelt, we should not overlook his plan for judicial reorganization presented to the Congress on 5 February 1937. It was no more and no less than a plan to bring the third branch of government under popular control. Regardless of the willfulness of the justices in opposing New Deal legislation, is the step pursued by FDR one of which we can approve? The fact is that FDR was, to say the least, a willful man, who did not readily brook opposition. This quality of Roosevelt may help us understand his behavior in the Pearl Harbor controversy.)

g. In his final chapter, Richardson pays a special tribute to Congressman Carl Vinson. Richardson has this to say:

I have known the Honorable Carl Vinson since 1914 and I cannot forego the opportunity to pay my respects to him, because I firmly believe that his service to the Navy and the nation renders him one of the great living Americans.

Carl Vinson of Georgia, (1883-1981) served in Congress from 1919 to 1964, a period of 45 years. During this period two very important pieces of legislation are ascribed to Vinson. The first is the Naval Parity Act of 27 March 1934 authorizing the building of a full treaty-strength Navy within the limits set by the Washington Naval Limitations Treaty of 1922 and the London Naval Limitation Treaty of 1930. A hundred warships and more than a thousand planes were provided for. However, Congress did not appropriate adequate funds, and until 1938 construction was carried out only on a replacement basis.

On 17 May 1938 the Vinson Naval Expansion Act was passed, authorizing a "two-ocean" Navy to be constructed over the next ten years. Thus, much of what was accomplished in strengthening the Navy can be attributed to the efforts of Carl Vinson, a man known to Naval officials as "Daddy" Vinson—in many ways the father of the Navy of his day.

If Joe Richardson believed that Harold Stark was failing to present to FDR the Naval view of its own readiness for war, there is relevance in the fact that Carl Vinson, in July 1940, expressed to Richardson a grave concern as to whether or not Stark was, in fact, standing up to the president.

Revisionist Versus Anti-Revisionist

So far as the Pearl Harbor disaster is concerned, the writing in the field, especially by academicians, serves the very useful purpose of accentuating the need for a consideration of truth in history.

In Volume Four, Number Four/Winter 1983-84 issue of *The Journal of Historical Review*, the Editor's Note entitled: "Pearl Harbor: The Latest Wave," is an excellent summation of the writing in the field. There is no need for this writer to duplicate this information in the note.

As the note points out, John Toland's *Infamy: Pearl Harbor and its Aftermath*,³ is remarkable for the fact that the author: "... had for many years been recognized as a certifiably 'Establishment, 'safe' historian not known to hold any brief for the Revisionists in pinning blame on FDR and his Administration."

Soon after the appearance of Toland's *Infamy*, one Roger Pineau was quoted in the *Foreign Intelligence Literary Scene*⁴ in calling Toland's book: "... a specious representation" of the case against President Roosevelt's handling of events leading to the Japanese attack of December 1941. It so happens that Pineau is a naval historian, a former intelligence officer, a Japanese linguist, and a former aide to Samuel Eliot Morison in the writing of the naval history of World War II.

Pineau had met Edwin T. Layton, also a Japanese language officer and the Pacific fleet intelligence officer under a succession of three Pacific Fleet Commanders: Joe Richardson, Husband Kimmel, and Chester Nimitz. Following the end of the war, Edwin Layton began to put his notes in order for a possible memoir. In 1980, it so happened that a massive amount of previously classified naval records, concerning communications intelligence, was made available at the National Archives.

Pineau and John Costello, the British author of *The Pacific War*,⁵ began to assist Layton, then in his early 80's. In April 1984, Layton suffered a fatal stroke and his widow turned to Pineau and Costello to complete the task. The book was completed and published posthumously in 1985.⁶ What is so very remarkable about this whole episode is the fact that two such arch anti-Revisionists were so readily transformed into champions of one of the most important accounts of Revisionist literature dealing with Pearl Harbor. In fact, it can be said that anyone seeking an understanding of what happened at Pearl Harbor can readily master the subject by reading

the four books published by Joe Richardson, Ed Layton, Husband Kimmel, and finally, Kemp Tolley's *Cruise of the Lanikai*.⁷

It should be noted as well that the Layton memoirs also make mention of how the significant victory at Midway was achieved, owing to the cooperation between the brilliant Joseph Rochefort, the radio intelligence officer at Pearl and his counterpart, Ed Layton, the fleet intelligence officer.

Ironically, it is the former anti-Revisionists, Pineau and Costello, who disclose in their authors' notes just how flimsy is the foundation of Gordon W. Prange's book, *At Dawn We Slept*.⁸

The publication of the Layton memoirs has furthermore the very definite tendency to undermine the importance of Roberta Wohlstetter's *Pearl Harbor: Warning and Decision*,⁹ which had, since its publication, been hailed as "the definitive book" on Pearl Harbor.

In reality, not much remains of the anti-Revisionist attempt to enshrine Franklin D. Roosevelt in Valhalla. But the task ahead is to clear the names of Husband E. Kimmel and Walter C. Short, the Pearl Harbor commanders scapegoated to deflect criticism from FDR and his lieutenants.

Unfinished Business

The Navy Court of Inquiry, consisting of Orin G. Murfin, Admiral, U.S. Navy (Ret.), President; Edward C. Kalbfus, Admiral, U.S. Navy (Ret.), Member; Adolphus Andrews, Vice Admiral, U.S. Navy (Ret.), Member; Harold Biesemeier, Captain, U.S. Navy, Judge Advocate, met between 20 July 1944 and 20 October 1944. The net result of the Court's inquiry is the complete exoneration of Admiral Husband E. Kimmel while serving as Commander in Chief, U.S. Fleet on 7 December 1941. We single out for special mention this portion of the Opinion:

Based on Findings XVIII and XIX, the Court is of the opinion that Admiral Harold R. Stark, U.S.N., Chief of Naval Operations and responsible for the operations of the Fleet, failed to display the sound judgement expected of him in that he did not transmit to Admiral Kimmel, Commander in Chief, Pacific Fleet, during the very critical period 26 November to 7 December, important information which he had regarding the Japanese situation and, especially, in that, on the morning of 7 December, he did not transmit immediately information which appeared to indicate that a break in diplomatic relations was imminent, and that an attack in the Hawaiian area might be expected soon.¹⁰

Appended to the Navy Court of Inquiry's Opinion and Recommendation were various endorsements, including one from Secretary of the Navy Forrestal. With specific respect to Forrestal's endorsement, we turn once again to Adm. Richardson's chapter, entitled "Retrospect," in which he states:

The Secretary of the Navy sent for me and told me that he was not satisfied with the report of the Naval Court of Inquiry on Pearl Harbor or with any preceding Inquiry, and that he had so stated to the press, adding that he would have another investigation made.

He then stated that he would like to have me undertake this investigation for him. I said, "Mr. Secretary, I am sorry but I am not available for such assignment, because I am prejudiced and I believe that no prejudiced officer should undertake the inquiry."

The Secretary asked what I meant by the statement that I was prejudiced, and I replied, "I am prejudiced because I believe that any fair and complete investigation will result in placing a part of the blame for the success of the attack upon the President." Mr. Forrestal replied substantially as follows: "In this case the President was to blame only to the extent of being a poor judge of men." The Secretary amplified his remarks by naming one or more officers whose retention in high office for some time indicated bad judgment on the part of the President, but he did not mention Kimmel.

I was not ordered to conduct the investigation.

It is my firm belief that, when the President realized the extent of the damage done by the attack on Pearl Harbor, he lost his nerve and lost his head, and ordered the convening of the Roberts Commission, believing that he would best protect his own position by focusing public attention on Pearl Harbor.

At that time, and increasingly so since, I thought that the wisest course of action for the President, from all points of view, would have been to send a dispatch to those in command at Pearl Harbor, along the following lines:

"Despite the result of the dastardly unprovoked attack of the Japanese on Pearl Harbor, the American people and I have confidence in our Army and Navy. We shall be avenged."

In Richardson's remarks which followed his colloquy with Forrestal, what, in effect, he is suggesting is that a less devious President would have faced up to a disaster which his own bull-headedness had caused by overruling Richardson, a man he had personally groomed to be Pacific Fleet Commander. Well-informed persons, including many uniformed men, knew that the Roberts Commission was a perfidious piece of chicanery, designed to put the onus for Pearl Harbor on those in command at Pearl. It is to FDR's everlasting shame that he behaved in such a dishonorable fashion. It is this deviousness which has brought on nearly a half-century of dedicated effort to bring before the American people the real truth concerning Pearl Harbor. Moreover, a careful reading of biographical material on FDR reveals that his deviousness goes back to earliest childhood, when he resorted to such behavior to wheedle things he sought from a doting mother.

It is both troublesome and inexplicable that Joe Richardson's book was withheld from public view for fifteen years, during which time the academic historians rushed to judgment with a great deal of

material, obscuring the truth concerning Pearl Harbor. Moreover, even in more recent years, a book such as Admiral Layton's *And I Was There* was unmercifully criticized. This notwithstanding the fact that Layton occupied one of the most critical posts in the Pacific Fleet throughout the successful prosecution of the war under both Kimmel and Nimitz. Bear in mind that it was with the help of Layton that the communications intelligence information derived by Joe Rochefort was put to use in time to set an ambush for the attacking Japanese, which made possible the brilliant victory at Midway.

Nevertheless, those who wish to discredit any writer who has a good word to say about Kimmel will permit no obstacle to hinder their undeviating point of view. For example, one Ronald Spector was appointed Director of Naval History on 20 July 1986, placing him in a position where his views on all matters affecting naval history must be as devoid of subjectivity as is humanly possible. In a *New York Times* book review, Spector joins in the usual anti-Revisionist criticism. It is most unfortunate that a man in the official position of Naval Historian should indulge in such groundless criticism.

This brings us to a final and most important point to be discussed in this article. Reference is made to the circumstances under which the Richardson book was published by the Naval History division, the director of which was Vice Admiral Edwin B. Hooper, U.S.N. (Ret.). Admiral Hooper wrote the introduction. In the course of his introduction, Admiral Hooper has this to say:

Insofar as lessons for the future are concerned, no historical example is of greater importance than that of the decisions and events in the period leading up to the Pearl Harbor attack.

As had others before him, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt directed deployments of the Fleet as a part of his overall national peacetime strategy. Rather than deterring the Japanese from aggressive actions, the maintenance of a major portion of the fleet at Pearl Harbor was viewed by the then militaristic leaders of Japan as an opportunity to cripple U.S. naval power in the Pacific. As she decided to launch the devastating carrier air attack of 7 December 1941, Japan had memories of the decisive results of the battle of Tsushima in the Russo-Japanese War and of territorial acquisitions made possible by the diversion of the western navies to meet the needs of warfare in Europe and the Atlantic during World War I. In 1941, with Europe again in the throes of all-out war, only the American Navy could prevent fulfillment of ambitions of establishing a "Greater Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere."

In this volume, completed (except for editorial work) in 1958, Admiral J. O. Richardson records his recollections and views, concentrating mainly on the years from 1939 to 1942. He devotes considerable attention to war plans, to his efforts to obtain adequate manning for the Fleet, to his concern over the effects of the prolonged

Hawaiian deployment in degrading Fleet readiness for war, and to the disagreement with the President that led to his being relieved as Commander-in-Chief, U.S. Fleet . . .

While the primary value of this book has to do with decisions and events in the months before the Japanese attack, Admiral Richardson has included material on other periods of his long and eventful naval career, thus providing valuable insights with regard to a changing navy from the turn of the twentieth century to World War II.

Mr. Edward J. Marolda of our Operational Archives, working under the direction of Dr. Dean C. Allard, located and verified sources that were cited, undertook a number of editorial tasks in conjunction with Vice Admiral Dyer, and performed other functions associated with the publication of this book. However, the Naval History Division has made no attempt to pass judgment on the views expressed in this volume; they are solely those of Admiral Richardson. With the full realization that, for a complete picture or an overall evaluation of the decision and events of the time, it will be necessary to draw also upon additional source materials and the opinions of others involved, the work is published, in the expectation that it will provide valuable contributions to naval history.

Every reader of this paper will be asked to search his mind and conscience and respond to this question: Would it be ethical for the Naval History Division which accepted a manuscript from an outstanding Pacific Fleet commander in 1958—thirty years in the past—to disavow in 1988 its imprimatur on the fundamental thesis of the work?

Notes

1. Martin Merson, "On the Treadmill to Pearl Harbor" *Officer Review* (The Military Order of the World Wars, 6 (January 1988).
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3. John Toland, *Infamy: Pearl Harbor and Its Aftermath* (New York, Doubleday & Company, 1982).
4. *Foreign Intelligence Literary Scene: A Bi-Monthly Newsletter/Book Review*, Volume 1, No. 4, August 1982.
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6. Rear Admiral Edwin T. Layton, USN (Ret.), with Captain Roger Pineau, USNR (Ret.), and John Costello, "And I Was There": *Pearl Harbor and Midway—Breaking the Secrets* (New York, William Morrow and Company, 1985).
7. Kemp Tolley, *Cruise of the Lanikai* (Annapolis, Maryland: Naval Institute Press, 1973).
8. Gordon W. Prange in collaboration with Donald M. Goldstein and Katherine V. Dillon, *At Dawn We Slept* (New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1981).

9. Roberta Wohlstetter, *Pearl Harbor Warning and Decision* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1962).
10. Opinion, Navy Court of Inquiry.
11. Ronald H. Spector, review of *And I Was There*, by Edwin T. Layton, with Roger Pineau and John Costello in the *New York Times*, 5 January 1986, p. 9.



THE MEMOIRS OF OTTO WAGENER

HITLER—MEMOIRS OF A CONFIDANT

At last, an inside look at Adolf Hitler—his personality, his ideas, his political theory and practice—by an intimate aide motivated neither by greed nor the desire to curry favor with

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Wagener leaves the Leipzig courthouse with Hitler in September 1930 after having given testimony in the treason trial of the "Ulm lieutenants," three army officers who were prosecuted and convicted for Nazi agitation among the troops.

ORDER FROM: The Institute for Historical Review, 1822½ Newport Blvd., Suite 191, Costa Mesa, CA 92627.

Book Reviews

WALDHEIM by Luc Rosenzweig and Bernard Cohen. New York: Adama Books, 1987, 183 pp., \$17.95, ISBN: 1-55774-010-0.

Reviewed by John M. Ries

Waldheim is the first book in English to deal with the controversy surrounding Austria's current President. It has much that is thought-provoking, but, unfortunately, it contains too many errors to justify any pretensions it may have to credibility. The omission of details, the proliferation of factual discrepancies, the frequency of non sequiturs, and the abundance of what could be typographical errors force one to question how this book, in its present condition, could have gotten by its publishers.

Waldheim's unforgiveable sloppiness of style aside, what of the substance of the book? It seems that the book's main objective is to determine the rationale for Kurt Waldheim's propensity for withholding certain episodes in his past. To accomplish this a rather intensive historical investigation is undertaken to show that Waldheim's repeated bouts of amnesia are only symptomatic of an equally chronic memory lapse on the part of his native Austria (for also failing to come to terms with its past), and, amazingly, of a good portion of the Western world as well.

If this sounds like a reappearance of the collective-guilt notion, it certainly is, here employed to induce a sense of shame in those nations who, for various reasons, failed to take this "last" opportunity provided by the Waldheim affair, "to attempt a critical review of that period during which Western values degenerated into barbarism." Why this is the "last" opportunity is never explained, and what could have been done to atone properly for such a pervasive memory failure on the part of the international community remains unclear.

It is also interesting to note that Israel is seriously criticized for showing "in a deliberate way . . . a suspect complacency with regard to this man . . ." How the Israelis, the principal guardians of the world's conscience with respect to the "Holocaust," managed to avoid their responsibilities is too complicated to relate adequately here. But it inevitably raises the key question of this book: namely, how seriously must the memory lapses of Kurt Waldheim be taken if the state of Israel refused to make an issue of them?

Authors Rosenzweig and Cohen's grasp of Waldheim's prewar Austrian milieu is no less shaky. In attempting to describe the extent

of anti-Jewish feeling in Austria during the inter-war period, the authors introduce what could have been a most important and interesting section of the book, entitled "The Tradition of Anti-Semitism," with the passage: "Austria between the wars was also the European country which displayed the most varied range of anti-Semites and the most diverse forms of anti-Semitism." Unfortunately, however, they fail to mention one example of anti-Semitic activity proper to Austria during this period. Karl Lueger, the mayor of Vienna around the turn-of-the-century, and Hitler are included, neither of whom had anything to do with anti-Semitism in Austria during the inter-war years. Lueger had died in 1910 and Hitler's career is proper to German history following the First World War, at least from the standpoint of the scene of his political activity and triumphs.

As mentioned earlier, the numerous flaws in the text of this book require that any discussion of it must deal with the question of credibility. To point them all out in any detail would be beyond the scope of this review, so I shall cover some of the more important ones.

A key section of this book deals with Waldheim's so-called "hidden years," that portion of his past he omitted from his biographies, including his service as a Wehrmacht officer in the Balkans from 1942 to 1945. Since the purpose here is to show that Oberleutnant Waldheim was not dallying away his time putting the finishing touches on his doctoral dissertation, as he had previously claimed, a great deal of attention must be paid to exactly what he was doing. His duties included acting as a translator when the Italians were allied with Germans in their mutual operations in the Balkans, and serving as a deputy intelligence officer (03) when the Italians when the Italians were no longer allies. Information from the Yugoslavian War Crimes Commission report on Waldheim is used to show that during the retreat of the German army between mid-October 1944 and May 1945, Kurt Waldheim's "job at headquarters was sufficient to prove that the reprisals [against Serbian partisans] were conducted on his recommendation."

No "smoking gun" is found, however, and when one believes Oberleutnant Waldheim is near Kosovska Mitrovica in Yugoslavia "organizing reprisals," suddenly he's back in Greece surveying "gang activity" in a zone south of Heraklion in Crete. This abrupt shift is indicative of the confusion characteristic of this section of the account, for if the activities of Waldheim in Yugoslavia are under investigation here, why are his involvements in Greece suddenly tossed in? The fact is, the reader of this book cannot always be sure precisely where this highly elusive individual is to be found.

Waldheim's alleged involvement in the deportation of the Jews of Salonika is the source of some rather confusing anomalies. The

precise problem is to determine his role (if any) in this grisly affair. The heart of the confusion lies in the dates given for the deportations. At one point it is said that they began on March 15, 1943. However, the communities involved at this time are given as Florina, Verria, and Langada, respectively. Salonika is not specifically mentioned. Earlier the text says that Waldheim "arrived at his new posting at Arsakli [near Salonika] two weeks after the Jews of Salonika had begun to be sent to concentration camps [sic]." The date given for his arrival is March 31, 1943. So far so good. Yet at this point the text says that historical evidence is lacking to establish what he was doing the first two months of his new assignment. "The gap is worrying, because it coincides with the start of the deportation operations against the Jews of Salonika." But if these began two weeks before Waldheim arrived at his new posting, then he could not have possibly been involved in them at the outset.

The confusion, however, does not end here. The chronology at the back of the book lists the deportation of the Jews of Salonika as taking place from July to August 1943. It also says Oberleutnant Waldheim arrived at Arsakli in July of that year. These dates are, it need scarcely be said, at variance with those given in the text.

One final note on the deportations, although this has no direct bearing on Waldheim's activities. A figure of 800,000 is given for the total number of Jews deported from Greece during World War Two. This number was taken from A. Kedros, *La Résistance grecque*, Robert Laffont, pp. 316-318. According, however, to the minutes of the conference of German leaders held at the Berlin suburb of Wannsee on January 20, 1942, where, among other things, demographic figures of the Jewish population of Europe by individual country were discussed, a total of 69,600 was given for Greece. Other reliable sources confirm that there were fewer than 100,000 Jews living in Greece in the early 1930s. Where this 800,000 figure was acquired is problematic, but in any case the authors of this book must be criticized for not confirming its veracity.

Some rather irritating misspellings, such as *Schoñerer Zukunft* for *Schönerer Zukunft*, an influential periodical in Austria during the 1930s, and wrong dates, e.g., 1920 as the date for the Revolution of the Councils of Bavaria, all detract from the credibility of this book.

The overall effect of these and the other problems adverted to earlier is comparable to that of a news account hurriedly prepared to meet a deadline and lacking adequate proofreading. Since this is the first book to deal with the Waldheim affair in English, there is still hope that a more sober and accurate rendering, free from the passions of the event itself, will be forthcoming. We await that possibility with great anticipation.

STALIN'S WAR: A RADICAL NEW THEORY OF THE ORIGINS OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR BY Ernst Topitsch. Translated by A. and B.E. Taylor. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987, 160 pages, \$19.95, ISBN: 0-312-0989-5.

Reviewed by Dennis Nayland Smith

Can there be any real doubt who was the prime mover in the tumultuous events of 1933-1945? From the vast majority of professional historians to Joe and Sue Sixpack glued to their boob tube, the answer is, "Hitler, of course." According to this universally accepted view, Hitler, joined by Mussolini and the Japanese warlords, cunningly orchestrated the political and military incidents which led to the outbreak of the Second World War.

But even this truism is now coming under attack by Revisionists. Prominent among those questioning the role played by Hitler is Ernst Topitsch, whose book, *Stalin's War*, has just appeared in English translation in the United States, published by the respected St. Martin's Press.

Topitsch is a graduate of the University of Vienna, a member of the Paris Institute of Philosophy, and a professor at Graz University in Austria. Simply stated, his well-argued thesis is that Stalin, not Hitler, was the central figure of the war. The author summarizes the evolution of his thinking on these matters at the outset of his study:

In line with prevailing opinion, for many years I considered Hitler to be the main character in the drama of the Second World War, and held his policy of violent expansion and aggression to be the most important cause of its outbreak. Yet a more thorough analysis of the interplay of the main events has led me to the conviction that at the very least this viewpoint needed a radical modification. It became more and more apparent that Stalin was not only the real victor, but also the key figure in the war; he was, indeed, the only statesman who had at the time a clear, broadly based idea of his objectives.

Following the end of the First World War, Lenin concluded that the war had been just a prelude to further imperialist wars, which would eventually lead to the final victory of socialism world-wide. In a speech given in 1920, Lenin outlined how Germany and Japan could be used to provoke another war within the "capitalist camp."

Stalin pursued Lenin's strategy. The Hitler-Stalin Pact of August 1939—which granted Hitler cover by the Red Army on the Eastern Front—was intended to encourage Hitler to open hostilities. Stalin was delighted with the German invasion of France. The "imperialist war" had finally broken out in earnest; Stalin stepped up deliveries of raw materials to Germany. Topitsch observes that, "In the Kremlin

it was at first expected that there would be long-drawn-out battles with a heavy rate of attrition—as in the First World War—in the course of which the two sides would go on destroying each other until general exhaustion brought about a revolutionary situation.” However, Germany’s stunning victory over the Low Countries and France—within a matter of weeks—came as a real shock.

A new situation now presented itself to Stalin: if the German Army were defeated, the Soviets could be masters of Europe. As the author points out, given the inaccessibility of Kremlin archives, “it cannot be stated exactly when the decision was made to embark on this strategy.” Topitsch is convinced that Stalin set out to provoke Hitler to attack the Soviet Union, just as Franklin Roosevelt maneuvered Japan into “firing the first shot.”

Topitsch contends that regardless of what Hitler did, Stalin was preparing to attack Germany, most likely in 1942. He is not alone in suggesting that Stalin was planning a military offensive against the West. Grigore Gafencu, Romania’s sometime foreign minister and ambassador to the USSR during the war, felt that Stalin had secretly provoked Germany into attacking. More recently, Brian Fugate, in a revision of his University of Texas doctoral dissertation, published as *Operation Barbarossa: Strategy and Tactics on the Eastern Front, 1941* (Presidio Press, 1984), makes the case that Soviet armaments production and military dispositions facing western Europe are a sure sign that the Soviets were intending to launch an offensive against the West.

While “Operation Barbarossa”—as Hitler’s assault on the Soviet Union was codenamed—did not catch Stalin unawares, the German military victories during the summer and fall of 1941 were unexpected and thwarted Stalin’s ambitious plans for a rapid counterattack to the west. The war dragged on, and the British and Americans established themselves in Western Europe before the Red Army could reach the English Channel. If Stalin’s aspirations were not fully realized, the outcome of the war does not detract from Topitsch’s theory that “the Second World War was only a phase—though an important one—in the realization of Lenin’s grand strategy to subjugate the capitalist or ‘imperialist’ nations—in other words, all those which had not yet undergone the process of Sovietization.”

Topitsch’s book is not without its flaws, particularly in A. and B.E. Taylor’s translation. On page 23, one encounters the odd formulation “Faced by the notorious dwindling of party funds during the war . . .,” in connection with Hitler’s turning for donations to “nationalist, conservative, and ‘capitalist circles.” Clearly by “war” the end phase of Hitler’s struggle for political power in Germany is meant, not the Second World War, as an unsuspecting reader might reasonably conclude. One also wonders if the author

believes that fascism is "the most extreme form of capitalism" (p. 27).

The translators' capricious usage in anglicizing German and Russian names is bothersome as well. For "Moldavia and Wallachia" we read "Moldau and Wallachei," while the Vistula and Narew Rivers are rendered as "Weichsel" (German) and "Narew" (?). Transliteration of Russian names generally straddles proper German and English usage, so that the reader encounters, instead of "Zhukov" or "Schukow," the translators' "Schukov." There are an irritating number of typos as well, such as "Nersky" for "Nevsky" and "Frisch" for "Fritsch."

Nevertheless, *Stalin's War* provides new and significant insights into our political understanding of World War II. Most followers of this journal will find it provocative reading.

AN AMERICAN IN EXILE: THE STORY OF ARTHUR RUDOLPH by Thomas Franklin. Huntsville, Alabama: Christopher Kaylor Company, 1987. 366 pages, \$16.95, Hb., ISBN 0-916039-04-8.

Reviewed by Robert H. Countess

In the spring of 1986 I had the pleasure of interviewing several men who played key roles in the German rocket development program and in the subsequent American space program, which has taken us to the moon and far beyond. The program was one that I named "The Marketplace of Ideas" and it aired regularly over Huntsville's public radio station, WLRH.

My first guest was author Mitch Sharpe, who co-authored, with Fred Ordway, *The Rocket Team* (Crowell, 1979), the major treatment of Wernher von Braun and his colleagues at Peenemünde. Sharpe, who lives in Huntsville, is now at work on a manuscript dealing with "the other rocket team," the hundred or more German scientists who were taken to the Soviet Union under contract for a specified time. After these "lesser lights" had fulfilled their duties, the Soviets allowed them to return to their homes.

The other guests were Drs. Georg von Tiesenhausen, Ernst Stuhlinger, and Walter Häussermann, also members of the Peenemünde team, who live in Huntsville. Stuhlinger is a four-time winner of the prestigious Humboldt Award, given by the Alexander von Humboldt Society in the German Federal Republic. He appears in the "Acknowledgments" of James Michener's *Space*. He studied under Drs. Hans Geiger (of "Geiger counter" fame) and atomic physicist Werner Heisenberg.

In my introduction to the program with Stuhlinger I remarked that in view of the emphasis given to February as “Black History Month,” it might also be justified to denote other months for special emphasis. I suggested a “Teutonic-Germanic History Month” and indicated that, as a history teacher, if I were confronted with the dilemma of choosing which people has made the greatest contribution to Western Civilization, the ancient Greeks or the modern-to-contemporary Germans, I would have a very difficult time deciding—an infelicitous dilemma. For the modern period the Germans (to include the Dutch, *et al.*) would be selected hands down. From the ancient period, the Greeks.

I then cited the anti-German misanthropes Theodore Kaufman and Henry Morgenthau, Jr. (one could even include his father), whose infamous plan for the genocide of Germans is well known. For the former see *Time* magazine’s March 24, 1941 (page 95) review of *Germany Must Perish*; for the latter see *Germany Is Our Problem* (Harper, 1945). It is too bad that these two genocidalists are not around to be hauled into court so that the United States can implement the Senate approved “Genocide Convention” of 1986. I can hardly think of two more suitable candidates for such a trial.

Dr. Stuhlinger indicated that after he had returned from the Russian Front and joined the von Braun team, he received notice one day that he had become a member of the National Socialist Party and that about two dollars a month would be taken out of his pay. This is of interest in that after the war, these gentlemen were categorized by some U.S. intelligence officers as “ardent Nazis.” Later, their files were altered to “Not an ardent Nazi.” This alteration-insertion has been used by the Nazi-hunter vigilantes to “prove” that the U.S. altered the records so that these “murderers” could be brought to the U.S. to aid our rocket effort. It is most unfortunate that Neal Sher, Eli Rosenbaum, and Allan Ryan, Jr.—all highly paid zealots in the Justice Department’s OSI (Office of Special Investigations)—are not analytically minded types, or they might have been able to view matters more intelligently.

Stuhlinger noted that in his experience “ardent Nazis” were not sent to the Russian front. He also stated that he, Arthur Rudolph and Dr. von Braun were particularly interested in developing rockets to go to the moon. His own desire stemmed from a space fantasy movie he saw as a youth. The German Army had missiles of destruction in mind. When he came to the U.S. and to Ft. Bliss, Texas, he again wanted to work on moon rocketry, but the U.S. Army wanted missiles for destruction. *Plus ça change, plus c’est la même chose.* When the Soviets put Sputnik into space and the U.S. was feverishly lamenting its second place in the space race, Stuhlinger said that the German scientists—now in Huntsville—pulled out their drawings which they had worked on over the decades (beginning at

Peenemünde!) and began to work in earnest on space rocketry.

On February 23, 1987, PBS Television aired a "documentary" on the German rocket scientists that was so obviously a diatribe against these great Americans that one wonders why it was not aired on "Show Time" or "MTV." It was called "Front Line," and Dr. Stuhlinger watched it aghast. He remarked over my radio program that it was "full of inaccuracies and misconceptions." One wonders why the producers did not send someone to Huntsville to interview these clear-minded scientists for their version of events, especially since Sher and Rosenbaum were either very young or not yet born at the time of the war.

I asked Dr. Stuhlinger why he thought the OSI went after Dr. Rudolph. He conjectured that it may have been his advanced age and ill health. Earlier, Neal Sher had contacted two other German scientists here in Huntsville, and asked them for statements about Peenemünde and the treatment of prisoners. They engaged an attorney, however, who informed Mr. Sher that if he had any questions, these would have to be addressed to his clients through him. The matter was dropped. Many insiders think that had Dr. Rudolph taken this approach from the beginning, he would still be a U.S. citizen, living comfortably near his daughter in California.

Shortly after interviewing Dr. Stuhlinger on "The Marketplace of Ideas," I invited Thomas Franklin, a writer for the *Huntsville News*, whose twenty-part series on Dr. Arthur Rudolph had appeared during February-March of 1987. He had spent three days interviewing Rudolph in Wellingsbüttel, a suburb of Hamburg, in the fall of 1986. These newspaper fascicles became the first half of the book under review.

The hour-long live interview went very well, and all the phone calls were positive, except for one from a very naive man who assumed that if Rudolph had been a National Socialist, then he ought to be deported. The caller also assumed that the PBS program was accurate and true, etc.

Since I thought Thomas Franklin had just begun to scratch the surface of a topic of great interest to Huntsvillians in general and to the significant German community there, I scheduled him (along with Dr. Walter Häussermann) to return the following Monday and continue. I had not counted, however, on a mid-course change of philosophy by the station's program director, who until then had always been friendly and supportive.

Today I hold the view that someone put inordinate pressure on him. When, the following Monday, my guests and I arrived at the station, we learned that there "had already been too much talk about Dr. Rudolph." The "M.P.I." hour that day carried a canned program instead, and my "career" as a volunteer quickly went downhill. The

old reliables were trotted out: I was “neo-Nazi” and, of course, “anti-Semitic.”

I then sent a copy of the Franklin interview tape and the newspaper series to National Public Radio's Ann Edwards in Washington. Speaking with her over the phone, I was told that she wanted to do a segment on the Rudolph case. She assured me that she was independent of such intimidation. It is now nearly a year since she declared her interest, and after many phone calls to her, she has not yet followed through on her verbal commitment.

During the month of August, 1987, I met with Dr. and Mrs. Rudolph in their small but comfortable apartment in Germany, and talked with them about their situation. The Rudolphs warmly appreciated my visit. They long to be back in California near their daughter. Most certainly they deplored the tactics by which they had been led to surrender their U.S. citizenship. Sher and OSI have targeted an octogenarian with a bad heart and few resources as a war criminal and a threat to the well-being of the U.S.A.

The Friday evening before I arrived, German television aired yet another “Holocaust” appeal for mesmerized German viewers. The Rudolphs were particularly upset over the singling out of Rudolph by name by OSI's authority, Eli Rosenbaum, who called him “a murderer.”

My personal interest in the Rudolph case goes back to my high school days in Huntsville (1951-55), when the town was a sleepy, typically Southern cotton town of 16,000 people. I quickly became aware of fellow students whose first and last names I could not easily understand or spell. There were Ueter, Tschinkel, Debus, Roth, Stein, and then the hard ones like Ursula, Dieter, Wolfgang, Hans, *et al.* Some wore sandals and leather shorts and had longish hair styles and just looked different. But they were nice, and serious about their studies. I even dated the daughter of Dr. Kurt Debus on a couple of occasions, and I lunched at the home of the Tschinkels, where I saw, for the first time, wheat germ on the table. At first I was apprehensive about taking into my body something called “germ.”

Over the years I have made a modest attempt to learn to read and speak German and have traveled to the “Germanies” (including the Federal Republic) seven times, with two years in residence thanks to Uncle Sam's largesse. In recent years, however, I have made a studious effort to learn of the contributing factors to the two great wars of this century, and to understand the present legend known as “the Holocaust.”

Thomas Franklin's *An American in Exile* gives readers a chance to draw their own conclusions as to the facts of Rudolph's past and as to the justice of his treatment at the hands of OSI. The book includes interviews with Dr. Rudolph, his friends, and family members, who

related their experiences of trauma in Nazi Germany and the goals and challenges of the space program. There are also included complete transcripts of an OSI interrogation of Rudolph. The latter will enable, I judge, the reader to marvel OSI's audacity in bringing a case against Rudolph.

Sher and Rosenbaum attempted to paint Rudolph with the anti-semantic "anti-Semitic" brush, claiming that he held "blind hatred for inferior races." (p. 139.) Rudolph replied:

I told them in the interview that I didn't believe in the German master race. Germany, being in the center of Europe, was at the crossroads of many, many people. It was a melting pot, and the idea of a pure Aryan race is nonsense.

Sher and Rosenbaum damned Rudolph for "his taking schnapps with Camp Commandant Förschner." The reader must always realize that the "Holocaust" mentality of Sher-Rosenbaum assumes that the German camps were by definition "death camps." A commandant, so the syllogism runs, must by definition be a murderer of "martyrs" (if the dead and dying are Jews, that is—when have we been treated to a "Holocaust" miniseries on Gypsies martyred by the Nazis? or Jehovah's Witnesses? or Protestants? or Roman Catholic martyrs?). Lastly, the syllogism concludes that not only was the commandant a war criminal but those Germans who served with him were also murderers and war criminals as well.

Tom Bowers, in *The Paper Clip Conspiracy* (Little, Brown), describes "The Hunt for the Nazi Scientists." Unfortunately, Bower partakes of the error that "Nazi" means *per se* "criminal." This error is as faulty, in my opinion, as Adolf Hitler's equating "Jew" with "Bolshevik." Hitler certainly had reasons sufficient to himself to view *all* Jews as possible enemies of his Reich, inasmuch as world Zionism had declared war on Germany. To this may be added the Jewish religious observance prayer of "next year in Jerusalem." A people who can *sincerely* keep praying that their G-d will deliver them to another land must see how suspicious this prayer renders them in the eyes of their "host" government.

Bower writes of Rudolph being "100 per cent Nazi, dangerous type, security threat . . . Suggest internment." This characterization comes from a U.S. government document prepared right after the war. The OSI transcript that Thomas Franklin provides is not, however, available. Franklin got his copy from Dr. Rudolph. One wonders with good reason why Sher and his crew keep their "evidence" from a researcher. One may conclude from reading it that it is because there is *nothing* incriminating in it.

When Franklin was asked about the Bower quotation, he replied that it was an evaluation rather than a fact. (See the *Huntsville Times*, January 10, 1988, p. 7C.) Franklin is obviously correct. Would Bower

conclude that a Soviet Jew should be barred from entry into the U.S. for praying "next year in Jerusalem," or for having been a member of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union?

Bower claimed that Rudolph had "quite voluntarily" gone to see the hanging of some inmates, and thus, Rudolph was guilty of something. The transcript of Rudolph's interrogation by the OSI reveals the context, however. At the Mittelwerk production facility there were numerous Russian inmates, some of them "Kapos" controlling other inmates, that is, an "organization within the organization," according to Rudolph. (p. 240.) The order had come down to Rudolph's unit that all work was to cease and that all the inmates inside the tunnel were to assemble in main tunnel number two. The S.S. troops led the inmates to the tunnel where six convicted inmates were hanged. Dr. Rudolph also attended. The OSI claim is that they were murdered because of alleged "sabotage." Rudolph asserted that he understood them to be preparing a "putsch," to take over the facility and kill all the Germans.

The reader of at least average intelligence ought to be able to read this account mindful that a government in time of war will protect itself from putsches as well as from material sabotage of its production facilities. Apparently, Bower and OSI lawyers do not find German opposition to possible putsches and sabotage justifiable. Since the legislation which created OSI deliberately restricted itself to alleged misdeeds by the Germans and their allies during the years 1933 to 1945, we haven't been able to test what OSI's attitude might be to Soviet or Israeli residents in America who had repressed anti-Communist or Palestinian sabotage or uprisings before coming to these shores.

Franklin's book is, to be sure, written in a popular style, but it clearly presents Dr. Rudolph's side of the case, as well as the transcript of his interrogation by OSI. I think that readers will marvel over how those Justice Department bureaucrats treated an American citizen. Some readers may well wonder if this could not happen to them; there are German-Americans in Huntsville who speak of the Rudolph matter reluctantly because of apprehension as to their own status.

The OSI "holy crusade" will no doubt find other victims. Readers would be well advised to learn from Rudolph's too eager willingness to cooperate with this branch of government that one should neither talk nor surrender papers to police agencies like OSI without first contacting an attorney with expertise in this sort of persecution.

One final item should be mentioned. At great personal expense and time, Dr. Friedwardt Winterberg, Professor of Theoretical Physics at the University of Nevada, studied and interrogated the so-called "witnesses" against Rudolph, having learned of the case from a newspaper. On page 158 is the box score of the nine OSI witnesses

on which the case was based.

Gave unfavorable testimony that was accepted:	0
Gave unfavorable testimony that was rejected:	2
Gave favorable testimony:	1
Were mentally unfit to testify:	2
Knew nothing about Rudolph:	4
Total	9

The above data are from the German Federal Republic and are consistent with what Dr. Winterberg could learn. OSI has no credible witnesses and its "star witness" (p. 154) was merely the blacked-out name of Hannelore Bannasch, a secretary whose testimony has been a matter of public record for over forty years. The OSI attempted to represent her as one who could incriminate Rudolph and whose identity needed to be protected!

The Justice Department might instead wish to investigate whether or not Sher and Rosenbaum committed an obstruction of justice by its suppressing evidence from the DDR (East Germany), which, if known at the time of the proceedings against Rudolph, might have exculpated him. It has also been claimed that Attorney General Edwin Meese did not wish to see Dr. Rudolph deported, but that he was under tremendous ideological pressure to comply with the new breed of "witch-hunters" stalking the OSI corridors. Perhaps after a new president assumes office in 1989 and Meese has left, someone can inquire of Meese his thoughts on this matter. Meese will presumably no longer be sensitive to political pressures.

After the Israelis kidnapped Adolf Eichmann and assassinated him after his show trial in Jerusalem, the handwriting should have been on the wall. Then the Rudolphs of America would have been justly suspicious of the Justice Department's new "Witch Hunt" sub-office, the OSI, established under Jimmy Carter. The Elizabeth Holtzman amendment that birthed this new era of inquisition also coincided with the demise of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, a committee long opposed by America's Left (Stalinist and otherwise). Here readers may want to consult Lydia Demjanjuk's informative two volumes, *Nazi War Criminals in America*, available from P.O. Box 31424, Cleveland, OH 44131, \$10. Her brief biographies of Holtzman, Ryan, ex-Congressman and convicted felon Joshua Eilberg, and Rosenbaum make for interesting reading, especially their pro-Soviet sentiments with reference to accepting Soviet "evidence" at face value.

What does the future hold for Dr. Rudolph? He would like very much to return to the U.S. and have his citizenship restored. He is willing to appear before a Senate committee, with a doctor present,

and testify as to his mistreatment at the hands of the OSI. Alabama's senior senator, Howell Heflin, has written that he is willing to aid Dr. Rudolph in this pursuit. Rudolph's supporters in Huntsville have worked diligently to this end. Senator Heflin has not carried through on his promise as of this date. One wonders if political considerations may intervene to keep the Senator from becoming involved after all, even though his Alabama constituents like to think themselves independent of the ideological sentiments of Sher and Rosenbaum and their ilk.

Dr. Rudolph is bitter toward the OSI. "I feel persecuted," he told me. But the "Free Soviet Jewry" demonstrators will never take up the cause of Arthur Rudolph. He's merely a German and Germans cannot be persecuted—just deported, imprisoned or assassinated. Rudolph is also puzzled.

It is really hard to understand, but for one thing they have to continue to find people to persecute if they [OSI] are to continue to exist. Then too they may be after revenge. They tried to blame me for the death of Jews. They consider all Germans "Nazis" and hence criminals. I could be wrong, but what else could be the reason? As it says in the Old Testament, "An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth." (p. 160.)

Huntsville attorney Dieter Schrader wrote in a letter to the editor of the *Huntsville Times* that the reason Dr. Rudolph is now back in Germany is not because he allegedly committed crimes at the Mittelwerk, but because "we don't need him anymore." It sounds as if the attorney has exposed something of an American pragmatist philosophy reminiscent of soldiers' romantic philosophy: "Find 'em, feed 'em, _____ 'em, forget 'em." Harsh as that sounds to our noble ears, the rape of Arthur Rudolph sounds far harsher.

HECKLING HITLER: CARICATURES OF THE THIRD REICH by Zbynek Zeman. Hanover, New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 1987, Pb., 128 pp., illustrated, \$14.95, ISBN 0-87451-403-7.

Reviewed by Jack Wikoff

Heckling Hitler, a recent selection of the Jewish Book Club, is a collection of 178 anti-Hitler, anti-National Socialist and anti-German political cartoons of the Weimar Republic and Nazi eras. The author, Zbynek Zeman, lives and teaches in England and has written several books on the propaganda of the Second World War.

This volume of political cartoons, which is accompanied by an extensive text, will be of interest to the Revisionist solely because of its historically curious and valuable illustrations. Unfortunately, the text is riddled with anti-Hitlerian platitudes, unhistorical clichés and myths. Author Zeman displays a complete lack of objectivity throughout his textual commentary.

Zeman is clearly no Germanophile. In the introduction he brazenly claims that Germans have no sense of humor. The reader is repeatedly told that Germany was an ideologically and socially backward nation. From the first chapter, titled "Young Hitler: The Making of a Famous Monster," the following chapters continue in this disparaging vein to discuss chronologically the events which inspired the political cartoons in this volume.

Political caricature has traditionally flourished in mass circulation daily newspapers. The staff cartoonist, working to tight deadlines, produces a visual statement in quick response to rapidly changing news developments. In *Heckling Hitler* the reader is provided with many examples of the Allied view, in caricature, of such events as the burning of the Reichstag, the "Night of the Long Knives," the Spanish Civil War, the Munich Agreement and the Anglo-American alliance with Communist Russia. In retrospect, these political cartoons provide today's historian and student of popular culture with an understanding of how the National Socialist regime was represented to the daily newspaper reader, the "common man" in the Allied nations.

Many prominent English, American, European and Soviet cartoonists are introduced throughout the text in short biographies, among them David Low, Josef Capek, Paul Weber, George Grosz and Karl Arnold. Many of the artists featured were sufficiently politically organized to mount an anti-Nazi and anti-fascist exhibition of cartoons as early as April-May 1934 in Prague.

Paul Weber is representative of the remarkable careers of many of these cartoonists. Up to 1934 he produced powerfully executed anti-Nazi drawings for pamphlets and periodicals published by the "National Bolshevik" radical Ernst Niekisch, the former chairman of the Munich Workers' and Soldiers' Council of the short-lived Bavarian Soviet Republic. Weber spent much of 1937 in the custody of the Gestapo, then emigrated to Florida in 1938. He returned to Germany in 1939 and subsequently produced a series of lithographs condemning British imperialism. Much of this work was published in National Socialist Germany in a work titled *Britische Bilder* (British Pictures) in 1941.

Perhaps because *Heckling Hitler* was originally published in Britain, the very important American caricaturist, Arthur Szyk, who produced brilliantly malicious and sarcastic covers and cartoons for *Colliers* magazine, is regrettably not represented.

Because anyone may be caricatured and ridiculed by exaggeration, political cartoons inherently lend themselves to propaganda against the leaders of other nations. Especially interesting are the many cartoons which lampoon savagely the National Socialist German leadership. As indicated by the title, Adolf Hitler is the target of the majority of illustrations.

Next to Hitler, Joseph Goebbels, the Minister of Propaganda and Public Enlightenment, is ridiculed most often. Very effective is a cartoon by the Soviet three-man team of graphic artists called Kukriniksy (a composite of their names: Mikhail Kuprianov, Porfiri Krylov and Nikolai Sokolov). Entitled "Fascist Lie Gun," the cartoon portrays Goebbels as a Hitler-operated machine gun spouting paper (propaganda) through his megaphone-like mouth. One 1931 cartoon strip by the Czech artist Frantisek Bidlo mocks Goebbels' novel *Michael*. [Now available in English translation from the IHR.] Elsewhere Goebbels is drawn as a monkey riding on Hitler's shoulder. Alfred Rosenberg is presented as a fur-clad German barbarian with white collar, bow tie and cuffs dancing around a bonfire of books; Herman Göring as a fat, bemedaled boor or a golden-tressed Wagnerian opera singer with horned helmet; Robert Ley, the director of the German Labor Front, as a drunk; SA leader Röhm as a homosexual and so forth through the Nazi hierarchy.

Several of the cartoons in *Heckling Hitler* rely upon crude racial stereotypes of German people. Thus the Germans are sometimes drawn as beer-swilling louts in Bavarian peasant costume, sexually rapacious, dunderheaded bullies, or obese, blond *Bauernfrauen*.

After viewing the drawings in *Heckling Hitler*, many readers are likely to be curious about what sorts of political cartoons were being produced in National Socialist Germany. The average reader is not likely to find a collection of National Socialist German cartoons at the local bookstore or library. The diligent collector can gather a representative collection by making photocopies from scarce bound and microfilmed copies of Nazi-era German and National Socialist periodicals such as *Völkischer Beobachter*, *Das Reich*, or the English-language *News from Germany*.

Nor are we likely to discover a volume of cartoons by major German political artists such as "Erik," Ernst Heimer, "Groth," or E.O. Plauen. Especially forbidden would be a collection of the anti-Jewish cartoons of "Fips," the pen name of Phillip Ruprecht, who drew for Julius Streicher's *Der Stürmer*.

Hopefully the publication of *Heckling Hitler* will, if nothing else, stimulate the study of political cartoons of all the belligerent nations during World War Two. Certainly in a war as brutal and merciless as that tragic conflict, one cannot expect the political cartoonists to have pulled any graphic punches. After all, if one is going to bomb,

shoot, hang and torture the enemy, then drawing degrading, savage and comical pictures of that same enemy is to be expected.

KEEPER OF CONCENTRATION CAMPS: DILLON S. MEYER AND AMERICAN RACISM by Richard Drinnon. Berkeley: U. of California Press, 1987, 339 pp., \$24.95. ISBN 0-520-05793-7.

Reviewed by John P. Strang

With the exception of the few months in which Milton Eisenhower ran the program, Dillon S. Meyer, a typical New Deal bureaucrat, was the chief administrator of the WRA, the "War Relocation Authority," which was responsible for the imprisonment of over 100,000 Japanese nationals and American citizens of Japanese ancestry (the second group making up the majority of those imprisoned). This notorious violation of our Bill of Rights has spawned a number of books, historical and popular, including Meyer's own *Uprooted Americans*.¹ Richard Drinnon's new book is a thought-provoking—if somewhat subjective—biography of this rather unlovable man. After the war, Meyer ended up as head of the BIA (Bureau of Indian Affairs) where he carried out policies not unlike those in force when he was involved with Tule Lake, Manzanar, Leupp, *et al*.

Drinnon declares that his aim is to deal with Meyer as an epitome of Hannah Arendt's phrase about the "banality of evil."² The work is well-footnoted and -documented, and despite Mr. Drinnon's subjectivity and occasional lapses into excessive emotionalism, well worth the reading, even for someone already familiar with the controversy surrounding America's "noble experiment" with concentration-camp solutions to "social problems."

It is Drinnon's contention that Second World War "Jap"-hating went hand-in-hand with Indian-hating, and that both are integral parts of American mainstream culture. He is impatient with those who label either the wartime mistreatment of Japanese-Americans or the postwar treatment of American Indians as "mistakes."³ This does not, of course, mean that Mr. Drinnon approves of either sort of hating—he just tends to prefer to think that American culture is the mistake.

Indeed, the book makes a strong connection between anti-Indian and anti-Japanese racism (most convincing for me was the continuity of bureaucrats and personnel involved.) However, even Drinnon admits that much of the force behind the camps came from

New Deal do-gooders eager to use the war as an excuse to engage in social experimentation.⁴ (They would probably have welcomed a chance to pen up and forcefully “assimilate” and “Americanize” other minority groups such as the Chinese, Latinos, or Puerto Ricans in the same way, had a different excuse been forthcoming.) Such people are not admirable, but they are also not racists. (Presumably the last thing that diehard racists would want would be to “assimilate” or “Americanize” members of a hated and despised out-group.) Although Meyer did seem to have some quaint and stereotyped attitudes toward American Indians (a point Dillon makes a bit too much of),⁵ he was hardly one who subscribed to a “the only good ‘un is a dead ‘un,” philosophy, either with Japanese-Americans or with Indians.

This is not to defend Meyer. The picture of him painted in Mr. Drinnon’s book is unlovable, and if one might doubt slightly the “evil” part of the definition (although only slightly—Mr. Drinnon does offer lots of evidence that Mr. Meyer was a liar⁶), there is little question about the banality. But how much of a defense is it to say that someone is “only a little” racist? Nor is it really a defense of either Meyer or the WRA to argue that the camps could have been a lot worse, or that allegedly worse camps have existed in other countries.⁷ Thankfully, Mr. Drinnon gives short shrift to such arguments.

He also gives short shrift to Japanese-American Citizens League (JACL), and provides much disturbing information about the unholy alliance between the JACL, the government, and the “civil libertarians” of the New York City branch of the American Civil Liberties Union. This is welcome muckraking, and has not appeared in too many books before. So, too, is information about some of the bizarre racial theories of FDR,⁸ and the serious doubts about the legality of the WRA and its programs expressed by none other than the FBI!⁹

The second half of the book, starting with the chapter titled “Commissioner,” deals with Meyer’s mistreatment of the American Indians as head of the BIA. Here I at first expected Mr. Drinnon to be on less firm ground—and perhaps he is, but only slightly so. Meyer was one of the chief architects of the “termination” program that sought to “free” the Indians from their reservation ways—and incidentally, to transfer millions of acres of their land to Whites.¹⁰ Meyer fought tooth and nail any attempt by his “wards” to assert themselves, and, as he did with the Japanese-American camp internees, attributed such opposition to “troublemakers.” The case is strong that there was a continuation of policy and attitudes from the WRA days—hardly surprising, considering the continuity of personnel. (Many of Meyer’s former associates and underlings followed him from the WRA to the BIA, and many of the camp staff

in the WRA days had been drawn from the BIA.)

While the connection clearly exists one may be slightly leery about attributing it all to "racism," however real and evil the treatment of both groups seems to have been. As pointed out previously, a pernicious sentiment of assimilationism was present in the treatment of both groups, and assimilationism can't be truly argued to be a "racist" trait.

The implications of the title are also a bit unpleasant: Dillon S. Meyer once said that he did not want posterity to remember him as an administrator of American concentration camps.¹¹ The fact that Mr. Drinnon, aware of this quote, does entitle his book *Keeper of Concentration Camps* seem malicious, however merited it is that Mr. Meyer be so remembered. One is, in fact, reminded of some of the malicious remarks Mr. Meyer himself made about opponents such as Felix S. Cohen and Ernest Besig.¹² It is as if Mr. Drinnon deliberately chose the title that would offend Meyer's shade the most, and, much as this reviewer has no love for Dillon S. Meyer, he finds that disturbing.

Notes

1. *Uprooted Americans*, Dillon S. Meyer, Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1971.
2. *Keeper of Concentration Camps*, xxviii. Unless noted otherwise, page numbers cited in this review will be from Mr. Drinnon's book.
3. *Op. cit.*, p. 266, for example.
4. *Op. cit.*, p. 60.
5. *Op. cit.*, pp. 21-25.
6. *Op. cit.*, p. 253, for example.
7. The loss of life in the original concentration camps set up by the British to house Boer "troublemakers" was much higher than in the WRA camps.
8. *Op. cit.*, pp. 254-256.
9. *Op. cit.*, p. 51.
10. The "relocation" of the Japanese-Americans also had the practical effect of transferring much of their real property to White (often actively anti-Oriental) interests—and at bargain prices, and it is a weakness of Mr. Drinnon's book that he does not draw as much attention to this real and concrete parallel as he does to alleged parallels of philosophy and attitude.
11. Quoted by Mr. Drinnon in *op. cit.*, p. 249.
12. For example, the quote from Meyer on p. 232.

MARXISM IN THE UNITED STATES: REMAPPING THE HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN LEFT by Paul Buhle. London: Verso (Haymarket Series), 1987, paperback, 299 pages, \$12.95, ISBN 0-86091-848-3.

Reviewed by Samuel Edward Konkin III

The most enjoyable treasure is that which is found in the most unlikely place. Who would have thought of looking in a history of American Marxism, written by a New Left activist, published by a British New Left press, for a neglected, if not suppressed, account of the political history of early German-American immigrants? Or how the conversion of the U.S. (Marxist) Left from its interventionist globalism in the 1940s to an anti-interventionist New Left version in the 1960s happened because, at least in part, of its birth on a Wisconsin campus, in a population center of isolationist German-American Progressives?

Paul Buhle tells us his own history in the penultimate chapter of *Marxism in the U.S.* He was the founding editor of *Radical America*, which he describes as the "unofficial journal of SDS" (the Students for a Democratic Society), as "there was no official journal." He was one of Cold-War Revisionist William Appleman Williams' students at the University of Wisconsin and active in SDS from its takeover from the Old-Left League for Industrial Democracy to its spectacular demise in 1970.

This reviewer came across *Radical America* in 1970 while at UW; it contained a remarkable notice (remarkable to your reviewer, who like many of you, evolved from the right) which verified something Murray Rothbard has been telling us early Libertarians (this reviewer founded the first Libertarian Alliance at UW in February 1970). Rothbard and fellow Libertarian Revisionist Leonard Liggio had been doing missionary work amongst the SDS and New Left historians, converting them to Isolationism. Many of us could not believe our old campus opponents were open to such reason, but there it was in *Radical America*: a special "Old Right" issue concerning the heroic Isolationists who had kept the faith during the New Deal, Second World War and even the Cold War, until the New Left came along.¹ It had a profound effect on our thinking and led us out of the Left-Right statist trap cramping our reason.

Buhle has continued his historical work, largely Revisionist in both the historical sense and in the sense that Marxists use it, since those days; today he is the editor of *The Encyclopaedia of the Left* for Garland Publishing.² *Marxism in the U.S.* is one of the first in the Haymarket Series published by the still-New-Left Verso Press in

England; American Revisionists and anti-imperialists should keep their eyes out for new books in this series.

The history of the Left, in particular the American Left, is fairly simple in outline, and generally agreed upon; however, once one seeks any details, the versions diverge dramatically according to which faction is telling the tale. Buhle has his heroes and villains and many would not match ours. Furthermore, he neglects the proto-Libertarian individualist anarchists, who considered themselves of the Left, in the nineteenth century.³ On the other hand, he covers many of the common ancestors often neglected: Jacksonian Democrats, Abolitionists, Populists, Spiritualists, Bellamy Nationalists and native Utopians. Herein lies the interest to today's Revisionist readers.

Immigrants brought Socialism to the United States, and remarkably early at that. In 1848 the U.S. was mopping up the Mexican War and native radicals has risen up against the blatantly imperialist policy. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels wrote *The Communist Manifesto* that year, on the eve of a European-wide insurrection centered in the German states. Many of the insurgents fled to German communities in the United States, bringing with them the ideas that had led them to the barricades. Although Marx has his followers in the first wave, Ferdinand Lassalle was an even more popular German Socialist leader ("statuettes of whose countenance graced the Socialist locals and often served as raffle prizes").⁴ The '48ers supported the Radical Abolitionist cause; Adolf Douai edited a Texas Abolitionist paper and died still editing a German-language Socialist *daily* in 1888. Not surprisingly, German-Americans disproportionately joined the Union in the Civil War/War between the States.

The '48ers were the *alte Genossen* to the post-war wave of German immigrants. Editor and playwright August-Otto Walster, son of a leathersmith, immigrated to America to start the German-language *national* weekly newspaper, *Arbeiter Stimme*. The large German-language press was disproportionately Socialist, and quite cosmopolitan. Douai worked on the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* side by side with Russian nobleman Serge Schevitsch (who brought Lassalle's mistress to the U.S., where she became an actress after Lassalle had died in a duel over her) and with German Jew Alexander Jonas, who commuted every few years between Germany and the United States, working freely in the press milieu and later, importantly, attracting Jewish immigrants to Socialism.

As the German Social Democratic Party grew in success (it became the largest party in the new German empire, though not allowed to take power until the final days of World War I), its progress was followed in the German-American press. Socialism, or social democracy, was not achieving notable success in the United

States, and Germans tended to drop it as they became progressively assimilated. As they were followed by other Eastern European immigrant waves, these new groups replaced them, particularly if they were familiar with German already (Poles, Bohemians, Jews, Croats and so on). Interestingly, Buhle singles out the German-Jews (later followed by Russian Jews, though still Yiddish-speaking) and hints that their slowness in assimilating may have led to their becoming the core of U.S. Socialism:

Taking nothing away from the German-American papers, they had not (except, perhaps, the weekly anarchist *Arme Teufel* from Detroit) become the site of an avowed search for identity; Socialism and their homeland traditions provided that easily, no doubt too easily. The editorials, the headlines, the formal understanding of the Jewish press do not seem so superficially different. But to the close observer, *Tsukunft* and even more the *Arbeiter Tseitung* made that search the focus for Socialist politics.⁵

In the 1890s the immigrants reached out to an America seething with a wave of strikes, a depression, and Populist uprisings in the rural areas—seemingly ready for class revolt. A Portuguese from Trinidad, Daniel DeLeon, entered the Socialist Labor Party in the U.S. and began its first English-language weekly, *The People*, in 1891. Buhle credits DeLeon with being the first truly American Marxist; he brought theoretical rigor to the U.S. movement—and a pre-Leninist discipline and sectarianism which had the SLP in ruins by 1899. (The SLP still has a tiny organization alive today; it is perceived through the Left as DeLeon's personal cult.)

What American Socialism needed was a native American standard-bearer who could appeal both to the theoretically rigorous immigrants and the Utopians, Christian Socialists, Spiritualists and radicals in the native populace—a synthesizing Socialist in the James Stewart/Henry Fonda mold. It found this in Eugene V. Debs, and the new Socialist Party reached its high point under his leadership, particularly in becoming the focus of opposition to American entry into World War I. Unlike the European Social Democratic Parties, the American Socialists remained united against American participation, from the Left to the Right ends of their spectrum (though with defectors and opportunists from all parts as well). Had not the Bolshevik Revolution occurred, it would be fascinating to consider what might have happened in 1920, at the end of the Palmer raids, when the U.S. SP and the International Workers of the World, its sometime ally, though wounded from persecution, were at the height of popularity, as the rest of the U.S. populace soured on war and intervention following Versailles.

Unfortunately, the Russian Revolution completely changed the utopian expectations of the Left, not merely in the United States but throughout the world. And V.I. Lenin's apparent success in bringing

about a form of Socialist utopia granted him followers throughout every Socialist organization and, hence, instant factionalism. At its height, then, the U.S. Socialist Party split apart. In America the "Menshevik" faction really was the minority but excluded the majority delegates to hang onto control and maintain the SP as an increasingly anti-Communist but ever smaller Left organization. The "Bolsheviks" split immediately into squabbling factions, arguing over which splinter was the real standard-bearer of Lenin in the U.S.⁶

All this is covered in the first three chapters of *Marxism in the United States*, roughly half the book. The next three chapters deal with the Leninist infection, its impact on culture (particularly literary) in the thirties, Eugene Lyons' Red Decade and the winning of intellectuals to the supposedly proletarian cause, then the Communist Party U.S.A.'s sudden acceptability during the World War II, followed by its anathema and persecution as the Empire-builders cranked up a "no-win," "Cold," "perpetual war for perpetual peace."

Near the end of the sixth chapter, Buhle delineates the roots of the New Left, and here is another section of interest to Isolationist-Revisionists:

Shortly after the New York Intellectuals evolved definitively toward accommodation with *Pax Americana*, a less prestigious but—from the retrospective viewpoint of the New left—more important group moved in the reverse direction for precisely opposite reasons. The University of Wisconsin had been a center of anti-monopolist, anti-imperialist thought since the days of Robert La Follette. It was shortly to regain its historic role, in New Left guise.

Many intellectuals in the old Middle Border had bowed uneasily to the inevitability of war mobilization, suspecting—with a handful of Trotskyists, unrecalcitrant pacifists, and Charles Beard—that militarization of American life would become permanent . . . A new generation of scholars, mostly refugees from Old Left families and from the Henry Wallace campaign, joined these odd ducks on the Madison campus and relearned radical history with native coloring. The same youngsters were also, and not coincidentally, the first generation of immigrants' children who could fit comfortably into a field now composed not of gentlemen scholars but of middling professionals. They took their models . . . from the quasi-isolationist, anti-military tradition of Progressive historians and from the new mass student culture.⁷

A few paragraphs later, Buhle pays homage to Cold-War Revisionist William Appleman Williams and the historical school he founded; earlier C. Wright Mills gets his due for bringing class theory (or, if you prefer, conspiracy theory) back into respectable academic discourse.

Readers of the reviewer's (and Buhle's) age will find a Big Chill or two in the seventh, penultimate chapter, on the New Left. Buhle was

there and tells it, honestly, first-hand, admirably dropping the detached-historian voice for that of the first person.

Buhle is weakest in his Conclusion, an eighth but unnumbered chapter. This is hardly surprising for a historian, for he is trying to assimilate the seventies and eighties even as he is still within them. The Black movement, the feminists, the literary deconstructionists and structuralists, and the liberation theologians all require analysis, which would redeem them perhaps from their status here, as undigested lumps disgorged by Buhle. But even in these chunks Buhle's basic honesty and analytic mind is evident:

A favorite sport of right-wing commentators from the late 1970s has been the attack upon the New Left graybeard, the mutton-chop sideburned college professor who forces his Marxist ideas upon hapless undergraduates. This attack cannot be denied its industrial-sized grain of truth. Radicals in the academy have found themselves trapped inside a massive contradiction, not between theory and reality (as the Right claims) but between theory and practice, between (in the theoretical version) materialism and idealism.⁸

Paul Buhle provides us with not only the first modern comprehensive overview of the American Left, even if primarily of its Marxist strand, but begins the task of re-inclusion of those strands deliberately severed, buried and covered up during the Leninist fever. Besides the value this book has in returning integrity to the Left, it contains numerous gems for the pleasure of discovery by those who consider the label "Left," let alone "Socialist," fit only to hang on enemies and future targets. Even they may consider swapping their scatterguns for more accurate rifles after conferring with Paul Buhle.

Notes

1. For those interested in following up the New Left/Old Right connection, a search for the out-of-print magazine *Left & Right*, largely written by Rothbard, Liggio and their friends between 1965 and 1968; I inherited my copies from a prominent Libertarian. Somewhat more available is Carl Oglesby's excellent Cold War isolationist book, *Containment & Change*, which describes the Libertarian "Old Right" as the best allies for the New Left's coalition building against the U.S.-centered Empire. Best of the New Left, before he turned Establishment apologist, was Ronald Radosh, who wrote paeans to the heroes of most JHR readers: Oscar Garrison Villard, John T. Flynn, Robert A. Taft and even alleged "fascist" Lawrence Dennis, in his still-available *Prophets On The Right*.
2. Who are also preparing *The Encyclopaedia of Libertarianism*, edited by this reviewer.
3. Benjamin Tucker called himself a "laissez-faire Socialist" and belonged, along with many other free-market anarchist advocates

(mostly in New England), to the First Workingmen's International (which Marx dissolved rather than let the Anarchists take it over).

4. *Marxism in the United States*, p. 29.
5. *Marxism in the United States*, p. 49.
6. See the film *Reds* for a portrayal of this schism; John Reed (played by Warren Beatty) exemplified the conversions that occurred and the later feuding.
7. *Marxism in the United States*, pp. 215-6.
8. *Marxism in the United States*, p. 264.

HISTORICAL NEWS AND COMMENT

West Germany's Holocaust Payoff to Israel and World Jewry

MARK WEBER

The passions and propaganda of wartime normally diminish with the passage of time. A striking exception is the Holocaust campaign, which seems to grow more pervasive and intense as the years go by. Certainly the most lucrative expression of this seemingly endless campaign has been West Germany's massive and historically unparalleled reparations payoff to Israel and world Jewry for the alleged collective sins of the German people during the Hitler era. Since 1953, West Germany has paid out more than \$35 billion in reparations to the Zionist state and to millions of individual "victims of National Socialism."

How did this remarkable program get started? How lucrative has it been? What does it suggest about the "six million" figure? And what are its social and political implications?

Bowing to Pressure

In September 1945, shortly after the end of the Second World War, Jewish leader Chaim Weizmann submitted a memorandum on behalf of the Zionist Jewish Agency to the governments of the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain and France "demanding" (in the words of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*) "reparations, restitution and indemnification due to the Jewish people from Germany." The western Allies lost no time in responding favorably to Weizmann's demands.¹ The American government was particularly eager to have the Germans pay up.² As a result, the German government set up by the western Allies at Bonn in 1949 never had any real choice but to acknowledge the alleged collective guilt of the German people during the Hitler era and pay what was demanded.

Indeed, a major provision of the treaty of May 1952 by which the United States, Britain and France granted "sovereignty" to the Federal Republic of (West) Germany obligated the new state to make restitution.³

West German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer laid the emotional

and psychological groundwork for the reparations program when he solemnly declared to the Bundestag on 27 September 1951:

The Federal government and the great majority of the German people are deeply aware of the immeasurable suffering endured by the Jews of Germany and by the Jews of the occupied territories during the period of National Socialism . . . In our name, unspeakable crimes have been committed and they demand restitution, both moral and material, for the persons and properties of the Jews who have been so seriously harmed . . .

Adenauer went on to promise speedy conclusion of restitution and indemnity laws and announced that reparations negotiations would begin soon. Accordingly, delegations representing the Bonn government, the State of Israel and an ad hoc organization of Jewish groups began talks in the Netherlands in March 1952.

The representative of the Jewish organizations was the "Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany, Inc." or "Claims Conference," a body formed for the sole purpose of demanding maximum reparations from the German people. The 20 member organizations represented Jews in the United States, Britain, Canada, France, Argentina, Australia and South Africa. Jews in the Soviet Union, eastern Europe and the Arab countries were not represented.⁴

The West German government was under pressure to conclude quickly a reparations agreement satisfactory to the Jews. In his memoirs, Chancellor Adenauer wrote:

It was clear to me that, if the negotiations with the Jews failed, the negotiations at the London Debt Conference [which were going on at the same time] would also run aground, because Jewish banking circles would exert an influence upon the course of the London Debt Conference which should not be underestimated. On the other hand it was self-evident that a failure of the London Debt Conference would bring about a failure of the negotiations with the Jews. If the German economy was to achieve a good credit standing and become strong again, the London Conference would have to be ended successfully. Only then would our economy develop in a way that would make the payments to Israel and the Jewish organizations possible.⁵

Zionist leader Nahum Goldmann, President of the World Jewish Congress and chairman of the Claims Conference, warned of a worldwide campaign against Germany if the Bonn officials did not meet the Zionist demands: "The non-violent reaction of the whole world, supported by wide circles of non-Jews, who have deep sympathy with the martyrdom of the Jewish people during the Nazi period, would be irresistible and completely justified."⁶ The London Jewish Observer was more blunt: "The whole material weight of world Jewry will be mobilized for an economic war against Germany, if Bonn's offer of reparations remains unsatisfactory."⁷

The talks culminated in the Luxembourg Agreement, which was signed on 10 September 1952 by West German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Sharett and World Jewish Congress President Nahum Goldmann.

A Legal Novelty

This agreement between the West German government, on the one hand, and the Israeli state and the Claims Conference, on the other, was historically unprecedented and had no basis or counterpart in international law. For one thing, the State of Israel did not exist at the time of the actions for which restitution was paid. Moreover, the Claims Conference had no legal authority to negotiate and act on behalf of Jews who were citizens of sovereign countries. Jews were represented in an internationally recognized treaty with a foreign state not by the governments of the countries of which they were citizens, but rather by a supranational and sectarian Jewish organization.

It was as if the Catholic citizens of the United States had allowed themselves to be represented in a treaty with a foreign government not by the U.S. government, but rather by some ad hoc supranational Catholic organization or by the Vatican. The Luxembourg Agreement thus legally implied that Jews everywhere, regardless of their citizenship, constitute a distinct and separate national group and that world Jewry was a formal party to the Second World War.⁸

Nahum Goldmann, a co-signer of the Agreement, was one of the most important Jewish figures of this century. From 1951 to 1978, he was president of the World Jewish Congress, and from 1956 to 1958, he was also president of the World Zionist Organization. In his autobiography, the German-born Goldmann recalled his role in the negotiations and the remarkable nature of the agreement:

My negotiations with German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer and his associates, which culminated in the Luxembourg Agreement of 1952, make up one of the most exciting and successful chapters of my political career.

There hardly was a precedent for persuading a state to assume moral responsibility and make large-scale compensation for crimes committed against an unorganized ethnic group lacking sovereign status. There was no basis in international law for the collective Jewish claims . . .⁹

In a 1976 interview, Goldmann said that the agreement “constituted an extraordinary innovation in the matter of international rights” and he boasted that he had obtained 10 to 14 times more from the Bonn government than he had originally expected.¹⁰

The Payoff for Israel

The agreement meant economic security for the new Zionist state, as Goldmann explained in his autobiography:

What the Luxembourg Agreement meant to Israel is for the historians of the young state to determine. That the goods Israel received from Germany were a decisive economic factor in its development is beyond doubt. I do not know what economic dangers might have threatened Israel at critical moments if it had not been for German supplies. Railways and telephones, dock installations and irrigation plants, whole areas of industry and agriculture, would not be where they are today without the reparations from Germany. And hundreds of thousands of Jewish victims of Nazism have received considerable sums under the law of restitution.¹¹

Goldman said in 1976:

Without the German reparations, the State of Israel would not have the half of its present infrastructure: every train in Israel is German, the ships are German, as well as the electricity, a large part of the industry . . . without mentioning the individual pensions paid to the survivors . . . In certain years, the amount of money received by Israel from Germany exceeds the total amount of money collected from international Jewry—two or three times as much.¹²

As a result of the West German reparations program, wrote Jewish historian Walter Laqueur:

The ships laden with German capital goods began to call at Haifa regularly and unfailingly, becoming an important—ultimately a decisive—factor in the building up of the country. Today [1965] the Israeli fleet is almost entirely “made in Germany,” as are its modern railway equipment, the big steel foundry near Acre, and many other enterprises. During the 50’s and early 60’s about one-third of investment goods imported into Israel came from Germany . . . In addition to all this, many individual Israelis received restitution privately.¹³

It is difficult to exaggerate the impact of the program: the five power plants built and installed by West Germany between 1953 and 1956 quadrupled Israel’s electric-power-generating capacity. West Germans laid 280 kilometers of giant pipelines (2.25 and 2.5 meters in diameter) for the irrigation of the Negev (which certainly helped to “make the desert bloom”). The Zionist state acquired 65 German-built ships, including four passenger vessels.¹⁴

Payments to Individuals

West German reparations have been paid out through several different programs, including the Federal Indemnification (or Compensation) Law (BEG), the Federal Restitution Law (BReuG), the Israel Agreement, and special agreements with 12 foreign countries (including Austria).¹⁵ By far the most important of these has been the BEG indemnification law, which was first enacted in 1953 and revised in 1956 and 1965. It was based on a compensation law

promulgated earlier in the American zone of occupation.

In the words of a background article about the reparations program that appeared in a 1985 issue of *Focus On*, an official publication of the Bonn government, the BEG laws “compensate those persecuted for political, racial, religious or ideological reasons—people who suffered physical injury or loss of freedom, property, income, professional and financial advancement as a result of that persecution.” It also “guarantees assistance to the survivors of the deceased victims.”¹⁶

The BEG compensation law defined “persecution” and “loss of freedom” very liberally. It stipulated payments for Jews who had simply been required to wear the yellow star, even in Croatia, where the measure was ordered by non-Germans. Payments were also ordered for any Jew who was ever in a concentration camp, including the one in Shanghai, China, which was never under German control. The BEG law authorized payments to any Jew who was ever arrested, no matter what the reason. This meant that even Jews who were taken into custody for criminal acts were entitled to German “compensation” for “loss of freedom.”¹⁷

The 1965 revision of the BEG specified that Germany was to be held accountable for measures taken by Romania, Bulgaria and Hungary as early as April 1941, if these actions had deprived the victims of all their freedom. The fact that these countries acted against the Jews in 1941 independently of Germany did not matter.¹⁸

Significantly, the many Jewish survivors living in the Soviet Union and the other Communist countries of eastern Europe were not covered by West Germany’s BEG compensation program.¹⁹ And, of course, Jewish “Holocaust survivors” who died before the West German compensation law (BEG) was enacted in 1953 or before it really became effective in 1956 also never received BEG restitution money.

The *Canadian Jewish News* reported in December 1981 that by the end of 1980, “The number of successful claimants is 4,344,378. Payments have reached 50.18 billion German marks.”²⁰ The *Focus On* article cited above noted that between October 1953 and the end of December 1983, the West German government paid out 56.3 billion marks on a total of 4,390,049 claims from individuals under the BEG legislation.²¹

Nevertheless, the *Atlanta Journal and Constitution* stated in 1985 that about half of the Jewish “survivors” in the world have never received reparations money. “An estimated 50 percent” of the Holocaust “survivors throughout the world are on West German pensions,” the newspaper reported.²² In addition to survivors in Communist countries who are not entitled to West German compensation, the paper reported that many Jewish survivors living

in the United States have never received reparations money. The paper found that 79 percent of the Jewish "Holocaust survivors" living in the Atlanta area had, at one time or another, asked the Bonn government for restitution. About 66 percent received something.

About 40 percent of those receiving BEG compensation money live in Israel, the *Focus On* article reported, while 20 percent live in West Germany and 40 percent live in other countries.²³ It would thus appear that about 80 percent, or 3.5 million, of the 4.39 million claims are from Jews.

Although the number of BEG compensation claims is larger than the number of individual claimants, it is nevertheless difficult to reconcile these figures with the legendary "six million" Jewish wartime dead, particularly since at least half of the world's Jewish "survivors" never received German compensation.

Conclusion

The Luxembourg Agreement obligated the West German government to pay three billion German marks to the State of Israel and 450 million marks to various Jewish organizations. Accordingly, the West German Finance Minister announced in 1953 that he expected that the reparations payments would eventually total four billion marks. Time would prove this a ludicrous underestimate.²⁴

By 1963, the German people had already paid out 20 billion marks, and by 1984 the total had risen to 70 billion.²⁵ In late 1987 the West German parliament approved an additional 300 million marks in "restitution to the victims of National Socialist crimes." The Bonn government announced at that time the 80 billion marks had already been paid out and estimated that by the year 2020 the payoff would total 100 billion marks which, at recent exchange rates, would be the equivalent of \$50 billion.²⁶

Although the West German reparations program is accepted and often praised in the democratic West, it is also, at least implicitly, strikingly undemocratic in two fundamental respects:

First, it regards Jews not as equal and fully integrated citizens of whatever country they live in, but rather primarily as members of an alien and cosmopolitan national group.

Second, it is based on the premise that the German nation, including even the Germans who grew up since 1945, is collectively guilty of terrible crimes, contrary to the democratic notion of individual responsibility for crime.

West Germany's lucrative and historically unparalleled payoff to Israel and world Jewry is a legacy and permanent reminder of Germany's catastrophic defeat in 1945 and subsequent domination by foreign powers.

Notes

1. "Reparations, German," *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Vol. 14, pp. 72-73.
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3. "Restitution in Germany," *Focus On*, May 1985, p. 2.
4. K. Lewan, *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Summer 1975, pp. 48-49.
5. Konrad Adenauer, *Erinnerungen 1953-55* (Stuttgart: 1966), pp. 140-142. Quoted in: K. Lewan, *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Summer 1975, pp. 53-54.
6. Quoted in: K. Lewan, *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Summer 1975, p. 54.
7. J. Kreysler and K. Jungfer, *Deutsche Israel-Politik* (Munich: 1965), p. 33. Quoted in: K. Lewan, *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Summer 1975, p. 54.
8. L. Sebba, *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 450, July 1980, p. 206.
9. N. Goldmann, *Thé Autobiography of Nahum Goldmann*, p. 249.
10. *Le Nouvel Observateur*, 25 October 1976, p. 120. See also interview with Robert Faurisson in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1981 (Vol. 2, No. 4), pp. 350, 373.
11. N. Goldmann, *Autobiography*, p. 276.
12. *Le Nouvel Observateur*, 25 Oct. 1976, p. 122.
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14. Nicholas Balabkins, *West German Reparations to Israel*. Cited in: K. Lewan, *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Summer 1975, p. 42.
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16. "Restitution in Germany," *Focus On*, May 1985, p. 3.
17. R. Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews*, Vol. 3, p. 1166.
18. R. Hilberg, *Destruction*, Vol. 3, p. 1173.
19. R. Hilberg, *Destruction*, p. 1170. The *New York Times* reported in 1983 that the clients of the New York office of the Conference on Material Claims Against Germany "are primarily newly arrived Russian [Jewish] victims of the Nazi era." (D. Margolick, "Soviet Emigre Lawyer . . .," *The New York Times*, Thursday, 10 March 1983, p. B2.)
20. *Canadian Jewish News*, 11 Dec. 1981, p. 4.
21. "Restitution in Germany," *Focus On*, May 1985, p. 3.
22. *The Atlanta Journal and Constitution*, 31 March 1985, 14A, 15A, 17A.
23. "Restitution in Germany," *Focus On*, May 1985, p. 3.
24. D. v. Westernhagen, *Die Zeit*, 5 Oct. 1984, p. 36.; "Restitution in Germany," *Focus On*, May 1985.
25. D. v. Westernhagen, *Die Zeit*, 5 Oct. 1984, p. 36.
26. "Bundestag Approves Additional DM 300 Million for Victims of Nazis," *The Week in Germany* (New York: German Information Center), 11 December 1987. The dollar value of the German mark has

fluctuated over the years. A recent exchange rate was 50 cents per mark.

Pearl Harbor Survivors Association Honors Kimmel and Short

MARTIN MERSON

When Percy Greaves died of cancer on 13 August 1984—eleven days short of his 78th birthday—little did he know of the seeds he had planted. No man, to this writer's knowledge, has done more to inspire others to continue along the trail he blazed; a trail beginning with his service as Chief, Minority Staff, of the 1945-1946 Joint Congressional Investigation of the Pearl Harbor Attack.

Undoubtedly, Percy Greaves, in preparation for the Joint Congressional Investigation—the last of nine wartime investigations, beginning shortly after 7 December 1941—made it a point to familiarize himself with all the material resulting from the ninth as well as each of the preceding investigations: the Frank Knox inquiry at Pearl Harbor of 11-12 December 1941; the Roberts Commission of 18 December 1941-23 January 1942; the special inquiry of Thomas C. Hart of 22 February-15 June 1944; the Army Pearl Harbor Board of 20 July 1944-20 October 1944; the Navy Court of Inquiry, 24 July 1944-19 September 1944; the special inquiry of Col. Carter W. Clarke, USA of 14 September 1944 and 13 July 1945-4 August 1945; the special inquiry of Maj. Henry C. Clausen, USA of 23 November 1944-12 September 1945; and the special inquiry of Adm. H. Kent Hewitt, USN of 14 May 1945-11 July 1945.

The mastery of some 44 volumes published by the Government Printing Office, covering the material in the nine separate and distinct investigations, was essential to Percy Greaves. These volumes comprise thousands of pages of testimony, taken over hundreds of days, millions of words, and involving virtually every political and military leader of importance in the war effort; mastering this material clearly required herculean exertions. Today's Revisionist heritage of some four decades of research and

writing on the subject, reflects, in large part, the dedication which Percy Greaves brought to the task. For this reason, we must acknowledge a very special debt to Percy Greaves, and, without question, a leadership position in the field.

These seeds which Greaves sowed have lately germinated and sprouted in a recent action of the Pearl Harbor Survivors Association. PHSA is an organization of both enlisted personnel and officers from the Air Corps, Army, Coast Guard, Marines, Navy, Nurses-Army, and Nurses-Navy, and is, today, approximately 10,000 members strong. Every fifth year since its founding, the PHSA has commemorated the fateful Day of Infamy by meeting in Hawaii. In 1986, the men and women of the PHSA marked the 45th anniversary of Pearl Harbor, which killed or wounded over 3,000 of their comrades, many entombed in their ships, with a special meeting in Honolulu. For the first time in the annals of American history, so far as this writer knows, the men and women of PHSA, who participated in full uniform, and who so generously and proudly laid their lives on the line at a time when most were in the flower of their youth, paused to recognize and honor their two wartime commanders, Admiral Husband E. Kimmel, U.S. Navy, Commander-in-Chief, Pacific Fleet; and Lt. General Walter C. Short, U.S. Army, Commander, Hawaiian Department. The surviving sons of both Adm. Kimmel and Gen. Short—both with distinguished military careers in their own right—were presented parchment scrolls embodying resolutions adopted by PHSA, together with specially struck medals. Here it should be noted that Manning, the elder son of Adm. Kimmel, was lost with his submarine while on war patrol in 1944. PHSA further collected monies for an education-scholarship fund on behalf of deserving descendants of Adm. Kimmel and Gen. Short.

Inevitably, it will be asked—as this writer did of PHSA's president Thomas J. Stockett—why, after the passage of nearly half century, did you see fit to honor your wartime commanders? A response was forthcoming, in his letter of 12 February 1987, exemplifying the splendid quality to which each of us strives—and so seldom attains:

Every endeavor undertaken by men certainly began with a modicum of faith, hope and expectation for its fruition. Some were excellent, many were good and a few of them weren't worth mentioning.

All of us were young on that terrible morning. It wasn't for us to either condemn or condone the actions of our immediate military leaders. But now, after over 45 years, we have learned to be more tolerant, somewhat wiser, a lot less cynical, and suddenly imbued with a faith and trust toward our fellow man. What a tremendous victory it would be for us, after all these years, to play a role and be able to accept even a small fraction of success toward the complete

*Resolution***Pearl Harbor Survivors Association**

Whereas,
Admiral **H**usband **E.** **K**immel

had an excellent Navy service record and was carefully chosen for his respective command in Hawaii by persons of higher authority; and

Whereas, Admiral Kimmel shouldered the brunt of the blame for the national catastrophe that was Pearl Harbor December 7, 1941; and

Whereas, in the light of extensive documented writings on the subject many PSHA members feel that others, and the whole nation, should have shared the burden of these charges, and

Whereas, Admiral Kimmel cooperated fully with higher authority immediately following his removal from command, offered his resignation as requested, and generally displayed his soldierly training and love of country that had become a way of life for him from the moment he entered the military service, and

Whereas, because of the stated need for maintaining national security, Admiral Kimmel was not afforded the opportunity to clear himself of the charges leveled against him; he was never granted an official court martial through which medium he would have had full access to all forms of evidence, the right to counsel, to introduce, examine and cross-examine witnesses, to introduce matter pertaining to his examination, and to testify and declare in his own behalf, and in essence mount a full-blown defense of his actions and policies leading to the Pearl Harbor catastrophe,

Now Therefore, Be It

Resolved, while there is still time in our generation, we members of the PSHA wishing to express a feeling of admiration and respect toward this officer do hereby request the Pearl Harbor Survivors Association to formally recognize, posthumously, Admiral Kimmel for his sincere and dedicated performance of duty and for carrying until his death, and thereafter, the unfortunate burden and stigma associated with the catastrophe at Pearl Harbor.



In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal this 8th day of December, 1986.

Thomas J. Stockett

Thomas J. Stockett
 National President

The text of the PSHA resolution in honor of
 Admiral E. Kimmel

exoneration and restoration to rank for Adm. Husband E. Kimmel and Gen. Walter C. Short. You have my complete assurance that I will do everything I can to attain this reachable goal.

It is of interest that John Tsukano, a Japanese-American journalist who treated this 45th Anniversary Meeting in the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* of 5 December 1986, had this to say, in part:

Why? Why do they continue to subject themselves to relive their private hell, even as their ranks get thinner with the passage of time?

Perhaps the survivors themselves cannot fully answer that eternal and haunting question. Perhaps there are not enough words to accurately describe their trauma, agony and mysteries, which must still be lurking in the deepest recesses of their minds and hearts, compelling them to keep returning to the scene of their greatest sacrifice, forever searching for answers.

Tsukano provides his own answer:

Perhaps still, the answer is as simple as the known fact that each and every human being has a conscience which always demands that truth and justice must be preserved, cherished and protected. This ever present conscience was perhaps the catalyst which prompted the members of the Pearl Harbor Survivors Association to unanimously pass a resolution . . . (*Honolulu Star Bulletin*, 5 Dec. 1986, "The General the Admiral, and the Pearl Harbor Survivors").

honoring their Wartime Commander, the provisions of which merit careful study by all thoughtful citizens having an interest in the opinions of those who had studied the matter for 45 years, and who, in the process, had pursued, diligently, research leading to their final action.

Notable, too, is the fact that those who are charged with directing government operations in Washington, civilian and military, have failed, as is so very often the case, to set any example whatsoever, by refusing to adopt a course of action calculated to undo a grievous wrong.

(continued from page 4)

on the continuing tenacity of the Pearl Harbor Survivors' Association in its fight to vindicate the commanders of Army and Navy forces at Pearl, General Short and Admiral Kimmel, as to their role on that "day of infamy."

As ever, the book reviews reflect the broad concerns of Historical Revisionism, concerns imposed by the ruling historical Establishment's continuing obsessive attempts to hamper the rewriting of the propaganda of the victors of the Second World War. On the contrary, there are unremitting attempts by some, particularly militant Zionist interests, to drum up new hatreds out of old: witness the campaigns against Kurt Waldheim and German-American rocket expert Arthur Rudolph, campaigns ably dissected by historians John Ries and Robert Countess in their reviews of two relevant books.

Englishman Dennis Nayland Smith applauds an Austrian philosopher's persuasive case for Josef Stalin as a more able manipulator than either Adolf Hitler or the Führer's Western counterparts, Roosevelt and Churchill, while Jack Wikoff reviews yet another treatment of Hitler, this time in the form of a gloss on World War II caricatures, which fails to rise above wartime partisanship and hatreds.

Libertarians John Strang and Samuel Konkin throw approving yet critical glances on two books dealing with American history. The two libertarians' anti-statist perspective has afforded them valuable insights on a biography of the man who succeeded Dwight Eisenhower's brother as chief of America's wartime concentration camps for Japanese-Americans, as well as on a neo-Marxist study of the history of the American Left.

The necessity for Historical Revisionism, the bringing of historiography into accord with the facts, is being demonstrated daily by reports from the Soviet Union and China, where ruling elites are laboriously scrapping a wrong-headed and injurious scheme of history, politics and economics, Marxism-Leninism. Mao Tse-tung and Josef Stalin, each of whom consolidated a mighty continental empire, and went on to rule absolutely over his creation for three decades, have been relegated to the status of a virtual non-person, in Mao's case, or to the object of growing condemnation, in the case of Stalin. IHR and *The Journal of Historical Review* do not intend to confer cheap laurels on regimes which continue to oppress their own peoples and the subject nations under the rule, regimes which continue to falsify history by generating fake documents and perjured testimony in order to send innocent men to their deaths. Nevertheless, the ruthlessly practical men who wield power in the USSR and China are finding that they cannot reform the present without revising the official view of the past, a revision which has

lately included acknowledgement of the extent of and state role in the great Ukrainian hunger terror of the early thirties.

It is imperative that the leaders of the Western world now join in the trend toward historical revision now underway in the Communist nations by jettisoning wartime propaganda, including the Holocaust myth, that has long congealed into a hardened mass of antipathies and hatreds, ever ready for evocation against enemies old and new. The key to Western Revisionism, furthermore, is the skewed and distorted history of the two world wars, which continues to sap the West's collective will to reasoned deliberation and caution in matters foreign and domestic by holding the image of a diabolical enemy up to our politicians and our populace, an enemy which must not be "appeased," but rather annihilated, not once but again and again in ritual trials and auto-da-fés. If the *JHR*, and the Institute for Historical Review, have one great task, it is to bring home to the world, as forcefully as possible, that the ongoing Hitlermania and Nazi frenzy have not supplied a basis for peace and understanding, as good-hearted supporters of the United Nations and other peace schemes may have once thought: rather, unchallenged lies and distortions about the Second World War have supplied leaders, East and West, with all the weapons, and all the power, to accomplish far greater devastation and ruin than Hitler and his most evil henchmen ever could have dreamed.

—Theodore J. O'Keefe

About the Contributors

ROBERT H. COUNTESS holds a Ph.D. in New Testament textual studies from Bob Jones University, and an M.L.S. from Georgetown University. His book *The Jehovah's Witnesses' New Testament* is now in its second edition. Dr. Countess has published over fifty articles and book reviews, and is presently pursuing several Revisionist publishing projects.

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Carlo Mattogno

The Myth of the Extermination of the Jews — Part II

Enrique Aynat Eknes

Crematoriums II and III of Birkenau: A Critical Study

—Reviews—

*The Second Oldest Profession:
Spies and Spying in the Twentieth Century
German Big Business and the Rise of Hitler
The Third Reich and the Palestine Question*

—Historical News and Comment—

*The End of a Myth
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From the Editor

Recently the *New York Times* made it official: Revisionism has come of age in America. American historian Deborah Lipstadt has been hired by the Hebrew University in Jerusalem to study the Revisionists, of whom she fears "some of their positions could enter the mainstream."

We at the Institute for Historical Review are proud of the role of *The Journal of Historical Review* in fostering and promoting Historical Revisionism. Since its founding in 1980, *The Journal* has been the world's leading voice for bringing history into accord with the facts. And that voice is increasingly a worldwide voice.

This issue of *The Journal of Historical Review* features two substantial articles by European Revisionists, each of them another sturdy nail in the coffin of the extermination legend.

Italian Carlo Mattogno's conclusion of his two-part "Myth of the Extermination of the Jews" is remarkable for its comprehensive bibliographical survey of Revisionist writings on the "Holocaust," a survey which demonstrates beyond cavil the worldwide scope and power of Revisionist research. Mattogno has also accomplished a scintillating debunking of the "eyewitness" testimony to the gas-chamber murders, laying bare the contradictions and absurdities which abound in the stories of the supposed perpetrators and the self-proclaimed survivors alike.

Mattogno's broad overview of Holocaust Revisionism is complemented by Spaniard Enrique Aynat Eknes's careful study of the evidence for gassings and industrial-scale cremations in the two biggest crematoriums at Auschwitz. This article, meticulously documented, copiously illustrated, is certain to become a classic of Revisionist literature, and it powerfully bolsters the findings of American gas chamber expert Fred Leuchter (the introduction to whose groundbreaking report, by Robert Faurisson, appears in this issue's "Historical News and Comment" section).

We're pleased to welcome Professor Jim Martin, dean of Revisionist historians, back to these pages, and readers new to *The Journal* will have a chance to sample typically acerbic Martin wit in his review of Phillip Knightley's new book on twentieth-century espionage. Historian John Ries reviews important books on the financing of the National Socialists and on Germany's surprisingly pro-Zionist policies during the 1930's.

In addition to Robert Faurisson's introduction to the pathbreaking Leuchter report, mentioned above, we've translated an important interview, given by French historian and Mauthausen deportee Professor Michel de Boüard to the French newspaper *Ouest-France*. De Boüard, no Holocaust Revisionist but a man of courage and honor, defends the famous thesis of Henri Roques, *The "Confessions" of Kurt Gerstein*, which was revoked on the order of the French government (but will soon be published in English by the Institute for Historical Review).

We hope this issue of *The Journal* will give Professor Lipstadt some food for thought—we know it won't make her work any easier.

—Theodore J. O'Keefe

The Myth of the Extermination of the Jews: Part II

CARLO MATTOGNO

1. Birth and Development of Revisionism

National Socialist policy in the matter of Jewish emigration, pursued officially until the beginning of February 1942, thus posed a question that really was “throbbing,” to use again the adjective employed by Poliakov.

If it was true that *exterminating* the Jews “conformed to the fundamental objective of National Socialism”¹; if it was true that it was not “the coming to a head of an unforeseeable explosion of violence, or of a betrayal of trust by subordinates, but the fruit of an ideology of death and of an organic design”²; if it was true that “according to Hitler, among the ends that had to be achieved thanks to the war, the general extermination of the Jews had a very important place, to the realization of which the German government would devote a large part of its forces,”³ for what mysterious reason did Adolf Hitler deprive himself of at least a million victims by allowing them to emigrate?

It was thus inevitable that so atrocious an accusation, based essentially on “third and fourth hand accounts,” on “the game of psychological deductions,” knowing that “all these could offer was fragile and speculative,” and on “fragmentary and sometimes hypothetical answers,” be placed in doubt.

In the immediate post-war period and in the following years severe criticisms were formulated in regard to the trials of those who were called “Nazi war criminals”—in particular, the Nuremberg trial⁴—and concerning the behavior of the Allies during the war.⁵

The first to raise doubt about the reality of the “extermination” of the Jews was the Frenchman, Paul Rassinier,⁶ who is justly considered to be the precursor of present-day Revisionism. His work was taken up and carried on by other researchers who have produced a rich Revisionist literature, the most important works of which are:

- Auschwitz ou le grand alibi* (Auschwitz or the Great Alibi), *Le Prolétaire*, bi-monthly of the Communist Party International, 1960.
- Geschichte der Verfehlung Deutschlands* (History of the Outlawing of Germany) by Franz Scheidl, Vienna, published by the author, 1967.
- The Myth of the Six Million*, Anonymous, The Noontide Press, Costa Mesa, California 1969.
- The Big Lie: Six Million Murdered Jews*, by The Historical Research Unity, Fyshwick ACT Unity Printers and Publishers, 1970.
- Die Auschwitz-Lüge* (The Auschwitz Lie), by Thies Christophersen, Kritik-Verlag, Mohrkirch, West Germany, 1973.
- The Six Million Swindle*, by Austin J. App, Boniface Press, Takoma Park, Maryland, 1973.
- Hexen Ein-Mal-Eins einer Lüge* (Witches' Multiplication Table of a Lie), by Emil Aretz, Verlag Hohe Warte - Franz von Bebenburg, 1973.
- Did Six Million Really Die?*, by Richard Harwood, Historical Review Press, Brighton, Sussex, England, 1974.
- The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, by Arthur R. Butz, The Noontide Press, Costa Mesa, California, 1977.
- Robert Faurisson wrote his article "The Problem of the Gas Chambers" (*Défense de l'Occident*, No. 158, June 1978) and in *Le Monde* (29 December 1978) published "The Problem of the Gas Chambers, or the Rumor of Auschwitz," followed by a text, making use of the right to reply, 16 January 1979.
- The excellent study *Der Auschwitz Mythos: Legende oder Wirklichkeit?* (The Auschwitz Myth: Legend or Reality?), by Wilhelm Stäglich, Institute for Historical Review, Costa Mesa, California, 1986.
- The Six Million Reconsidered*, by the Committee for Truth in History, The Noontide Press, Costa Mesa, California, 1977.
- El Mito de los 6 Millones: El Fraude de los Judios Asesinados por Hitler* (The Myth of the Six Million: The Fraud of the Jews Murdered by Hitler), by J. Bochaca, Ediciones BAU, S.P. Barcelona, 1974.
- Anne Frank's Diary: A Hoax* by Ditlieb Felderer, Institute for Historical Review, Costa Mesa, California, 1979.
- Holocaust, hoe lang nog?* (Holocaust, How Much Longer?) Haro Boekdienst, Antwerpen.⁷

In 1979, at Northrup University in Los Angeles, the first Revisionist Conference was held, organized by the Institute for Historical Review, which, since spring 1980, has published the important quarterly *The Journal of Historical Review* with the collaboration of the most significant Revisionist historians around the World. This has contributed further to making Historical Revisionism an irrefutable reality, and an unstoppable intellectual movement. Indeed the Revisionist theses are attracting ever more defenders.

Since 1980, and up to the present, several works have been published, notably in France, in the wake of the Faurisson affair. Besides numerous articles appearing in *The Journal of Historical Review*, we draw attention to:

- Auschwitz Exit* (Vol. I), by Ditlieb Felderer, Täby, Sweden, 1980.
- 1981 Revisionist Bibliography: A Select Bibliography of Revisionist Books Dealing with the Two World Wars and Their Aftermaths*, compiled and annotated by Keith Stimely, Institute for Historical Review, Costa Mesa, California, 1980.
- Vor dem Tribunal der Sieger: Gesetzlose Justiz in Nürnberg* (Before the Victors' Tribunal: Lawless Justice in Nuremberg), by Hildegard Fritzsche, K.W. Schütz Kg, Preussisch-Oldendorf, West Germany, 1981.
- Auschwitz im IG-Farben Prozess: Holocaustdokumente?* (Auschwitz in the IG Farben Trial: Holocaust Documents?), edited by Udo Walendy, Verlag für Volkstum und Zeitgeschichtsforschung, Vlotho/Weser, West Germany, 1981.
- Holocaust nun unterirdisch?* (Holocaust Now Subterranean?), *Historische Tatsachen* (Historical Facts), No. 9, Vlotho/Weser, 1981.
- Kenntnismängel der Alliierten* (The Allies' Defective Knowledge), *Historische Tatsachen* No. 11, 1982.
- Adolf Eichmann und die "Skelettsammlung des Ahnenerbe e.V."* (Adolf Eichmann and the "Skeleton Collection of the Ancestral Heritage Association") *Historische Tatsachen* No. 16, 1983.
- Einsatzgruppen im Verbands des Heeres* (Operations Groups in the Structure of the Army), *Historische Tatsachen* No. 16 and No. 17, 1983.
- Alliierte Kriegspropaganda 1914-1919* (Allied War Propaganda, 1914-1919), *Hist. Tatsachen* No. 22, 1985.
- Ich suchte—und fand die Wahrheit* (I Sought—and Found the Truth), Robert Faurisson, Kritik, No. 58, Kritik-Verlag, Mohrkirch, 1982.

—The 'Holocaust': 120 Questions and Answers, Charles E. Weber, Institute for Historical Review, Costa Mesa, 1983.

—Nazi Gassing a Myth? IHR Special Report, Institute for Historical Review, Costa Mesa, 1983.

—The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry, Walter N. Sanning, Institute for Historical Review, Costa Mesa, 1983.

—Le grands truquages de l'histoire (The Great Frauds of History), by Hervé Le Goff, Editions Jacques Grancher, Paris, 1983. Includes a study of the Anne Frank diary imposture.⁸

—The Man Who Invented "Genocide", James J. Martin, Institute for Historical Review, Costa Mesa, 1984.

—"Massentötungen" oder Desinformation? ("Mass Killings" or Disinformation?), by Ingrid Weckert, Historische Tatsachen No. 24, 1985.

—Macht + Prozesse = "Wahrheit"? (Power + Trial = "Truth"?), Historische Tatsachen No. 25, 1985.

—Amtliche Lügen straffrei, Bürgerzweifel kriminell (Official Lies Unpenalized, Citizens' Doubts Criminal), Historische Tatsachen No. 29, 1985.

—Die Befreiung von Auschwitz 1945 (The Liberation of Auschwitz 1945), Historische Tatsachen No. 31, 1987.

—Die Farce des sowjetischen Kommissionsberichtes vom 7. Mai 1945 (The Farce of the Soviet Commission Report of 7 May 1945), Historische Tatsachen No. 33, 1988.

All the Historische Tatsachen cited, except for No. 24, are by Udo Walendy.

—Dachau . . . Buchenwald . . . Belsen, etc. Z.L. Smith, Antwerp, Vrij Historisch Onderzoek (Free Historical Research), 1984.

—Het Dagboek van Anne Frank: een Vervalsing (The Diary of Anne Frank: A Falsification), Robert Faurisson, Antwerp: Vrij Historisch Onderzoek, 1985.

—Worldwide Growth and Impact of "Holocaust" Revisionism. IHR Special Report, Institute for Historical Review, Costa Mesa, 1985.

—L'onestà polemica del signor Vidal-Naquet. A proposito dell'edizione italiana di un suo libro (The Honest Polemic of Mr. Vidal-Naquet, on the Italian edition of one of his books), Cesare Saletta, Sala Bolognese, 1985.

—Droit et Histoire (Law and History), Pierre Guillaume, La Vieille Taupe, Paris, 1986.

We add the most significant works on the Faurisson affair:

—Mémoire en défense contre ceux qui m'accusent de falsifier l'histoire. La question des chambres à gaz (Defense

Memorandum against Those Who Accuse Me of Falsifying History. The Question of the Gas Chambers), Robert Faurisson, La Vieille Taupe, 1980. A work of exceptional value.

—*Vérité historique ou vérité politique ? Le dossier de l'affaire Faurisson. La question des chambres à gaz* (Historical Truth, or Political Truth? The Faurisson Affair File: The Question of the Gas Chambers) Serge Thion, La Vieille Taupe, 1980.

—*L’Affaire Faurisson* (The Faurisson Affair), *Le Lutteur de classe*, November 1961.

—*Intolérable Intolérance* (Intolerable Intolerance). Jean-Gabriel Cohn-Bendit, Eric Delcroix, Claude Karnoouh, Vincent Monteil and Jean-Louis Tristani. Editions de la Différence, 1981.

—*L’Incroyable Affaire Faurisson* (The Incredible Faurisson Affair), *Les petits suppléments au Guide des droits des victimes*, No. 1, La Vieille Taupe, 1982.

—*Réponse à Pierre Vidal-Naquet* (Reply to Pierre Vidal-Naquet), Robert Faurisson. Second enlarged edition, 1962, published by the author. La Vieille Taupe, 1982.

—*L’Affaire Faurisson* (The Faurisson Affair), by Marie-Paule Mémy. Memorandum of D.U.T., University of Bordeaux III, Option Journalism 1982-1983.

—*Epilogue judiciaire de l’Affaire Faurisson* (Judiciary Epilogue to the Faurisson Affair), La Vieille Taupe, 1983.

—*Il caso Faurisson* (The Faurisson Case), Andrea Chersi, Castenedolo, 1983. Published by the author.⁹

In January 1985 the first number of the Spanish Revisionist review, *Revision* was published in Alicante.

Since the spring of 1987 the important review *Annales d’histoire révisionniste* has been published in France.

We call attention also to the Revisionist journal *Taboe. Revisionistisch tijdschrift voor kritisch en wetenschappelijk onderzoek* (Tabu, Revisionist periodical for critical and scientific research), Antwerp, Belgium.

Lastly, may we be permitted to mention our own studies:

Published by Sentinella d’Italia, Monfalcone:

—*Il rapporto Gerstein. Anatomia di un falso* (The Gerstein Report: Anatomy of a Fraud), 1982.

—*La Risiera di San Sabba: un falso grossolano* (The ricery of San Sabba: A Gross Hoax), 1985.

Published by La Sfinge, Parma:

—*Wellers e i “gasati” di Auschwitz* (Wellers and the “Gassed” of Auschwitz), 1987.

- Auschwitz: due false testimonianze* (Auschwitz: Two False Testimonies), 1986.
- Auschwitz: un caso di plagio* (Auschwitz: A Case of Plagiarism), 1986.

Further:

- Auschwitz: le confessioni di Rudolf Höss* (Auschwitz: The False Confessions of Rudolf Höss), 1987.
- Come si falsifica la storia: Georges Wellers e le “camere a gas” di Belzec* (How History is Falsified: Georges Wellers and the “Gas Chambers” at Belzec). To be published.
- Medico ad Auschwitz. Anatomia di un falso. La falsa testimonianza di Miklos Nyiszli* (Doctor in Auschwitz: Anatomy of a Fraud: The False Testimony of Miklos Nyiszli). To be published.¹⁰

This vast literature is of unequal value and ranges from superficial and often inexact declarations—rightly criticized by the Exterminationist historians, as Revisionists call those who maintain the reality of the “Extermination” of the Jews—to methodical and profound research.

This literature has aroused reactions of diverse types.¹¹

On the literary plane, a number of highly passionate writings seek to discredit the Revisionists, be it by personal defamation, be it by distorting their theses in order to hold them up to ridicule, be it by trying to make Revisionism appear as an integral part of “an international neo-Nazi movement,” that is to say, of a resurgence of Nazi anti-Semitism, as is implied expressly by Robert Kempner.¹²

This attempt appears clearly in the titles that occur most frequently in this literature:

- “Criticism of the Publicity of the Anti-Semitic Extreme Right”;¹³
- “A Look at Neo-Nazi Literature”;¹⁴
- “The Final Solution and Neo-Nazi Mythomania”;¹⁵
- “The Final Solution of the Jewish Question in the Recent Neo-Nazi literature.”¹⁶

Among the most virulent articles, we point out:

- “La politica dello struzzo” (Ostrich Politics), Augusto Segre, *La Rassegna Mensile di Israel*, January-March 1979.
- “La distruzione della ragione” (The Destruction of Reason), Giuseppe Laras, *La Rassegna Mensile di Israel*, August-September 1973.
- “Le camere a gas sono esistite!” (The Gas Chambers Existed!), reply by Enzo Collotti to Robert Faurisson. *Storia Illustrata* No.

262, September 1979. (See on this subject: Faurisson Replies to Collotti, *Storia Illustrata* No. 263, October 1979).

Stefano Levi della Torre dedicated a paragraph to Revisionism in the article "New Forms of Jew-phobia" that is included in the section "Anti-Semitism Today."¹⁷

In reality, the accusation is baseless, and is clearly intended as propaganda. The credentials of the man who is considered to be the founder of Revisionism, Paul Rassinier, leave no doubt in that regard: socialist, resistant, arrested by the Gestapo in October 1943, tortured for eleven days, deported to Buchenwald, then to Dora, in which camps he spent 19 months, 95 per cent invalided as a result of his deportation, bearer of the Vermilion Medal of French Gratitude (*Médaille Vermeil de la Reconnaissance Française*) and of the "Rosette de la Résistance." In France, the legacy of Rassinier has been assumed by elements of the Left, beginning with the group that manages the publishing house *La Vieille Taupe* (The Old Mole).¹⁸

Other Exterminationist writers, while displaying all the emotion invariably engendered by an expression of doubt in regard to the "extermination" of the Jews, try to place themselves on the plane of objective criticism. Among the most significant, we call attention to:

– "Lies About the Holocaust," Lucy Dawidowicz, *Commentary*, December, 1980.

– "Les redresseurs de morts." [Translator's note: Here the Exterminationist indulges herself archly in a "Jeu de mots" or, more simply, a pun on "redresseurs de torts" – "righters of wrongs"] *Chambres à gaz: la bonne nouvelle. Comme on revise l'histoire.* (The Redressers of the Dead. Gas Chambers: The Good News: How History is Revised) by Nadine Fresco. *Les Temps Modernes*, No. 707, June 1980. The author undertakes to show the historiographic methods of Revisionism.

– *Les chambres à gaz ont existé. Des documents, des témoignages, des chiffres* (The Gas Chambers Did Exist. Documents, Testimonies, Numbers), Georges Wellers. Editions Gallimard, 1981. A work directed against Robert Faurisson.

– *La Solution Finale et la mythomanie neo-nazie* (The Final Solution and Neo-Nazi Mythomania), Georges Wellers. Published by Beate and Serge Klarsfeld, 1979. A work directed against Paul Rassinier.

– *Six Million Did Die*, Arthur Suzman and Denis Diamond. Johannesburg, 1978. A work directed against Richard Harwood and Arthur Butz.

– "Un Eichmann de papier: Anatomie d'un mensonge" (A Paper Eichmann: Anatomy of a Lie), Pierre Vidal-Naquet in *Les Juifs, la mémoire et le présent* (Jews, Memory, and the

Present), Paris, 1981. Study directed against Robert Faurisson.

–“Tesi sul revisionismo” (Theses on Revisionism), Pierre Vidal-Naquet. *Rivista di Storia Contemporanea*, Loescher, Turin, January, 1983. A general article against Revisionism.

–*Nationalsozialistische Massentötungen durch Giftgas* (National Socialist Mass Killings by Poison Gas), by Eugen Kogon, Hermann Langbein, Adalbert Rückerl and others. Frankfurt-am-Main, 1983. A collective work of 24 historians aimed at refuting, indirectly, the whole of Revisionist historiography.

–“A propos d’une thèse de doctorat ‘explosive’ sur le rapport Gerstein” (An “Explosive” Doctoral Thesis on the Gerstein Report), Georges Wellers. *Le Monde Juif*, No. 121, January-March 1986. An article directed against Henri Roques.¹⁹

Some attempts to affirm the Exterminationist “truth” have had the opposite effect. Particularly interesting in this respect are:

–*The Holocaust Revisited: A Retrospective Analysis of the Auschwitz-Birkenau Extermination Complex*, Dino A. Brugioni and Robert G. Poirier. Central Intelligence Agency, Washington D.C., U.S. Department of Commerce, National Technical Information Service, February 1979. A work in which aerial photographs of Auschwitz-Birkenau taken by the U.S. Air Force in 1944, are published, these demolish the myth of the immense exterminations that were supposed to have been perpetrated in these camps in 1944.

–“Les Krematorien IV et V de Birkenau et leurs chambres à gaz” (Crematories IV and V of Birkenau and Their Gas Chambers), Jean-Claude Pressac, *Le Monde Juif*, No. 107, July-September 1982. See the account given by Robert Faurisson “Le mythe des chambres à gaz entre en agonie,” (The Myth of the Gas Chambers Enters Its Death-Phase), reply to Pierre Vidal-Naquet, second enlarged edition, *La Vieille Taupe*, 1982.

–*The Auschwitz Album*. After an album discovered by Lili Meier, survivor of the concentration camp. Text by Peter Hellman. See the analysis by Robert Faurisson, “Les Tricheries de l’Album d’Auschwitz” (*The Trickeries of The Auschwitz Album*), typed text, unpublished, 1983.

But the reactions of the opponents of Revisionism are not restricted to the literary plane. The lawsuits brought against Revisionists—to the end of obtaining official condemnation by the courts of the adversary theses—attest to the inability of the official historians to refute the Revisionist arguments seriously and convincingly.

Certain affairs, such as those of Christophersen, of Faurisson, and

of Felderer have become unhappily celebrated.²⁰

Of doleful renown, too, is the Bundesprüfstelle für jugendgefährdende Schriften, a national agency for the examination and censoring of texts held to “put youth in jeopardy” in the Federal Republic of Germany, a simple method for the exercise of legal control over Revisionist literature, whose works are put on this index regularly! (Index für jugendgefährdende Schriften).²¹

The case of Dr. Wilhelm Stäglich attests to the blind intolerance practiced against those who, relying on sober documentation, deny the “extermination of the Jews.” In November 1982, the Council of Deans of the Georg-August University of Göttingen, where he had obtained his Doctorate in Law in 1951, proceeded to revoke his doctor’s title for having written the excellent *Der Auschwitz Mythos* which, in the opinion of this not exactly objective Council, made Wilhelm Stäglich “unworthy of the title of Doctor.”²²

Recently, Henri Roques—the case is unique in French university history—has seen the confirmation of his doctoral thesis on the confessions of Kurt Gerstein,²³ which unleashed an entire polemic²⁴ but remains unchallenged by any serious refutation, annulled because of presumed administrative irregularities.²⁵

2. Revisionist Criticism

It would be difficult to summarize the results of Revisionist criticism in a few pages. Besides, we are concerned here not so much with presenting the results of Revisionist research than Revisionism’s reason for being, and its methodology, and that is why we devote this chapter to explaining the reasons why, in our opinion, it is necessary to doubt the reality of the “extermination” of the Jews.

At the time of the Nuremberg trial, the English public prosecutor, Sir Hartley Shawcross, in his speech for the prosecution of 26 July 1946, accused the Germans of having killed more than six million Jews “in the gas chambers and ovens of Auschwitz, Dachau, Treblinka, Buchenwald, Mauthausen, and Oranienburg.”¹

Each one of these “gas chambers,” naturally, had its “eye-witnesses.”

Abbé Georges Hénocque described that of Buchenwald as follows:

I felt reassured and, opening the iron door, I found myself in the famous gas chamber.

The room could have been about five meters square, with a height of three and a half meters. Seventeen sprinkler heads fastened and placed at regular intervals in the ceiling. Looking at them revealed nothing of their murderous function. They resembled harmless water dispensers. The deportees employed in the crematorium forewarned me: in a touch of irony, each victim, on entering this room, was given

a towel, and a minuscule bit of soap. These unfortunates believed they were going into the shower. Then the heavy iron door, bordered with a kind of rubber seal a half-centimeter thick, designed to prevent the entry of the least bit of air, was closed on them.

On the inside, the walls were smooth, without fissures, as though varnished. On the outside, one noticed, on the side of the door lintel, four buttons, placed one under the other; one red, one yellow, one green, one white.

Yet, one detail worried me: I could not understand how the gas could descend from the sprinkler outlets to the floor. The room in which I found myself was skirted by a corridor. I went into it and there I saw an enormous pipe that my two arms could not encompass completely, which was covered with rubber to a thickness of about one centimeter.

On the side, a handle that one turned from left to right released the gas. Under strong pressure, it descended to the floor, so that none of the victims could escape what the Germans called "the slow and sweet death."

Below the spot where the pipe formed an elbow to enter the asphyxiation chamber, there were the same buttons as on the outside door: red, green, yellow, and white, which served evidently to measure the descent of the gas. Everything was really put together and organized scientifically. The evil genius could not have done better. I went back into the gas chamber to try to find the crematory room.²

SS-Obersturmbannführer Kaindl, former commandant of the Oranienburg-Sachsenhausen camp, declared before a Soviet military tribunal:

Toward mid-March 1943, I installed a gas chamber as a means for mass extermination.

Public Prosecutor: On your own initiative?

Kaindl: Partly, yes, the existing installations no longer sufficed for the projected extermination. I held a conference in which the head doctor, Baumkötter, took part. He told me that the use of a poison gas, such as prussic acid, in rooms prepared for that purpose produced instant death.

That is why I considered the installation of gas chambers to be in order, and also because it was more humane, for mass killings.³

On the subject of the Dachau camp, Dr. Franz Blaha, in a sworn statement, affirmed:

There were numerous executions by gas, executions by firearms, and by injections, in the camp. The gas chamber was finished in 1944, and I called Dr. Rascher to examine the first victim. Of the eight or nine persons in the chamber, three were still alive; the others seemed to be dead. Their eyes were red and their faces bloated. Numerous detainees were subsequently killed in the same manner.⁴

On 19 August 1960, the German newspaper *Die Zeit*, under the headline "No Gassings in Dachau," published a letter by Dr. Martin

Broszat of the Institute for Contemporary History in Munich, in which he declared:

Neither at Dachau, nor at Bergen-Belsen, nor at Buchenwald, were Jews or other detainees gassed. The gas chamber at Dachau was never completely finished, nor put "into service."

And further:

The mass extermination of Jews by gassing began in 1941-1942, and took place exclusively in a few locations chosen for that purpose and provided with corresponding technical installations, above all in the occupied Polish territories (but nowhere in the Old Reich): at Auschwitz-Birkenau, at Sobibor on the Bug, at Treblinka, Chelmno, and Belzec.⁵

The reservations expressed in this letter were made explicit by Dr. Broszat in the "Preliminary Note" to the article by Ino Arndt and Wolfgang Scheffler in *Organisierter Massenmord an Juden in national-sozialistischen Vernichtungslagern* (Organized Mass Murder of Jews in National Socialist Extermination Camps):

As we have pointed out already, the extermination of Jews in the institutional sense (accomplishment of the program of the "final solution") by means of gassing installations took place exclusively in the aforementioned camps in the occupied Polish territories.⁶ In turn, in the concentration camps generally, there were indeed crematories (for the cremation of the detainees who died en masse or were killed during the war) but no gassing installations. However, where that was the case [the alleged presence of gas chambers] (Ravensbrück, Natzweiler, Mauthausen) they did not serve for the extermination of Jews in the sense of the "final solution" program. They served rather to ease the "work" of the execution commandos, which until now consisted in shooting the detainees, killing them by injections of phenol, and by other methods.⁷

Simon Wiesenthal confirms that "there were no extermination camps on German soil."⁸

In conclusion, neither at Buchenwald, nor at Oranienburg-Sachsenhausen, were there "gas chambers," while the alleged "gas chamber" at Dachau was never used,⁹ as can be read also in the official publication on this camp:

The "gas chamber" at Dachau was never put into service. Only the dead were put into the crematory for cremation, never any living being for "gassing."¹⁰

Or further:

As we have said already, Dachau in the last year had its own gas chamber. But its "showers" were never used.¹¹

Consequently, the "eyewitness testimonies" of those who pretended to have seen "gas chambers" in these camps, or to have taken part in the "gassings" there, are false.

That state of affairs should have moved any serious historian to undertake a critical review of *all* sources concerning the “extermination” of the Jews, but nothing of the kind happened.¹²

The question that Robert Faurisson asks is more than legitimate:

Why are the “proofs,” the “certainties,” and “testimonies” gathered about the camps that, geographically, are close to us, suddenly without value, while the “proofs,” “certainties,” and the “testimonies” collected about the camps in Poland remain true?¹³

The question appears yet more legitimate when one considers what Gerald Reitlinger, who is an Exterminationist, writes about the evidence relating to the Polish “extermination camps”:

The greater part of the documentation on the death camps in Poland, for example, has been gathered by commissions inquiry of the Polish government, and by the Central Commission for Jewish History in Poland, by interrogating the physically able survivors who rarely were educated men.

Moreover, the Eastern European Jew is by nature a rhetorician, he loves to express himself in florid comparisons. While one witness declared that the victims coming from the far west arrived at the death camp in sleeping cars, he probably wanted to say they came in passenger coaches, not in cattle cars. At times their imagination went beyond all credibility, as when the food smugglers of the ghetto were described as men of gigantic stature, with pockets that went from the neck to the ankles. Even readers who do not suffer from racial prejudices may find it a bit too thick to be able to digest the details of the monstrous assassinations and are led to cry “credat Judaeus Apella [Translator’s note: “Let the Jew Apella believe it,”] and to relegate these recitals among the fables. Basically, the readers have the right to think that it is a case of “Oriental” witnesses, for whom numbers are nothing but rhetorical elements. Even their names, Sunschein, Zylberdukaten, (silver ducats), Rothbalsam (red balsam), Salamander—seem drawn from the imagination.¹⁴

In regard to the working method of the inquiry commissions and to the “testimonies” they gathered, Reitlinger states explicitly:

One cannot but agree with R.T. Paget, K.C., member of the House of Commons, when he says that the researches undertaken by the Polish Government commission after the war are of mediocre probatory value. They consists, in effect, essentially of detached descriptions, by isolated persons, very rarely confirmed by other sources.¹⁵

The “proof” of the existence of the “gas chambers” in the so-called “extermination camps” in the East thus consist almost exclusively of extremely suspect “eyewitness testimonies” whose truthfulness is upheld *a priori* by the historians who maintain the reality of the “extermination” of the Jews, and the intentional lack of critical spirit is the essential characteristic of their historiographic method.

The analysis of such “proofs” and their mutual contradictions,

however, should lead Exterminationist historians to employ greater prudence.

The study of the genesis of the myth of the “extermination” of the Jews, at Treblinka, at Sobibor, and at Belzec, for example, is very revealing in this regard. One of the first “eyewitness testimonies” about Treblinka—the report sent 15 November 1942 by the clandestine organization of the Warsaw ghetto to the Polish government-in-exile in London—describes the “extermination” of the Jews in the camp as being carried out by water vapor (steam)!

In March 1942—this report reads—the Germans began the construction of the new camp of Treblinka B—on the edge of Treblinka A—which was finished at the end of April 1942. Toward the first half of September it comprised two “death houses.” The “house of death No. 2” was of masonry, about 40 meters long and 15 meters wide. According to the story of one eyewitness, it contained ten rooms arranged along the two sides of a corridor that traversed the whole building. Pipes through which the steam passed were installed in these rooms. The “house of death No. 1” consisted of three rooms and one boiler. The report continues:

Inside the furnace-room is a large boiler for the production of steam, and with the help of pipes that run through the death rooms, which are provided with an appropriate number of holes, the superheated steam is injected into the interior of the rooms.

The “victims” were put into the rooms mentioned above, and killed by the steam:

In that manner the execution rooms are filled completely, then the doors are closed hermetically, and the long asphyxiation of the victims, by the steam coming out of the numerous holes in the pipes, begins. At the start, screams come from inside; they die down slowly; after 15 minutes the execution is completed.¹⁶

This story was taken up and raised to the rank of official truth by the Central Commission for Investigation of German crimes in Poland, which accused the former governor, Hans Frank, of having ordered the installation of an “extermination camp” at Treblinka for the massive elimination of the Jews “in steam-filled rooms.”¹⁷

The myth of the “carbon monoxide gas chambers”¹⁸ was later imposed and still constitutes the official truth in regard to the three “extermination camps” of the East.

What happened is simple: the “steam chambers” of the 15 November 1942 report were simply turned into “gas chambers”!

Thus the “eyewitness” Yankel Wiernik wrote that at Treblinka Jews were killed in two buildings, one large, with ten “gas chambers,” the other small, with three “gas chambers,”¹⁹ exactly as in the two “death houses” with ten and three “steam rooms” of the report cited above. The very arrangement of the rooms in the new buildings is drawn

entirely from the report of 15 November 1942: ten chambers arranged along the two sides of a corridor that traversed the whole building.²⁰

That this “eyewitness” may be little worthy of credence can already be deduced from what he affirms: in each “gas chamber,” measuring about “150 square feet” (i.e., about 14 square meters), about 1,000 to 1,200 persons were packed,²¹ i.e., to a density of 71 to 85 persons per square meter!

We are, then, in the presence of one of those “eyewitnesses” for whom, as Gerald Reitlinger, put it, “numbers are merely rhetorical devices.”

In 1946 the “gas chambers” of Sobibor were described thus:

At first glance, one had the impression of entering a bathroom like any other: faucets for hot and cold water, wash basins . . . once everyone had entered, the doors close heavily. A black heavy substance issues in spirals from the holes made in the ceiling. One hears horrible shrieks that, however, do not last long, as they are transformed into smothered and suffocated breathing, then into final convulsions. It is related that mothers covered their babies' corpses with their bodies.

The warden of the “bathroom” observed the whole train of events through a hole in the ceiling. Everything is over in a quarter of an hour. The floor opens, and the cadavers fall into carts waiting below which, when they are full, quickly depart. All is organized according to the most modern German technology. Outside, the bodies are laid out in a certain order and sprayed with gasoline, then set on fire.²²

The “eyewitness” Zelda Metz furnished the following description:

Thereupon they went into the barracks where they cut the women's hair, then into the bathroom, that is to say, the gas chamber. They were asphyxiated by chlorine. After 15 minutes they were all asphyxiated. Through a skylight it was verified that all were dead. Then the floor opened automatically. The cadavers fell into a railroad car that ran through the gas chamber and carried the cadavers to the ovens.²³

But, from 1947 the Central Commission for the Investigation of German Crimes in Poland opted for murder “by combustion gas produced by motors: in the ceiling were openings connected by pipes with openings situated in adjoining buildings, which produced the CO gas with which the victims were suffocated,”²⁴ thus recognizing that the “testimonies” mentioned above were false. But that did not keep Zelda Metz from presenting herself as a prosecution witness at the trial of the former Sobibor guards Hubert Gomerski and Johan Klier²⁵ on 23 August 1950, in the course of which the public prosecutor declared specifically that “executions by motor-exhaust gas had taken place.”²⁶

The “eyewitness testimonies” about Belzec are even more instructive.

The first myth about the “extermination of the Jews” was born 8 April 1942, only three weeks after the opening of the camp: “The victims were assembled in a shack that had a metallic plate as its floor through which was passed an electric current that killed the Jews instantly.”²⁷

A similar story appeared in the *Kronika oswiecimska nieznanego autora* (Auschwitz Chronicle by an Unknown Author) that was supposed to have been dug up on the grounds of the old Auschwitz camp: “At Belzec the Jews were electrocuted.”²⁸

A report dated 10 July 1942 arrived in London in November of that year.²⁹ Published December 1st in the *Polish Fortnightly Review*, it describes the “extermination of the Jews” at Belzec in this way:

After unloading, the men go to a barracks on the right, the women to a barracks situated on the left, where they strip, ostensibly in readiness for a bath. After they have undressed both groups go to a third barracks where there is an electrified plate, where the executions are carried out.³⁰

A variant of the myth substitutes water for the metallic plate: “The Jews were killed by passing an electric current through the water in which they were immersed.”³¹

The version of execution on a metallic plate reappeared in a report of November 1942:

The victims are ordered to strip naked—to have a bath, ostensibly—and are then led to a barrack with a metal plate for flooring. The door is then locked, electric current passes through the victims and their death is almost instantaneous.³²

In the report of the Polish government in exile in London, dated 10 December 1942, one reads, among other things:

At first, the executions were carried out by means of shooting; subsequently, however, it is reported that the Germans applied new methods, such as poison gas, by means of which the Jewish population was exterminated in Chelm, or electrocution, for which a camp was organized in Belzec, where, in the course of March and April 1942, the Jews from the provinces of Lublin, Lwow and Kielce to the number of tens of thousands were exterminated.³³

The story was repeated 19 December 1942 in a declaration by the “Inter-Allied Information Committee”:

Actual data concerning the fate of the deportees is not at hand, but the news is available—irrefutable news—that places of execution have been organized at Chelm and Belzec, where those who survive shootings are murdered en masse by means of electrocution and lethal gas.³⁴

A report 1 November 1943 thus described the “Hell of Belzec”:

The Jews who were sent to Belzec were ordered to undress as though to take a bath. They were in fact led into a bathing facility that

could hold several hundred people. But there they were killed en masse by electric current.³⁵

In 1944 the myth was enriched: a new version bringing together the metallic plate and the water themes was elaborated. On 12 February 1944 the *New York Times* published the following recital of “a young Polish Jew” on the “extermination factory” at Beljec (the *New York Times*’ spelling):

The Jews were forced naked on to a metallic platform operated like a hydraulic elevator, which lowered them into a huge vat filled with water to the victims’ necks, he declared. They were electrocuted by current through the water. The elevator then lifted the bodies to a crematorium above, the youth said. The source of this narrative is “individuals who escaped after actually being taken inside the factory.”³⁶

It came, therefore, from “eyewitnesses.”

This new form of the myth was taken up in 1945 by Stefan Szende. The transports of Jews “entered by a tunnel into the underground spaces of the execution place.” The “extermination technique” described by Szende is lifted, at the least, from science fiction.

When trainloads of naked Jews arrived they were herded into a great hall capable of holding several thousand people. This hall has no windows and its flooring was of metal. Once the Jews were all inside, the floor of this hall sank like a lift into a great tank of water which lay below it until the Jews were up to their waists in water. Then a powerful electric current was sent into the metal flooring and within a few seconds all the Jews, thousands at a time, were dead.

The metal flooring then rose again and the water drained away. The corpses of the slaughtered Jews were now heaped all over the floor. A different current was then switched on and the metal flooring rapidly became red hot, so that the corpses were incinerated as in a crematorium and only ash was left.

The floor was then tipped up and the ashes slid out into prepared receptacles. The smoke of the process was carried away by great factory chimneys. That was the whole procedure.³⁷

Another version of the myth mentions an “electric oven” (!) as the instrument of execution:

Then they went into a third barrack that held an electric oven. It is in that barrack that the executions took place.³⁸

In 1945 the first version of the myth was raised to the rank of official truth as far as the Belzec “extermination camp” was concerned. It was accepted in the report of the Polish government and read by the Soviet representative of the prosecution, L.N. Smirnov, at the 19 December 1945 hearing of the Nuremberg trial:

In the same report, in the last chapter, on page 136 of the book of documents we find a declaration on the fact that the camp at Beldjitz³⁹ was constructed in 1940; however, the special electrical

equipment for mass extermination of people was installed in 1942. Under the pretext of having them take a bath, the people were constrained to undress completely, and pushed into a building the floor of which was electrified; there they were killed.⁴⁰

The myth of the “extermination” of Jews at Belzec by electricity was not the only one [regarding Belzec] to circulate in the course of the Second World War.

The “eyewitness” Jan Karski, who claims to have visited this camp in the uniform of the Estonian Guard, describes a somewhat singular “extermination” procedure:

The Jews were loaded in boxcars the floors of which were covered with quicklime. When the loading was complete, the train departed for an uninhabited area 80 miles from Belzec, where it remained unopened until all the Jews were dead through the corrosive action of the lime and suffocation.⁴¹

Despite the detailed “eyewitness testimonies” to which we are referred, the myth of the carbon monoxide “gas chamber” has also been imposed definitively as official truth about Belzec. This myth, which has received the official sanction of the Commission for the Investigation of German Crimes in Poland⁴² appeared suddenly in 1946, in the collection *Dokumenty i Materiały*.⁴³

The new version is based on the “eyewitness testimony” of Rudolf Reder,⁴⁴ testimony that is in large part a plagiarism of the famous Gerstein Report.⁴⁵

The “eyewitness testimony” of Kurt Gerstein, SS-Obersturmführer, on the “extermination camp” of Belzec is a typical instance of the absence of a critical spirit, and of the bad faith of official historians when they choose their “evidence.”

In our study *The Gerstein Report: Anatomy of a Fraud*, we pointed out 103 absurdities, internal and external contradictions, historical falsifications, contradictions of the official historiography, hyperbolic exaggerations, and improbabilities, so that one cannot accord the least credibility to this “eyewitness testimony.”

But that does not trouble in any way the official historians, who declared almost unanimously:

The veracity of the Gerstein Report is in no doubt today.⁴⁶

The objective plausibility of all the essential details of the report is not in question.⁴⁷

The official historians justify the false testimonies—that they themselves recognize as such—about Treblinka, Sobibor, and Belzec, in maintaining that during the war there was precise knowledge only of the existence of “extermination,” but not of its concrete modalities and techniques. Pierre Vidal-Naquet writes on this subject:

In the flood of information that came out of the occupied territories,

there was the true, the less true, and the false. Of the general sense of what was happening, there was no doubt. In regard to the methods, there was often cause to hesitate between the one and the other.

He admits also that there were “fantasies and myths” but declares that these did not exist by themselves, but rather as “a shadow cast by reality, as an extension of reality.”⁴⁸

This argumentation is an excellent application of the methodological principle “the conclusion precedes the proofs,” which Pierre Vidal-Naquet attributes to the Revisionist historians.⁴⁹

Indeed we encounter again, *mutatis mutandis*, Robert Faurisson’s question as to why the “eyewitness testimonies” to the “steam rooms” of Treblinka, to the “chlorine gas,” and to the “cellars” of Sobibor, and to the “extermination” of the Jews by electricity or by death-trains at Belzec, suddenly are held to be false, while the “eyewitness testimonies” to the “gas chambers” are considered true?

It is important to emphasize that we are dealing here with “eyewitness testimonies” strictly equivalent in their credibility (or, more exactly, in their “incredibility”) and completely contradictory as to their content, so that it is only when the existence of the “gas chambers” is postulated *a priori*—the conclusion precedes the proof—that one can speak of “fantasies” and “myths” that are “like a shadow cast by reality.”

For the rest, to touch again on the measure of that “reality,” it is enough to study the genesis of the myth of the “gas chambers” of Auschwitz.

That myth was imposed very late in the day, and that is surprising, since the largest of all the places of execution, the *death-factory of Auschwitz-Birkenau*, succeeded in keeping its secret until the summer of 1944.⁵⁰

The reports of the Slovakian Jews (Alfred Wetzler and Rudolf Vrba) who escaped from Auschwitz 7 April⁵¹ circulated in July 1944, reports that were published in the United States by the War Refugee Board in November of the same year, with two other reports,⁵² one by two Jews who escaped from Auschwitz on 27 May (Czeslaw Mordowicz and Arnost Rosin), the other by a “Polish commander” who is not otherwise identified.

The most important of these so-called “official reports of Auschwitz,” that of Alfred Wetzler, is visibly false: this one presents a plan and a description of Crematoria I and II (II and III, according to the official numerical designation) that are in fact completely invented, as is seen by a simple comparison with the original plan. He states that in the “oven room” there were “nine ovens, each with four openings” placed around a high smokestack, which also is false in regard to the number as well as to the arrangement of the ovens; since in Crematoria II and III there were in fact five ovens each, having three openings, arranged lengthwise, one beside the other.⁵³

The “gas chamber,” according to Wetzler, was on the surface, since Wetzler tells us that the SS whose job it was to introduce the gas chamber onto the roof, which, too, is wholly false, as the mortuary chamber I, the so-called “gas chamber” was, in fact, underground.⁵⁴

Besides, again according to Wetzler, a track led from “the ‘gas chamber’ to the oven room,”⁵⁵ which also is false, in view of the fact that the oven room was on the ground level.⁵⁶

But none of this hinders the official historians in presenting this report as though it were true. The case of Georges Wellers is typical, since he uses, stupidly, Alfred Wetzler’s false description in two works in which the correct original plan of Crematorium II in Birkenau is reproduced.⁵⁷ But that is not all. He tries painfully to minimize the very grave contradictions in the “eyewitness report” of Alfred Wetzler, writing:

That some witnesses have committed errors of detail in their various descriptions is understandable. It is thus that Wetzler speaks of three openings in the ceiling of the gas chamber; in fact it had four.⁵⁸

And that is all. It can thus be deduced that certain Exterminationist historians are not guilty of an excess of zeal in their reading of the texts.

Before receiving its official codification in the “confessions” of Rudolf Höss, the myth of the “gas chambers” at Auschwitz had known other vicissitudes as to the locale, the technique, and the period of the “extermination.”

At the Nuremberg trial, in the course of the hearing on 8 August 1946, *Sturmbannführer* Georg Konrad Morgen described, in abundant detail, “the installations of the ‘extermination camp’ of Monowitz”:

Then the trucks left. They did not go to the Auschwitz concentration camp, but in another direction, to the Monowitz extermination camp, which was some kilometers distant. This extermination camp consisted of a series of crematoria not recognizable as such from the outside. They could be mistaken for large bath installations. Even the detainees knew it. These crematoria were surrounded by barbed wire and were tended on the inside by the Jewish working groups already mentioned.

And further:

The Monowitz extermination camp was set apart from the concentration camp. It was situated in a vast industrial zone and was not recognizable as such. Chimneys smoked all across the horizon. The camp itself was guarded on the outside by a detachment of Balts, Estonians, Lithuanians, and by Ukrainians. The entire procedure was almost entirely in the hands of the detainees themselves, who were supervised only from time to time by a subordinate officer (*Unterführer*). The execution itself was carried out by another *Unterführer* who released the gas into that place.⁵⁹

In reality, Monowitz, like the thirty-nine Auschwitz sub-camps, never had a “gas chamber.”⁶⁰

As concerns the technique of “extermination,” a report dated 8 April 1943 listed the following methods of murder, in addition to “gas chambers” and execution by weapons.

[...]

(b) Electric chambers: these rooms had metallic wall linings; the victims were led inside, then the high-tension was switched on;

(c) the system of the so-called pneumatic hammer; this was a system of special rooms in which the “hammer” came down from the ceiling, and the victims were killed by means of a special installation under high pneumatic pressure.⁶¹

As Martin Gilbert comments, these two methods were “pure fantasy.”⁶² On 2 February 1945 *Pravda* published an article on Auschwitz in which the following method of “extermination” was described:

The most elaborate apparatus was an electric conveyor belt on which hundreds of persons could be electrocuted simultaneously, then moved on into furnaces.”^{62a}

In 1945, the version of “gassing” by sham shower baths was affirmed by the most ingenious perjurers, who echoed this story. At the Belsen trial, Dr. Ada Bimko described the sprinklers, the two “pipes,” and the “huge metal containers containing gas” of the Birkenau “gas chambers” that this “eyewitness” professed to have visited personally.⁶³

How these false witnesses imagined that the “gassings” had taken place can be seen clearly in the following recital by Sofia Schafranov to whom a *Sonderkommando* (special command) detainee is supposed to have recounted the following:

A shower bath was simulated to the victims, and although they knew beforehand what kind of shower it was, they were given towels and a bit of soap; after that they were made to undress, and were pushed into low cement rooms, hermetically sealed. From faucets set in the ceiling there came a poison gas instead of water.⁶⁴

That story was repeated at the 1949 Degesch trial: one witness had heard tell that “at Birkenau the gas was introduced by fake showers.” But just as Dr. Heli, inventor of Zyklon B, as well as Dr. Ra,⁶⁵ a physician, declared that the “gassing” technique described by the witness was impossible, so the court rejected as false the story in question:

The court does not doubt the inexactness of the hypothesis according to which the gas was drawn from the can of Zyklon by means of a small tube and introduced into the gas chambers so that it is no longer necessary to do the experiment asked for by one of the accused.⁶⁶

But that did not prevent Vincenzo and Luigi Pappalettera from making the following commentary—evidently inspired by what had been maintained at Nuremberg⁶⁷—on the photograph of the “gas chamber” at Mauthausen:

In the showers the prisoners were drenched, not with water, but with murderous gas that spurted from little holes.⁶⁸

Mixing these myths with those relating to Sobibor and to Belzec, Leo Lapotos, who had worked as a pharmacist in Birkenau, recounted that:

The gas chambers were equipped like bathrooms where people went under pretext of taking a shower, but instead of water, it was gas that came from the conduits, and the floor tipped so that the cadavers fell on to a conveyer belt that transported them into the crematory.⁶⁹

No less fanciful was the recital of a female detainee at Auschwitz at the Degesch trial, according to which a gas, called “rotten gas” by the detainees, was gathered by a “rotten gas group” in the swampy areas and was used at Birkenau for “exterminating.”⁷⁰

Lastly, on the subject of the time-period of the “extermination,” Dr. Reszö Kastner reported a message from Bratislava, according to which the “SS were on the point of repairing and refurbishing the gas chambers at the crematories of Auschwitz, which were out of use since autumn of 1943.”⁷¹ In a declaration made under oath in 1945, he stated precisely:

A communiqué stated that at Auschwitz they were working feverishly on the restoration of the gas chambers and the crematories, which had not been in use for months,⁷²

while the official historiography indicated no halt in the activity of the “gas chambers” and the crematory ovens⁷³ during the period in question, which is why in the 1961 edition of the Kastner report the aforementioned passage has been suppressed.⁷⁴

Even more instructive is the study of the development of the myth of the “gas chambers” at Auschwitz, the present form of which derives from the “technical survey” of the “extermination camp” made by the Soviets in February-March 1945.

The Extraordinary Commission of Inquiry into German Crimes at Auschwitz “established” that more than four million persons were murdered in this camp,⁷⁵ a number that “makes one laugh,” according to Reitlinger.⁷⁶ The fashion in which the Soviet Commission arrived at that figure makes one laugh even more! It declares:

In Crematorium No. I, which existed for 24 months, one could burn 9,000 cadavers per month, which give a total of 216,000 for the whole duration of its existence. The numbers corresponding to the other crematoria are:

- Crematorium No. II, 19 months, 90,000 cadavers per month,
total: 1,710,000
- Crematorium No. III, 18 months, 90,000 cadavers per month,
total: 1,620,000
- Crematorium No. IV, 17 months, 45,000 cadavers per month,
total: 765,000
- Crematorium No. V, 18 months, 45,000 cadavers per month,
total: 810,000

The total capacity of the five crematoria was 279,000 cadavers per month, for a total of 5,121,000 cadavers for the whole duration of their existence. Given, on the one hand, that the Germans burned a great number of cadavers on wood pyres, and, on the other, that the crematoria did not always work at full capacity, the Soviet "technical commission" "established" at just four million the number of the "murdered"!⁷⁷

This calculation is false, if only for the reason that the maximum capacity of 270,00 cremations per month for the four Birkenau crematoria, or 9,000 per day, is about nine times greater than the actual capacity!⁷⁸ The Soviet "technical commission," moreover, "established" that in the "gas chambers" of Auschwitz the gas Zyklon A had been employed, although this had not been used since the 1920s.⁷⁹

The case of Katyn shows clearly the value that can be given the conclusions of the various Soviet "Commissions of Inquiry": the Soviet commission that investigated the Katyn massacre—committed by the Russians, as everyone knows—"established" on the basis of more than a hundred witnesses, "medico-legal surveys," and "documents and elements of proof," that those responsible for the butchery were the Germans.⁸⁰

The Commission for Investigation of German Crimes in Poland "established" at first, as we have shown, that the Jews in Treblinka were killed in "steam chambers," and in Belzec by "electricity"; then it "established" that they were poisoned by carbon monoxide gas in "gas chambers"—which is amply sufficient to demonstrate the reliability of that commission.

In regard to the Auschwitz camp, it "established" the incineration capacity of the four Birkenau crematoria as 12,000 cadavers in 24 hours.⁸¹ That is impossible.

Jan Sehn, examining magistrate and member of the General Commission of Inquiry into the Hitlerian Crimes in Poland, reduces that to 8,000.⁸² That figure has been taken up by a 1979 publication of the Auschwitz Museum,⁸³ even though a 1961 publication of the same museum alludes to a German document that would make 4,416 cadavers appear to be a maximum capacity.⁸⁴

Topping off the speculation about the numbers, Jan Sehn does not fear to assert:

The very detailed documents gathered by the Extraordinary Soviet State Commission, as well as by the General Commission of Inquiry into Hitlerian Crimes in Poland, prove that the “output” of the Birkenau gas chambers was close to 60,000 persons in 24 hours.⁸⁵

Eugen Kogon more modestly contents himself with a maximum daily production of 34,000.⁸⁶

Beginning in 1945, there is a proliferation of “eyewitnesses” to the “gas chambers” of Auschwitz; what Georges Wellers calls “an abundance of proofs.”⁸⁷

Let us examine briefly the value of these “proofs.” In regard to the activity of the crematoria at Birkenau—five, according to Ada Bimko,⁸⁸ six, according to Robert Lévy,⁸⁹ eight, according to Marie-Claude Vaillant-Couturier⁹⁰—here is what appears in the notes Rudolf Höss is supposed to have set down in Cracow:

After a very short time, Crematorium III (IV) was out of commission and it never was used again.⁹¹

Pery Broad stated exactly the contrary:

The four crematoria worked at full steam. But soon, after continuous overloading, the ovens broke down, and only Crematorium III (IV) continued to smoke.⁹²

Dov Paisikovic, who affirmed he was a member of the *Sonderkommando* from “May 1944 until the evacuation in January 1945” contradicts them both:

The crematories were so solidly constructed that throughout this whole time I had no knowledge of any failure either of the ovens or of the crematories as a whole.⁹³

These “eyewitnesses,” in turn, are contradicted by the Polish Commission for the Investigation of German Crimes in Poland, which declared that in August 1944:

The crematoria were closed, and thenceforward the corpses were burnt only in pits.⁹⁴

Contradicting all these testimonies, the *Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Konzentrationslager Auschwitz-Birkenau* (Chronicle of Events in the Auschwitz-Birkenau Concentration Camp) does not show the least mishap in the functioning of the four crematories in Birkenau until 7 October 1944 when, because of the revolt of the *Sonderkommando*, Crematorium IV was burned.⁹⁵

In regard to the Crematoria II and III at Birkenau, Alfred Wetzler declares they had 36 ovens which each “could take three normal corpses at once,” which took “an hour and a half” to be “completely burned.” That represented “a daily capacity of about 2,000 bodies” for each crematorium.⁹⁶

For Dov Paisikovic the ovens were 15 in number and the cadavers took about “four minutes [!] to be consumed,” so that there was a

cremation capacity of 6,000 cadavers in 24 hours.⁹⁷

Miklos Nyiszli affirms that the cadavers were put “by threes” into each of the 15 ovens and “cremated in twenty minutes” which meant “several thousand people could be cremated in a single day.”⁹⁸

Dr. Bendel maintains there were 16 ovens, “but with a cremation capacity of about two thousand cadavers in 24 hours.”⁹⁹

Rudolf Höss was initially made to confess that the crematories in question had 10 ovens that could incinerate 4,000 cadavers in 24 hours.¹⁰⁰

The “gas chambers” of Crematoria II and III—which Alfred Wetzler places on the ground level, the others underground—were 10 meters long for Dr. Bendel,¹⁰¹ and 200 meters long for Nyiszli.¹⁰²

As to the number of Auschwitz victims proffered by the diverse “witnesses,” Georges Wellers writes that they vary between 8 million and 1½ million, i.e., in the proportion of 5.3 to 1.¹⁰³

As will already have been seen in this necessary summary examination, there is well and truly “an abundance of proofs,” but it turns out that these proofs are false and contradictory.

There are also objective proofs that are no less embarrassing to the official historiography.

The “Auschwitz Protocols” (see above) reached the War Refugee Board in June 1944.¹⁰⁴

Since 4 April, American planes had overflown and photographed Auschwitz. In the course of the mission of 26 June, the IG-Farben industrial complex, Auschwitz, and Birkenau were photographed. On the 25 August 1944 mission, photographs were taken that clearly showed the Auschwitz camp and the Birkenau Crematoria II and III.

Thus, when on 13 September 1944 the Americans staged an air raid against the IG-Farben complex, they knew the Auschwitz-Birkenau camp well.

On that occasion, two bombs fell on Birkenau, accidentally; one of them hit the railway spur that led to the crematoria.¹⁰⁵

What better occasion to destroy the sadly notorious “death factory” of Birkenau?

Yet nothing of the kind was done. Why, then was Auschwitz not bombed? The only answer to that “disquieting question”¹⁰⁶ can be the following:

Analyses of the aerial photographs of Auschwitz-Birkenau showed that this camp was not concealing any horrible “secret” and, consequently, the crematoria were judged not to be worth a single bomb.

It is not by chance that the abovementioned photographs¹⁰⁷ were not published until 1979 (!) with explanatory texts by the CIA *ad usum Delphini*. (Translator’s note: “in Delphic style,” i.e. obscurely formulated.)

Not only did these photographs show nothing of the existence of

"extermination" processes at Auschwitz, but they gave the lie categorically to an essential aspect, that of the cremation pits.

The origin of this myth, taken up untimely by diverse "eyewitnesses," with contradictions that are not without importance, can be attributed directly to the "Auschwitz Protocols."

One reads, in particular, in the report drawn up by Mordowicz and Rosin, that in May 1944, during the influx of Hungarian Jews, that the crematories could not manage the incineration of the cadavers of those who had been gassed, large pits, 30 meters long by 15 meters wide, were dug in the Birkenwald ("birch forest") adjoining Birkenau ("birch meadow") where the bodies were burned day and night.¹⁰⁸

According to the "eyewitness" Miklos Nyiszli, from the two crematory pits, each 50 meters long and 6 meters wide, located in a birch forest 500-600 meters from Crematory V, there rose a "thick, twisting spiral of smoke" that was "visible from any point in the KZ" and "at every hour of the day and night." Nyiszli declared that "by day it covered the sky above Birkenau with a thick cloud."¹⁰⁹

Even more emphatically, Pery Broad asserts that:

In the environs of Birkenau there were about ten large incineration centers in which 200 to 1,000 persons at a time were burned on wood pyres. The light of these fires was still visible at a radius of at least 30 kilometers.¹¹⁰

The cremation pits, at first placed exclusively in the "birch forest" by the "eyewitnesses," thereafter moved mysteriously into the courtyard of Crematorium V.

The Commission for the Investigation of German Crimes in Poland "established" that between May and August 1944:

Six huge pits were dug beside Crematorium V, and old pits were opened near the gas plant in the wood, and corpses burnt in them continuously. When operations were in full swing in August, 1944, the number of corpses burnt daily rose to 24,000.¹¹¹

Pery Broad, according to whom, during that period, "only Crematorium III (IV) still smoked," locates the cremation pits exactly "in the rear courtyard of Crematorium IV."¹¹²

To sum up, between May and August 1944, Birkenau was claimed to be a fiery hell whose flames devoured up to 25,000 cadavers a day, and whose smoke covered the sky of Auschwitz-Birkenau in thick clouds.

Now, the aerial photographs of June 26th and of August 25th, 1944, reveal absolutely nothing of the presence of these enormous cremation pits; moreover, they show not the slightest trace of smoke, not from the phantom wood pyres, and not from the crematory smokestacks.

The most important source of the official "truth" on Auschwitz is

notoriously the “confessions” of Rudolf Höss, the veracity of which are accepted uncritically and dogmatically by the official historians.

In his “autobiography” Höss writes of his first interrogation by the English:

At my first interrogation, evidence was obtained by beating me. I do not know what is in the record, although I signed it. Alcohol and the whip were too much for me.¹¹³

Martin Broszat remarks in a note:

This refers to a police report of 8 typed pages that Höss signed on 14 March 1946 at 2:30 (Nuremberg Document No. 1210). As far as the content is concerned, it does not differ notably on any point from what Höss declared or wrote at Nuremberg or at Cracow.¹¹⁴

Rudolf Höss’s first confession, which served as a model for all the others, therefore, was invented by the English interrogators. To be convinced of that, without a shadow of a doubt, a quick glance of the document in question will suffice.

Höss “confesses” to have been called to Berlin in June 1941 by Himmler, who let him know that the Führer had ordered “the final solution of the Jewish question in Europe,” that is to say, “the total extermination of all the Jews in Europe,” as he had been made to “acknowledge” in the declaration made under oath on 5 April 1946.¹¹⁵ This is false not only because, as we have shown, the “final solution” meant at that time the deportation of the Jews to Madagascar, but also contradicts chronologically a cardinal element of the official historiography, as Gerald Reitlinger revealed with great embarrassment. Reitlinger eliminated the contradiction by dating the alleged summons of Höss to Berlin, and the supposed order by the Führer, a year later.¹¹⁶

In June 1941, Höss’s “confession” continues, there were three extermination camps in the General Government: Wolzek, Belzec, and Tublinka (sic). But the first never existed, while the second, and the third (Treblinka) became operational—according to the official historiography—in March and in July 1942, respectively.¹¹⁷ Höss confesses also to having visited the camp at Treblinka in the spring of 1942 and to have been present there at a gassing procedure, which is altogether impossible, since the construction of the camp began on June 1st, while the first gassing there was supposed to have been carried out on 23 July 1942.¹¹⁸

In the sworn statement of 5 April 1946 that supposed visit took place in 1941, when the Treblinka camp was not yet in existence.

But this is not all. The camp commandant reported to Höss that in the course of the preceding six months he had “gassed” 80,000 persons, which meant that the “gassings” had begun in the autumn of 1941, i.e., several months before the camp had been built!

According to PS-3868, the commandant of Treblinka “had

principally to occupy himself with the liquidation of all the Jews from the Warsaw ghetto"; but the deportation of these Jews to Treblinka did not begin until 22 July 1942.

The English investigators, who had a very approximate knowledge even in regard to Auschwitz, made Höss "confess" that the first two crematoria of Birkenau were finished in 1942, which is false,¹¹⁹ each one having five double ovens, which is equally false,¹²⁰ which could incinerate 2,000 cadavers in 12 hours, just as false,¹²¹ that the two other crematoria were finished six months later, which is false,¹²² each with four ovens, which is yet again false.¹²³

Höss was forced to say three million persons were murdered at Auschwitz, two and half million of them in the "gas chambers."¹²⁴ But in his "autobiography" in Cracow, Rudolf Höss "confesses":

I consider in any case that the number of two and a half million is excessive. Even at Auschwitz the possibilities for extermination were limited.¹²⁵

Subsequently, before the Polish Supreme Court, he reduced the number to 1,135,000.¹²⁶

In his sworn declaration of 5 April 1946 and of 20 May 1946,¹²⁷ Höss repeats the "confession" of Document NO-1210 in stating that a half-million persons died of hunger and sickness, a number that surpassed greatly the number of the registered detainees.¹²⁸

The English investigators finally shifted to May 1945 the chimerical order by Himmler, which is supposed to have ended the "gassings,"¹²⁹ thereby contradicting the similarly contradictory notion of the official historiography.

Extradited to Poland, Rudolf Höss continued to make the same kind of "confessions."

The Poles (on the basis of the documents seized at Auschwitz) revised and corrected the 14 March 1946 "confession" drawn up by the English interrogators, developing it into the "autobiography" proper, and into the appendix captioned "Final solution (. . .)" that constitutes the official "truth" about Auschwitz.

It is only too easy to imagine by what means these "confessions" were extracted from Rudolf Höss: it is enough to recall the methods of the great Moscow trials that forced the accused to make the desired "confessions."

The climate of the cold war set in; the Poles permitted Höss to describe the treatment he had suffered under "bourgeois" justice:

After several days, I was led to Minden-on-Weser, the "British Zone" interrogation center. There I suffered even more brutal treatment at the hands of the military prosecutor, an English major. The regime of the prison in which I was locked up corresponded to his attitude. After three weeks I was suddenly taken to the barber who shaved me and cut my hair. I was permitted also to wash myself; this was the first time since my arrest that my handcuffs were taken off.

From Minden Höss was taken to Nuremberg:

The conditions of my stay were excellent in every respect. We had a large library at our disposal, and I could employ all my time in reading. But the interrogations really were very painful. I was not tortured physically, but the moral pressure was very hard to endure. I can hold no grudge against my judges: they all were Jews. They were the kind of Jews who wanted to know everything that had torn me psychologically. They let no doubt remain about the fate that awaited us.¹³⁰

It is easy to imagine of what the psychological pressures on Rudolf Höss consisted. Here is an example drawn from the vast repertory of the great Moscow trials:

The hostages provide the essential ingredient of the moral tortures. Here is one, for instance, very simple, and which will remain invisible to the foreign journalists admitted to the courtroom: the accused is shown a film depicting refined tortures; it is murmured to him that such will be the fate of his wife, or of his granddaughter, if . . .¹³¹

Let us not believe that the “civilized” Occident has recoiled from similar methods. The American Investigation Commission, composed of Judges van Roden and Simpson, who were sent to Germany in 1948 to investigate the irregularities committed by the American Military Tribunal at Dachau—which had tried 1,500 Germans and condemned 420 to death¹³²—ascertained that the accused had been subjected to physical and psychological tortures of all kinds, to force them to make the desired “confessions.”

Thus, in 137 of the 139 cases examined, the accused, in the course of their interrogation, had been kicked in the testicles, and left with incurable injuries.¹³³

But there is no reason to be surprised by this: it is part of the logic of the trials of those who are called “Nazi War Criminals.” The guiding principle was set forth frankly by the U.S. Attorney General, Robert H. Jackson, at the Nuremberg trial session of 26 July 1946:

The Allies are technically still in a state of war with Germany even though the political and the military institutions of the enemy have collapsed. As a military tribunal this court represents a continuation of the war effort of the allied nations.¹³⁴

In conclusion, to doubt the historic reality of the “extermination” of the Jews not only is legitimate, it is a duty, because it is a duty to seek historical truth

by submitting testimonies, documents, and data systematically to examination by critical methods that no one would dream of challenging if they were applied to no matter what other historical problem, because it is on these methods, and on nothing else, that historical research bases its scientific character.¹³⁵

. . . not by accepting any document or “eye witness testimony”

whatsoever uncritically and with preconceived notions, as the official historians do regularly.

Notes

Part 1

1. Ernst Nolte, *I tre volti del fascismo*, Milan, 1971, p. 559.
2. Vittorio E. Giuntella, *Il nazismo e i Lager*, Roma, 1980, p. 46.
3. Elia S. Artom, *Storia d'Israele*, Rome, 1965, vol. III, p. 227.
4. Among the most significant Revisionist works on the trials of the Nazi "war criminals," let us mention: Anonymous, *The Nuremberg "Trial,"* 1946 [republished by Sons of Liberty, c. 1978].
 Montgomery Belgion, *Epitaph on Nuremberg*, London, 1946.
 Maurice Bardèche, *Nuremberg ou la terre promise*, Les Sept Couleurs, 1948.
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 G.A. Amaudruz, *Ubu justicier au premier procès de Nuremberg*, Paris, 1949.
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 Piero Sella, "Occupazione della Germania e repressione politico-giudiziaria: Norimberga," *L'Occidente contra l'Europa*, Milan, 1984, p. 155-184.
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- Wilhelm Anders, *Verbrechen der Sieger*, Druffel-Verlag, Leoni am Starnberger See, 1975.
- "Crimes de guerre des alliés?," *Défense de l'Occident*, special number 39-40, 1965.
- Alliierten Kriegsverbrechen und Verbrechen gegen die Menschlichkeit*, Samisdat Publishers Ltd., Toronto 1977.
- J. Bochaca, *Los crímenes de los "buenos,"* Barcelona, 1982.
- Rudolf Trenkel, *Polens Kriegsschuld: Der Bromberger Blutsonntag*, April 1981 (Nordland-Verlag).
- David Irving, *The Destruction of Dresden*, London, 1963.
- The Crime of Moscow in Vynnytsia*, New York 1951 (republished by Institute for Historical Review, California, n.d.)
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- Rudolf Aschenauer, *Krieg ohne Grenzen: Der Partisanenkampf gegen Deutschland 1939-1945*, Druffel-Verlag, Leoni am Starnberger See, 1982.
6. Principle works of Paul Rassinier:
- Le Mensonge d'Ulysse*, La Vieille Taupe, 1979.
- Ulysse trahi par les siens*, La Vieille Taupe, 1980.
- Le Véritable Procès Eichmann ou les vainqueurs incorribibles*, La Vieille Taupe, 1983.
- Le Drame des juifs européens*, La Vieille Taupe, 1985.
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7. Other works up to 1979:
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- Heinz Roth, *Was hätten wir Väter wissen müssen?*, 1970.
- Heinz Roth, *Was geschah nach 1945?*, 1972.
- Heinz Roth, ". . . der makaberste Betrug aller Zeiten . . .," 1974 (these three works were published by the author).
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- Erich Kern, *Die Tragödie der Juden: Schicksal zwischen Wahrheit und Propaganda*, Verlag K.W. Schütz KG., Preuss. Oldendorf, 1979.
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- Heinrich Härtle, *Was "Holocaust" verschweigt*, Leoni am Starnberger See, 1979.
8. See on this subject "Le Journal d'Anne Frank pourrait être un faux!" *Le Courrier des Yvelines*, 9 February, 1984, p. 4. – "On sait aujourd'hui que le journal d'Anne Frank était un faux. Le beau mensonge," *Spéciale dernière*, 1 March 1984, p. 11.

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11. On reactions in the United States:
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12. "Nürnberg und Auschwitz-Lüge," *Freiheit und Recht*, no. 7-8, July-August 1975, p. 15.
13. Martin Broszat, "Zur Kritik der Publizistik des antisemitischen Rechtsextremismus," in *Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, supplement to the weekly *Das Parlament*, 8 May 1976, p. 3-7.
14. Hermann Langbein, "Coup d'oeil sur la littérature néo-nazie," *Le Monde Juif*, no. 78, April-June 1975, p. 8-20.
15. Georges Wellers, *La Solution Finale et la Mythomanie Néo-Nazie*, edited by Beate and Serge Klarsfeld, 1979.
16. Article by E. Kulka, *Quaderni del Centro di studi sulla deportazione e*

- l'internamento*, no. 9 (1976-1977), p. 112-124.
17. Stefano Levi della Torre, "Nuove forme della giudeofobia" (3. Revisionismo), *La Rassegna mensile di Israel*, July-August 1984, p. 249-280.
 18. Aside from *Le Lutteur de classe* already cited, we note on this subject: "De l'exploitation dans les camps à l'exploitation des camps," *La Guerre sociale*, no. 3, June 1979, p. 9-31; "De l'exploitation dans les camps à l'exploitation des camps (suite et fin)," a clarification by *La Guerre sociale*, Paris, May 1981.
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 20. *Inquisitionsprozesse heute: Hexenprozess der Neuzeit*, Kritik no. 22, Kritik-Verlag 1981 (Christophersen trial). On the Faurisson affair, see the works already cited. Ditleb Felderer was arrested on 26 November 1982 and condemned in May 1983 to ten months in prison for having distributed "documents inciting to hate," that is, for having denied the reality of the "extermination" of the Jews. (*The IHR 1982 Annual Report*; *IHR Newsletter*, May 1983, no. 19; *Revisionists' Reprints*, no. 6, Manhattan Beach, Autumn 1983).
 21. Udo Walendy, *Der moderne Index*, Historische Tatsachen no. 7, Vlotho/Weser, 1980.
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Beschlagnahmt! Eingezogen! Verboten! Bücher, die wir nicht lesen dürfen!, Kritik no. 52, Kritik-Verlag, Mohrkirch 1981.
 22. Wilhelm Stäglich, "Der Auschwitz Mythos: A Book and its Fate," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1984, p. 47-68.
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 23. See "L'Affaire Roques," in André Chelain, *Faut-il fusiller Henri Roques?*, Polémiques (Ogmios Diffusion), Paris, 1986, p. 6-16.
 24. See "L'Affaire Roques," *Le Monde Juif*, no. 122, April-June 1986, p.

- 49-79; "La campagne de presse. Les principaux articles et communiqués de presse de l'Affaire Roques" in André Chelain, *Faut-il fusiller Henri Roques?*, op. cit., p. I-XVIII.
25. See our article "Lo scandaloso scandalo Roques", *Orion*, n. 23, 1986, p. 189-190. The only attempt at a scholarly refutation of the doctoral thesis of Henri Roques is the article already cited, by Georges Wellers, "A propos d'une thèse de doctorat explosive sur le Rapport Gerstein," *Le Monde Juif*, No. 121, January-March 1986, p. 1-18. This article, with G. Wellers's most important writings on the "Gerstein Report," is refuted in detail in our work (title as in text), *Come si falsifica la storia: Georges Wellers e le "camere a gaz" di Belzec* (in preparation).

Part 2

1. IMT, vol. XIX, p. 483.
2. Abbé G. Hénocque, *Les Antres de la Bête*, Paris 1947, p. 115-116. Cited in: Robert Faurisson, *Mémoire en défense contre ceux qui m'accusent de falsifier l'histoire*, La Vieille Taupe, Paris, 1980, facsimile reproduction on p. 191-192.
3. Eugen Kogon, Hermann Langbein, Adalbert Rückerl et al., *Les Chambres à gaz, secret d'Etat*, Editions de Minuit, 1984, p. 230-231.
4. IMT, vol. V, p. 198 (PS-3249).
5. *Die Zeit*, no. 34, Friday 19 August 1960, p. 16.
6. Meant here are the camps Chelmno, Belzec, Treblinka, Majdanek, Sobibor and Auschwitz-Birkenau mentioned on page 105 (of the article referred to in the following note).
7. VfZ, 24th year, 1976, booklet 2, p. 109.
8. *Books and Bookmen*, London, April 1975, p. 5.
9. In fact, there is not the slightest evidence that the place in question ever had been or was destined to be a "gas chamber." See on this subject: Robert Faurisson, *Mémoire en défense contre ceux qui m'accusent de falsifier l'histoire*, op. cit., p. 197-220.
10. *Wie war es im KZ Dachau?* (How was it in the Dachau Concentration Camp?) Kuratorium für Sühnemal KZ Dachau, 1981, p. 16.
11. *Idem*, p. 30.
12. A unique exception—but limited to the camps of the Old Reich—is Olga Wormser-Migot who, in her analysis of the "eyewitness testimonies" on this subject, came to the conclusion that neither at Ravensbrück nor at Mauthausen had there ever been "gas chambers,"^a thereby arousing the anger of her colleagues.^b Supplement: Very recently Professor Michel de Boüard came to admit honestly: "In the monograph of Mauthausen which I wrote for *Revue d'Histoire de la Seconde Guerre mondiale* in 1954, in two places I spoke of a gas chamber. Reflecting on this later I said to myself: where did I acquire the conviction that there was a gas chamber in Mauthausen? It wasn't during my stay at the camp, for neither I, nor anyone else suspected that there was one there; it was rather a rumor I heard after the war, that's

granted. Then I noticed that in my text—although I supported most of my statements with references—there was no reference concerning the gas chamber . . .”^c

a) Olga Wormser-Migot: *Le Système concentrationnaire nazi 1933-1945*, Universitaires de France, 1968, p. 541-544.

b) Germaine Tillion, *Ravensbrück*, Paris 1973, p. 235-248.

c) “La Thèse de Nantes,” inquiry by Jacques Lebaillly in *Ouest-France*, 2-3 August 1986, p. 6.

13. Serge Thion, *Vérité historique ou vérité politique? Le dossier de l'affaire Faurisson: La question des chambres à gaz*, La Vieille Taupe 1980, p. 87.
14. Gerald Reitlinger, *La Soluzione finale: Il tentativo di sterminio degli ebrei d'Europa 1939-1945*, Milan, 1965, p. 651.
15. Idem, p. 71.
16. Likwidacja żydowskiej Warszawy, “Treblinka,” *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego*, Warsaw, January-June 1951, p. 93-100. Citations: p. 95 and 99.
17. PS-3311. Accusation no. 6 against Hans Frank, Nuremberg 5 December 1945. An extract of this document was read during the Nuremberg trial. IMT vol. III, p. 632-633.
18. The American engineer Friedrich P. Berg, in an excellent technical study: “The Diesel Gas Chambers: Myth Within a Myth” (*The Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1984), shows that a “gassing” by carbon monoxide produced by a diesel engine^a couldn’t be more irrational and inefficacious. While a diesel engine produces carbon monoxide at an average concentration of 0.4%, a gasoline engine normally emits 7.0% carbon monoxide and 1.0% oxygen. By adjusting the carburetor, a carbon monoxide concentration of 12% (thirty times more than that of a diesel engine!) can be attained, which is why “the diesel gas chamber story is incredible on these grounds alone.” (p. 38)

a) According to official historiography, carbon monoxide for the “gas chamber” was produced by diesel engines.

19. Yankel Wiernik, *A Year in Treblinka*, New York 1944. Wiernik claims to have been deported to Treblinka on 24 August 1942, when the small building, “with three gas chambers,” already existed. The new building, “with ten gas chambers,” was completed in five weeks after the end of August. The Polish report on the “steam chambers” was received during the “first half of September” 1942, so that the two “eye witness testimonies” concern the same period.
20. Idem, p. 18.
21. Ibidem.
22. Alexander Pechersky, *La rivolta di Sobibor*, Yiddish translation by N. Lurie, Moscow, Der Emes State Publishers, 1946. In Yuri Suhl, *Ed essi si ribellarono: Storia della resistenza ebraica contro il nazismo*, Milan, 1969, p. 31.
23. *Dokumenty i materialy*, opracował Mgr Blumental, Łódź, 1946, vol. I, p. 211.

24. Central Commission for Investigation of German Crimes in Poland. *German Crimes in Poland*, Warsaw 1947, vol. II, p. 100.
25. *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 24 August 1950, p. 5
26. *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 22 August 1950, p. 4. According to the official historiography, the "gas chambers" at Sobibor didn't have cellars. (*Le Chambres à gaz, secret d'Etat*, op. cit., p. 144; *NS-Vernichtungslager im Spiegel deutscher Strafprozesse*, edited by Adalbert Rückerl, Munich, 1979, p. 163).
27. Michael Tregenza, "Belzec Death Camp," *The Wiener Library Bulletin*, no. 41-42, 1977, p. 16-17.
28. *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego*, Warsaw, January-June 1954, no. 9-10, p. 307.
29. "Who knew of the Extermination? Kurt Gerstein's Story," *The Wiener Library Bulletin*, no. 9, 1955, p. 22.
30. *Polish Fortnightly Review*, 1 December 1942, p. 4.
31. Gerald Reitlinger, *La Soluzione finale*, op. cit., p. 172.
32. "News is Reaching the Polish Government in London about the Liquidation of the Jewish Ghetto in Warsaw," Foreign Office Papers, FO 371-30917-5365, p. 79 (see also *The Black Book of Polish Jewry*, New York 1943, p. 131. Report by Dr. I. Schwarzbart). According to Martin Gilbert, the report in question was written by the "eyewitness" Jan Karski and sent by him on 25 November 1942 to the Polish government-in-exile in London (M. Gilbert, *Auschwitz und die Alliierten*, Munich, 1982, p. 107-109). On the "eyewitness testimony" of Jan Karski, see below.
33. Foreign Office Papers, FO 371-30924-5365, p. 122.
34. *The New York Times*, 20 December 1942, p. 23.
35. A. Silberschein, *Die Judenausrottung in Polen*, Geneva, 1944, V, p. 21-22.
36. *The New York Times*, 12 February 1944, p. 6.
37. Stefan Szende, *The Promise Hitler Kept*, London, 1945, p. 265.
38. A. Silberschein, *Die Judenausrottung in Polen*, Geneva, August 1944, III, p. 42-43.
39. Deformation of the name "Belzec," as may be seen from the context, where the other "extermination" camps, Treblinka and Sobibor, are mentioned. This deformation may be due to confusion with the small Polish town of Belzyce (very similar phonetically to Beldjitzje) situated about 25 kms from Lublin, or perhaps to an error in translation from Polish to Russian, or from Russian to German.
40. IMT, vol. VII, p. 633-634.
41. Jan Karski, *Story of a Secret State*, Boston 1944. A similar story already had appeared—without referring precisely to Belzec—in the report of 25 November 1942,^a and, with reference to Belzec, in the report of the Polish government-in-exile in London, 10 December 1942^b and in a report received in London in December 1942.^c

a) Foreign Office papers, FO 371-30917-5365.

b) Foreign Office papers, FO 371-30924-5365. Cf. *The Black Book of Polish Jewry*, op. cit.

c) *The Black Book of Polish Jewry*, op. cit.

42. Biuletyn Główniej Komisji Badania Zbrodni Niemieckich w Polsce, Warsaw 1946, III, Oboz zagłady w Belzcu, p. 31-45 (English translation: Central Commission for the Investigation of German Crimes in Poland. *German Crimes in Poland*, Warsaw 1947, vol. II, "Belzec Extermination Camp," p. 89-96). M. Muszkat, *Polish Charges against German War Criminals*, Warsaw 1948, case no. 1372 (The Camp in Belzec), p. 223-232.
43. *Dokumenty i materialy*, op. cit., vol. I, p. 217-224.
44. Rudolf Reder, *Belzec*, Cracow, 1946; *Dokumenty i materialy*, op. cit., vol. I, p. 221-224 (testimony of Rudolf Reder).
45. Thus far we have summarized and combined chapters XI and XII of our work *Il rapporto Gerstein: Anatomia di un falso* (Sentinella d'Italia, Monfalcone, 1985). The "testimony" of Rudolf Reder is analyzed in chapter VIII.
46. Saul Friedländer, *Kurt Gerstein ou l'ambiguïté du bien*, Casterman 1967, p. 109.
47. Helmut Krausnick, *Dokumentation zur Massenvergasung*, Bonn 1956, p. 3. Olga Wormser-Migot^a and André Brissaud^b express a more reserved judgement on the veracity of the "Gerstein report."
 - a) *Le Système concentrationnaire nazi 1933-1945*, op. cit., p. 426.
 - b) *Hitler et l'ordre noir*, Geneva 1974, p. 443, n. II.

In Chapter II "*La veridicità del rapporto Gerstein*" of our unpublished study *Come si falsifica la storia: Georges Wellers e le "camere a gaz" di Belzec*, we enumerate 72 internal contradictions and occurrences belied by history that put the truth of the "Gerstein Report" gravely in question.
48. Pierre Vidal-Naquet, "Tesi sul revisionismo," *Rivista di storia contemporanea*, Turin, 1983, p. 7 et 8.
49. Idem, p. 6
50. Martin Gilbert, *Auschwitz und die Alliierten*, op. cit., p. 9.
51. *The New York Times*, 3 July 1944, p. 3 ("Two Death Camps Places of Horror").
52. Executive Office of the President, War Refugee Board, Washington D.C., *German Extermination Camps—Auschwitz and Birkenau*, November 1944.
53. See our study: *Auschwitz: un caso di plagio*, Edizioni La Sfinge, Parma 1986.
54. Executive Office of the President, War Refugee Board, op. cit., p. 14-16. The plan of the crematoria is on page 15. The citations are drawn from the translation: *Les Camps d'extermination allemands: Auschwitz et Birkenau*, Office français d'édition, Paris, 1945, p. 17-18.
55. Ibidem.
56. Ibidem.
57. Georges Wellers, *Les Chambres à gaz ont existé*, op. cit., p. 114-115.

- Georges Wellers, "Auschwitz," *Les Chambres à gaz, secret d'Etat*, op. cit., p. 207-208 (plan of crematorium II on pages X-XI).
58. Eugen Kogon, Hermann Langbein, Adalbert Rückerl, *Les Chambres à gaz, secret d'Etat*, op. cit., p. 211.
 59. IMT, vol. XX, p. 550 et 551.
 60. Georges Wellers, *La Solution finale et la mythomanie néo-nazie*, Paris, 1979, p. 8.
 61. Martin Gilbert, *Auschwitz und die Alliierten*, op. cit., p. 153.
 62. Ibidem. This statement does not appear in the English edition (*Auschwitz and the Allies: The Politics of Rescue*, Arrow, London, 1984, p. 130).
 - 62a. *Washington Daily News*, February 2, 1945, p. 2 and 35.
 63. *Trial of Joseph Kramer and Forty-Four Others (The Belsen Trial)*, William Hodge and Company, London-Edinburgh-Glasgow, p. 67-68. For an in-depth examination of the false testimony of Ada Bimko, we refer you to our study *Auschwitz: due false testimonianze*, Edizioni La Sfinge, Parma, 1986.
 64. Alberto Cavaliere, *I campi della morte in Germania nel racconto di una sopravvissuta*, Milan, 1945, p. 40.
 65. In the printed text of the judgement, only the first two letters of the family name of this witness are given.
 66. Court of Assizes, in Frankfurt am Main, session of March 1949, C.F. Rüter, *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen, Sammlung deutschen Strafurteile wegen nationalsozialistischer Tötungsverbrechen 1945-1966*, Amsterdam 1968-1981, vol. XIII, p. 134.
 67. IMT, vol. IV, p. 292.
 68. *Storia illustrata*, special issue on the Nuremberg Trial, no. 156, November 1970, p. 78.
 69. Louis de Jong, "Die Niederlande und Auschwitz," *VfZ*, 17th year, booklet 1, January, 1969, p. 9.
 70. Court of Assizes Frankfurt am Main, session of 28 March 1949, C.F. Rüter, op. cit., p. 133.
 71. Reszö Kastner, *Der Bericht des jüdischen Rettungskomitee aus Budapest*, Geneva, 1946, p. 30.
 72. PS-2605.
 73. Central Commission for Investigation of German Crimes in Poland. *German Crimes in Poland*, op. cit., vol. I, p. 83-90. For more details: *Hefte von Auschwitz*, Wydawnictwo Panstwowego Muzeum w Oswiecimiu, 6, 1962; 7, 1964.
 74. *Der Kastner-Bericht über Eichmanns Menschenhandel in Ungarn*. Preface by Prof. Carlo Schmidt Munich 1961. The phrase "which were out of use since autumn 1943" is omitted. In our study *Wellers e i "gasati" di Auschwitz* we have brought up a grave chronological contradiction in the Exterminationist historiography on the subject of the deportation of the Hungarian Jews. In fact, while, according to certain documents, that deportation had ended on the 8th^a or on the 10th^b July 1944, it is seen that the "Chronicle of Events in the

Auschwitz-Birkenau Concentration Camp"^c records the arrival of another 32 transports of Jews from Hungary between 15 July and 18 October 1944.

a) *Der Kastner Bericht über Eichmanns Menschenhandel in Ungarn*, op. cit., p. 136.

b) NG-5573; NG-5615.

c) *Hefte von Auschwitz*, 7, 8, 1964.

75. USSR-8.
76. Gerald Reitlinger, *La Soluzione finale*, op. cit., p. 559.
77. USSR-8.
78. The cremation of a cadaver in the very modern ovens of the firm "H.R. Heinicke Combustion and Smokestack Construction," of Stadhagen, requires 60 minutes when the combustion chamber is already at a minimum temperature of 800 degrees centigrade (letter from the manufacturer to the author, 6 August 1987). The 46 ovens (muffles) of Birkenau could thus not have incinerated more than 1,104 cadavers in 24 hours.
79. The Court of Assizes Frankfurt am Main, session of 27 May 1955, C.F. Rüter, op. cit., vol. XIII. After 1923 hydrocyanic gas was used for disinfection in Germany only in the form of Zyklon B. (Court of Assizes in Frankfurt am Main session 28 March 1949, C.F. Rüter, op. cit., vol. XIII). Zyklon B is an absorption of hydrocyanic acid in an inert porous base (diatomaceous earth, e.g.) and is packaged in hermetically sealed tins. (NI-9098).
80. IMT, vol. VII, p. 470.
81. Central Commission for Investigation of German Crimes in Poland. *German Crimes in Poland*, vol. I, p. 88.
82. Jan Sehn, *Le Camp de concentration d'Oswiecim-Brzezinka*, Warsaw, 1957, p. 147-148.
83. *Problèmes choisis de l'histoire du KL Auschwitz*, State Museum at Auschwitz, 1979, p. 45.
84. *Hefte von Auschwitz*, Wydawnictwo Panstwowego Muzeum w Oswiecimiu, 4, 1961, p. 110.
85. Jan Sehn, *Le Camp de concentration d'Oswiecim-Brzezinka*, op. cit., p. 132.
86. Eugen Kogon, *Der SS-Staat: Der System der deutschen Konzentrationslager*, Munich, 1946, p. 133.
87. Georges Wellers, *Les Chambres à gaz ont existé*, op. cit., p. 129.
88. *Trial of Joseph Kramer and Forty-Four Others (The Belsen Trial)*, op. cit., p. 67.
89. Poliakov & Wulf, *Das Dritte Reich und die Juden*, Berlin, Grunewald, 1955, p. 264 and 265.
90. IMT, vol. VI, p. 242.
91. *Auschwitz vu par les SS*, State Museum at Auschwitz, 1974, p. 128.
92. Idem, p. 195.
93. Léon Poliakov, *Auschwitz*, Julliard, 1964, p. 166.

94. Central Commission for Investigation of German Crimes in Poland. *German Crimes in Poland*, op. cit., vol. I, p. 89.
95. *Hefte von Auschwitz*, Wydawnictwo Panstwowego Muzeum w Oswiecimiu, 7, 1964; 8, 1964.
96. Executive Office of the President, War Refugee Board, op. cit., p. 14. *Auschwitz et Birkenau*, French Publications Office, op. cit., p. 17.
97. Léon Poliakov, *Auschwitz*, op. cit., p. 162.
98. *Auschwitz: A Doctor's Eyewitness Account*, by Dr. Miklos Nyiszli. Translated by Tibere Kremer and Richard Seaver. Fawcett Crest, New York, 1961, p. 48. In the original Hungarian text it is not "several thousand people," but "ötezer ember," (five thousand persons). (Dr. Nyiszli Miklós, *Dr. Mengele boncolóorvosa voltam az auschwitz-i krematóriumban*, Világ, Budapest, 1947, p. 38.)
99. *Témoignages sur Auschwitz*, Paris, 1946, p. 161.
100. NO-1210/D-749-a (see below). Rudolf Höss, *Le Commandant d'Auschwitz parle*, Paris 1979, p. 273.
101. NI-11953.
102. *Auschwitz: A Doctor's Eyewitness Account*, op. cit., pp. 44-45 ("about 200 yards"). The original Hungarian text says "körülbelül kétszáz méter," (about 200 meters). (Dr. Mengele boncolóorvosa voltam az auschwitz-i krematóriumban, op. cit., p. 33.
103. Georges Wellers, "Essai de détermination du nombre de morts au camp d'Auschwitz," *Le Monde Juif*, no. 112, October-December 1983, p. 138.
104. Erich Kulka, "Auschwitz condoned," *The Wiener Library Bulletin*, no. I, 1968/69, vol. XXII, series 14, p. 3.
105. *Hefte von Auschwitz*, Wydawnictwo Panstwowego Muzeum w Oswiecimiu, 8, 1964, p. 66.
106. On this subject see: Heiner Lichtenstein, *Warum Auschwitz nicht bombardiert wurde*, Cologne, 1980.
107. These photos are more numerous and more interesting than those published in *The Holocaust Revisited*.
108. Executive Office of the President, War Refugee Board, op. cit., p. 36. *Auschwitz et Birkenau*, French Publications Office, op. cit., p. 34.
109. Dr. Miklos Nyiszli, *Auschwitz: A Doctor's Eyewitness Account*, op. cit., p. 68.
110. NI-11984.
111. Central Commission for Investigation of German Crimes in Poland. *German Crimes in Poland*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 88-89.
112. *Auschwitz vu par les SS*, op. cit., p. 195. For an examination in depth of the "eyewitness testimonies" of Dr. S. Bendel, of Ada Bimko, and of Miklos Nyiszli, more extravagant and contradictory than they appear in this summary exposé, we refer back to our studies already mentioned: *Auschwitz: due false testimonianze* and "Medico ad Auschwitz," *La falsa testimonianza di Miklos Nyiszli* (to be published).
113. *Kommandant in Auschwitz: Autobiographische Aufzeichnungen des Rudolf Höss*, edited by Martin Broszat, Munich, 1981, p. 149.

That Rudolf Höss had been given the third degree by his English interrogators in 1946 has been admitted, and proven in 1983 by Rupert Butler in his work *Legions of Death* (Hamlyn Paperbacks, 1983). Robert Faurisson shows the historic importance of that admission, of whose consequences Rupert Butler had no idea. ("How the British obtained the confession of Rudolf Höss, commandant of the Auschwitz camp.") (*The Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. 7, No. 4.) For a detailed refutation of the "eyewitness testimony" of Rudolf Höss, refer to our study, *Auschwitz: Le false confessioni di Rudolf Höss* (Edizioni La Sfinge, Parma, 1987.)

114. Kommandant in Auschwitz, op. cit., p. 149, note 1.
115. PS-3868.
116. Gerald Reitlinger, *La Soluzione finale*, op. cit., p. 131-132.
117. Adalbert Rückerl, *NS-Vernichtungslager im Spiegel deutscher Strafprozesse*, op. cit., p. 133 and 200.
118. Central Commission for Investigation of German Crimes in Poland. *German Crimes in Poland*, op. cit., vol. I, p. 96.
119. Crematoria IV and II of Birkenau were finished on the 22nd and the 31st of March 1943, respectively. (*Helte von Auschwitz*, Wydawnictwo Panstwowego Muzeum w Oswiecimiu, 4, 1961, p. 85 and 87).
120. Crematoria II and III had five triple ovens each. (*Hefte von Auschwitz*, Wydawnictwo Panstwowego Muzeum w Oswiecimiu, 4, 1961, p. 110).
121. If they had been as efficient as those of the firm H.R. Reinicke (see note 78), the ovens of Birkenau crematoria II and III could not have burned more than 720 cadavers in 24 hours.
122. Crematoria V and III were finished April 4th and June 25th, 1943, respectively. (*Hefte von Auschwitz*, Wydawnictwo Panstwowego Muzeum w Oswiecimiu, 4, 1961, p. 88 and 109).
123. Crematoria IV and V each had one oven with eight mufflers (*Hefte von Auschwitz*, Wydawnictwo Panstwowego Muzeum w Oswiecimiu, 4, 1961, p. 110). See also: *Problèmes choisis de l'histoire du KL Auschwitz*, op. cit., p. 44).
124. PS-3868.
125. Kommandant in Auschwitz, op. cit., p. 167.
126. William L. Shirer, *Storia del Terzo Reich*, Turin 1969, p. 1476.
127. PS-3868 and NI-034.
128. It is said that a total of 405,222 detainees were registered at Auschwitz. (*Problèmes choisis de l'histoire du KL Auschwitz*, op. cit., p. 17).
129. See Part I, Section I (*JHR*, Vol. 8, No. 2, Summer 1988).
130. Kommandant in Auschwitz, op. cit., p. 150.
131. Suzanne Labin, *Staline le Terrible*, Paris, 1948, p. 138.
132. Gerald Reitlinger, *La Soluzione finale*, op. cit., p. 617.
133. Freda Utey, *Kostspielige Rache*, Hamburg 1951, p. 215 and following. On the tortures inflicted on the accused in the Malmédy Trial, see also: *La Vérité sur l'affaire de Malmédy et sur le colonel SS Jochen Peiper*,

Editions du Baucens, 1976; Dietrich Ziemssen, *The Malmédy Trial*, Institute for Historical Review, 1981.

134. IMT. vol. XIX, p. 440.

135. "Note rassineriane con appendice sulla persecuzione giudiziaria di R. Faurisson," *Alla Bottega*, March-April 1983, p. 41.

Crematoriums II and III of Birkenau: A Critical Study

ENRIQUE AYNAT EKNES

Translated by Tom Kerr

Material, criticism, and suggestions furnished by the Italian investigator Carlo Mattogno have been of great value to me in the completion of this study. The author, however, assumes sole responsibility for any errors or shortcomings which may be noted in the following pages.

I. Introduction

Until a few years ago, it was a matter of practically unanimous belief that the leaders of Germany during World War II actually carried out a plan for the physical extermination of people of Jewish origin. Yet that systematic slaughter—the Holocaust—has in recent time been called into question by research scholars of a number of countries. The enormity of the accusations, the frailty of the proofs adduced, contradictions on the part of witnesses, the use of torture to exact “confessions,” and the universal absence during the war of any knowledge of something which, had it occurred, could not have been concealed: these were the principal clues that led a few serious students, after meticulous research, to deny the historicity of this supposed collective crime.¹

But where, in our judgment, the Holocaust legend suffers its greatest weakness is in its purely technical aspect; that is, in the instruments—the weapons of the crime—that were supposedly used to kill those millions of human beings: the gas chambers. They constitute the Achilles heel of the legend. And it is for that reason perhaps that they have up to now remained wrapped in a cloak of dense fog. Those authors partisan to the official thesis, on the other hand, have considered the Holocaust an undoubted fact. For them, it has been sufficient to show, for example, that a convoy of prisoners had arrived at Auschwitz, to consider them without further ado as “annihilated by gas.” A good example of this is provided by Martin Gilbert,² a reputable historian and the official biographer of Churchill, who had to admit the skepticism and incredulity of the

Allies during the war with regard to the stories about Auschwitz that the Zionist organizations took it upon themselves to spread. In compensation, he reminds us on almost every page of the exact number of persons who, according to the *Kalendarium* published by the Auschwitz museum after the war, were “gassed” each day.³ Gilbert accepts these completely unverified statistics as though they were a kind of revealed truth requiring neither critical appraisal nor proof. Gilbert did not take it into account that if the Allies remained skeptical and unbelieving about the rumors of a massive slaughter in a place like Auschwitz, which was crammed with basic industries serving Germany’s war effort, a place moreover subject to a strict scrutiny by the intelligence services, it was perhaps simply because no such slaughter had taken place.

For the purpose of throwing a bit of light on the question, in what follows we shall analyze information we have obtained about two of the supposed gas chambers of the Birkenau concentration camp, which was included administratively in the Auschwitz complex. We make a special point of these installations because they were presumably—or so the official thesis claims—the largest slaughterhouses Hitler had at his disposal for carrying out his extermination plans. But if, as we conclude in this critical study, these installations were simply crematoriums for human cadavers, such as those utilized in all large cities for reasons of sanitation, and were not capable of being used for criminal purposes, then the Holocaust legend will have been undermined in one of its essential foundations.

In this work we shall limit ourselves exclusively to the specific study of crematoriums II and III of Birkenau,⁴ without going into such aspects as the structure and functioning of the Auschwitz complex, the rate of the deportations, or the genesis of the Holocaust legend. Those subjects have been dealt with from various points of view and with sufficient thoroughness in the specialized literature.

Finally, we wish to make clear that our aim is not an exhaustive study, but rather, as the German researcher, W. Stäglich has said, “to set forth, to check, and to test in accordance with objective criteria the proofs presented for the claimed ‘death factory of Auschwitz.’”⁵ It is for this reason that we deem this work to be a “critical study.”

II. The Site

Crematoriums II and III of Birkenau were situated at approximately fifteen hundred meters in a straight line from the railroad line linking Cracow, the administrative center of the Government-General of occupied Poland, with Ostrava (Moravia) and Vienna (see Figure 1). For that matter, it does not seem the most propitious place to set up installations designed for carrying out a plan, theoretically ultra-secret, for the extermination and cremation

of some thousands of persons per day. Reitlinger's version of things, according to which "passengers, when going past Auschwitz, customarily crowded up to the windows of the train in an attempt to see the silhouette of the crematory chimneys,"⁶ is perfectly compatible with the topographical facts, but demonstrates that the placement of the crematoriums was absurd if any attempt was being made to carry out a secret activity.

Crematoriums II and III were constructed at the southwest of the Birkenau area (see Figure 2). Their situation seems logical in terms of the general plan of this concentration camp: on the east were the *Kommandantur* and billeting for the SS personnel; in the center, the large sectors BI, BII, BIII (the latter under construction) for quartering the prisoners; and on the west, the various camp installations and services such as the four crematoriums, water purification plant (*Kläranlage*), the sauna (*Zentralsauna*), and the *Effektenlager* or *Kanada*, where the personal effects of the prisoners were deposited.

Crematoriums II and III were in an open space of easy access. Their situation rendered them completely visible from the camp access platform, as can be seen in Figure 3. This is corroborated by witness testimony:

The platform itself was situated some meters from the tall chimneys of the gas chambers and crematory, whose silhouette then held no significance for us other than that of a factory.⁷

Mention has been made that the crematoriums were protected from prying eyes by a border of trees and bushes. In this connection, a document of German origin speaks of a "green border" which was supposed to serve as the natural limit of the crematorium area.⁸ However, the illustrated documents we have examined fail to show this "green border," which in any case would have been absolutely insufficient to conceal the alleged massive extermination (see Figure 4).

III. Description

Crematoriums II and III were identical. The plane of one corresponded to that of the other in symmetrical inversion. Each of them consisted of the following parts (see Figure 6):

a) Cremation room (see Figure 6). It was fitted with five crematory furnaces, each with three hearths or muffle furnaces.⁹

b) Annex buildings. On one side of the cremation room, according to Figure 7, were located the coke bunker, an office, the dwelling of the commanding officer, and the living quarters for the smelters of the gold teeth. On the other side—still according to the same document—the gold teeth smelting plant and the execution room were to be found. In an area adjacent to the cremation hall

were to be found the chimney and the three Topf “air intake installations” (*Saugzuganlage*) that facilitated the draft and functioning of the crematories.¹⁰ [Throughout this article, “crematory” refers to the actual ovens; “crematorium” refers to the building as a whole. –Ed.]

c) Underground mortuary 1 (*Leichenkeller 1*). Its dimensions were $7 \times 30 = 210$ square meters in area.¹¹ It has a height of 2.40 meters. The ceiling was supported by seven columns. It was almost completely below ground and covered with insulating materials to protect it against water and heat (layers of earth, gravel, and waterproof material, probably slate). It had a single entry and exit door with dimensions of 1.80×1.90 meters according to our own calculations, based on the original plan. Ventilation and renewal of the air supply was effected by a ventilation (*Belüftung*) duct and an “exhaust conduit” (*Entlüftungskanal*) built into the lower part of the side wall.

According to the official thesis, Leichenkeller 1 was in reality the mournfully celebrated extermination “gas chamber.”

d) Underground mortuary 2 (*Leichenkeller 2*). Its dimensions were $7.93 \times 50 = 396.5$ square meters in area.¹² It had the same characteristics regarding facing and insulation as *Leichenkeller 1*. *It is claimed that this was the “undressing room” where the victims, who has no suspicion of the fate which awaited them, took off their clothes before passing into the gas chamber.*

e) Underground mortuary 3 (*Leichenkeller 3*). Of more modest dimensions than the aforementioned ones. There is no record of its purpose in the context of the official thesis.

Figure 8 provides us with an aerial view of both crematoriums, and Figure 9 a partial view of crematorium III.

IV. Documents

We will consider below a series of documents, supposedly of German origin, which are frequently alleged by partisans of the official thesis to be proof of the criminal character of crematoriums II and III.

First is an exceptional document identified under code NO-4473, the text of which we reproduce as follows:

(Copy)	29 January 1943
Bftgb. No. 22250/43/Bi/L	
Subject: Crematorium II. Condition of the building.	
Reference: Telegram of the SS-WVHA Nr. 2648 of 28.1.43	
Attached document: 1 test report	

To the chief of Amtsgruppe C,
SS Brigadeführer and Major General
of the Waffen-SS, Dr. Engineer KAMMLER,
Berlin-Lichterfelde-West
Unter den Eichen 126-135

Thanks to the use of all available forces working day and night shifts, and in spite of the immense difficulties and freezing weather, crematorium II has been completed with the exception of a few construction details. The furnaces were fired up in the presence of the chief engineer inspector of the firm of Topf u. Söhne of Erfurt, which was charged with its construction, and they are functioning perfectly. It has not yet been possible to remove the planking from the concrete ceiling of the cellar for cadavers (Leichenkeller) because of the frost. However, that is of no importance inasmuch as the gasification [or "gassing"] cellar (Vergasungskeller) can be used for this purpose.

The firm of Topf u. Söhne was not able to deliver the ventilation equipment ordered by the Central Construction Office on time because of the unavailability of freight cars. After the arrival of the ventilation and exhaust equipment, work will be started immediately on its installation, so we may anticipate that it will be completely in service on 20 February 1943.

Attached is a report by the test engineer of the firm of Topf u. Söhne of Erfurt.

Chief of the Central Construction Office of the
Waffen-SS and Police Auschwitz

SS-Hauptsturmführer

Figure 10 shows a facsimile of the German original.

Supporters of the official thesis maintain that the term "Vergasungskeller" (cellar for "gassing" or gasification) proves incontrovertibly the existence of a gas chamber in Leichenkeller 1 of crematorium II and III.¹³ Some Revisionists on the contrary argue or have argued that the term alluded to the place where the gas mixture was made that fed the furnaces. "Vergasung" would thus have the sense of "gasification" or "carburetion."¹⁴ But even within the framework of this interpretation, we do not believe that the Vergasungskeller mentioned in document NO-4473 was Leichenkeller 1 for the following reasons:

a) The designers of the installation would have to have provided a space for the carburetion process, basic in a crematory, rather than adapt to an area (Leichenkeller 1) initially designed for another purpose.

b) Crematoriums IV and V of Birkenau, both with powerful crematories of eight muffle furnaces, lacked a space of similar proportions for carrying out the operation of "carburetion."

c) Without being specialists in the matter, it seems to us that the operation of producing the gas mixture for feeding the crematory furnaces would have to be carried out in an area immediately behind or adjacent to the furnaces, and not in an underground area separated from the cremation room.

Nor does the official thesis seem conclusive to us, since, apart from the reasons of a general nature which we set forth in section VIII, no document known to date permits the identification of Leichenkeller 1 as the Vergasungskeller.¹⁵ The fact is that in the few plans of crematoriums II and III that we know of, there is no space characterized as a Vergasungskeller, which need not surprise us given the fact that they are preliminary drawings of a general type (Figure 5, for example, is a preliminary sketch). It is very probable that after a careful examination of all the detailed plans of crematoriums II and III, it would be possible to know the exact location of the Vergasungskeller. Professor Faurisson has told us, for example, that the plans of the Leichenkeller of the Sachsenhausen camp (1940) consist of around ninety pages.¹⁶ It is thus our opinion that only after an exhaustive study of the documents stored in the Auschwitz museum would it be possible to come up with the solution to this precise point.

* * * * *

Another document frequently adduced as proof is that classified under code NO-4465, from which we extract the following:

We point out for the present . . . that the three gas-tight doors [towers?] which were the object of our request of 18 January 1943 . . . should be built exactly to the same dimensions and specifications of the doors [towers?] already delivered.

At this time we remind you of another request of 6 March 1943 about the delivery of a gas-tight door 100 x 192 for mortuary 1 of crematorium III. This door should be identical to the door of the cellar of crematorium II in the opposite location; it should be provided with an 8 millimeter peephole of double glass, reinforced, and with gaskets of rubber. This request should be considered as of particular urgency.¹⁷

The first thing to note is that the dimensions of the "gas-tight door" (Gastür) do not coincide with those of the door of Leichenkeller 1 as it is shown in a plan (cf. Figure 7); in the latter, as we have already pointed out, the dimensions were approximately 1.80 x 1.90 meters. On the other hand, it would not be very functional to build a door scarcely 1 meter in width in a space from which it would be necessary to haul out thousands of cadavers (fifteen hundred, two thousand, three thousand, or four thousand, according to the various versions) after each spell of "gassing." These dimensions do not square with what one would have a right to expect of a well-planned

installation for mass exterminations. Moreover, the utilization of gas-tight doors was common in premises that were capable of being converted into air raid shelters, and which were then provided with protection against air attacks with poison gas. The utilization of a gas-tight door was thus not to be wondered at in an underground room capable of being used, in case of necessity, as a shelter.

So the fact that the Germans installed gas-tight doors does not necessarily prove that they installed gas chambers for killing people.

* * * * *

As for the crematory furnaces, there exists a letter of 28 June 1943 from the director of the Central Construction Office of the Waffen-SS and Police, Auschwitz (*Zentralbauleitung der Waffen-SS und Polizei Auschwitz*) to SS-Sturmbannführer Bischoff in which he indicates the capacity of the crematoriums of Auschwitz-Birkenau. With regard to the crematoriums in which we are interested here, he says:

II. new crematorium (Birkenau) 1,440 cadavers
5 crematories — 3 muffle furnaces

III. new crematorium (Birkenau) 1,440 cadavers
5 crematories — 3 muffle furnaces¹⁸

The stated cremation capacity corresponds to a time span of twenty-four hours. Therefore each muffle furnace would have to consume ninety-six cadavers per day, or, put another way, one cadaver every fifteen minutes. This is an absurd figure, as a majority of the Revisionist authors have made clear. Stiglich states that “the incineration of a body in an ultramodern crematory furnace takes an hour and a half to two hours.”¹⁹ For Italian researcher C. Mattogno, who cites as reference the *Enciclopedia Italiana*, “cremation of a cadaver lasts 60-75 minutes, with a consumption of about 300 kgs. of wood in gasoline furnaces; an hour and a half to two hours, with a consumption of 100-150 kgs. of bundles of kindling in direct combustion furnaces.”²⁰ For his part, Professor Faurisson states that in “the present-day crematorium of Charlottenburg-Spandau, each furnace burns no more than 15 to 17 cadavers in 24 hours.”²¹ L.A. Rollins culls the following information published by the *Los Angeles Times*: “In the cremation process, a corpse is put into a furnace and subjected to a temperature of nearly 2,000 degrees for a period of two or three hours.”²² The shortest incineration period we have been able to find is from “50 to 80 minutes.”²³

It is symptomatic moreover that the signer of the document, Bischoff, was not bothered by the Allies after the war, despite the fact that he must have known better than anyone else about those supposed human slaughterhouses whose construction he supervised.²⁴

* * * * *

Recently the French researcher, J.C. Pressac, located a document that allegedly is “definitive proof” of the existence of at least one gas chamber in crematorium III of Birkenau (see Figure 11). This “proof” is a requisition order—or delivery order—of materials for crematorium III. It is signed by the director of the Central Construction Office of the Waffen-SS and Police, Auschwitz (*Leiter der Zentralbauleitung der Waffen SS und Polizei Auschwitz*) and by the Chief of Administration (*Verwaltungsführer*). On the left-hand side of this document the handwritten words “Leichenkeller 1” appear, followed by the quantities of articles requested or delivered. Listed are “12 globe lights” (*Kugellampen*), “2 faucets” (*Zapfhähne*), “14 showerheads” (*Brausen*), and “1 gas-tight door” (*gasdichte Tür*). This last notation is handwritten. In response to questions by a newspaperman, S. Klarsfeld, a colleague of Pressac’s, commented on this document as follows:

A document which mentions at the same time a gas-tight door and 14 showerheads. So, let’s be logical. If it’s a matter of a shower room, why this gas-tight door? This is unshakable proof.

This document proves nothing. The Germans modified those premises that were capable of serving as shelters against air attacks employing poison gas.²⁵ It has been proven that the Allies bombarded Birkenau at least once, on 13 September 1944.²⁶ Leichenkeller 1 of crematoriums II and III, being underground, could in case of necessity have served as shelters.

V. Specialist Reports

In Addendum II to his book, G. Wellers publishes a special chemical study made in Cracow on 15 December 1945 on the remains of the closure devices of the ventilation openings of Leichenkeller 1 of crematorium II; on hair from women who had been “gassed”; and on metallic objects encountered in that hair.²⁷ The report concludes with the affirmation that in all those materials, “hydrocyanic acid was shown to be present,” which appears to confirm the thesis of a criminal employment of the crematoriums. However, there is an incongruity in this report which leads us to consider it with the greatest reserve. Since the ventilation openings mentioned are not evident in the plan we are acquainted with, it is probable they were a later addition, possibly for the purpose of putting the premises to some other use. This interpretation might support the thesis of the air raid shelter. There was already a precedent for it. Crematorium I of Auschwitz was converted into a shelter in 1943.²⁸

However, a most careful analysis of the air photo taken by the American air force in August of 1944 (see Figure 9) allows us to

show that the four dark spots on the roof of Leichenkeller 1 are approximately 3.2 x 2 meters in size.²⁹ These measurements are not reconcilable with the size of the holes through which supposedly the gas was introduced into the chamber, according to the supporters of the official doctrine.³⁰

The specialist's report speaks of "four complete air vent closures and four damaged ones found during the visit to crematorium II of Birkenau." In the aerial photograph taken in August of 1944, we see only four of these supposed—and enormous—openings. On the other hand, J.C. Pressac mentions that when the Russians reached Auschwitz, they found "the zinc openings of the overhead ventilation of Leichenkeller 1/gas chamber of crematorium II stored in the Auschwitz *Bauhof*,"³¹ which contradicts the statement of the expert report to the effect that they had been found "during the visit to crematorium II of Birkenau."

But even admitting the expert's report to be irreproachable we could not necessarily conclude that Leichenkeller 1 was a homicidal gas chamber. It would be perfectly plausible that this building had been fumigated or disinfected with hydrocyanic acid, a not infrequent occurrence in the concentration camp installations, especially those designed for containing cadavers.

Lastly, it seems astonishing to us that together with the hair, used for industrial purposes in a war economy, "metallic objects" (eyeglass frames, zinc bodkins, and brass clasps and hairpins) were to be found. We doubt that the Germans—or their assistants—effected the haircutting with such haste and awkwardness.

Nor can we, accordingly, consider this specialist's report as a conclusive and evidential proof of the existence of a gas chamber for killing people.

VI. Eyewitness Testimony

Next we shall briefly set forth the principal testimonies which, in the judgment of G. Wellers, incontrovertibly prove—"with an abundance of proofs"—the use of crematoriums II and III of Birkenau for the mass extermination of human beings.³²

Two of the testimonies, those of Rudolf Höss and Pery Broad, come from members of the SS; the remaining two, those of Bendel and Wetzler, from Jewish internees.

We shall limit ourselves to analyzing the paragraphs in these testimonies wherein express reference is made to the crematoriums, from the point of view of their veracity, and without entering into an analysis of their authenticity, which has been subjected to very harsh criticism by a number of Revisionist authors.³³

a) Rudolf Höss (commander of Auschwitz until 1 December 1943).

The two large crematoriums I (II) and II (III) were constructed during the course of the winter of 1942/1943 and put into service in the spring of 1943. Each of them had five triple-hearth furnaces, and they could incinerate about two thousand cadavers in twenty-four hours . . . The two crematoriums I (II) and II (III) had underground rooms for disrobing and gas chambers that could be ventilated or have the air evacuated from them. The cadavers were transported by means of an elevator to the crematory furnaces above . . .

The process of exterminaiton in Auschwitz was carried out in the following manner: the Jews slated for extermination were led to the crematoriums, men and women separately, in the calmest possible way. In the rooms set aside for disrobing, the special detail prisoners employed there told them in their own language that they had come to take a shower and be deloused . . . After undressing, the Jews entered the gas chamber. This was provided with showers and water pipes, which really gave it the look of a bathroom. The women and children entered first; they were followed by the men, who were always in the minority. This almost always went calmly . . . then the door was rapidly closed and the bolt thrown and the "disinfectors," already alerted, threw the "cyclon" through the skylight and across the ceiling into the pipes through which it reached the ground. Thanks to to that, the gas spread out immediately. Through the peephole in the door it could be seen that those who were closest to the pipe through which the gas arrived were falling down dead. It may be stated that death was immediate for a third of those locked in the room. The others staggered, screamed, tried to find air. But their shrieks were forthwith changed into death rattles, and in a few minutes all had fallen to the ground. At the end of twenty minutes maximum, no one was moving . . . Half an hour after the sending in of the gas, the door was opened and the ventilation equipment turned on. Removal of the cadavers was begun immediately. The bodies showed no special signs; there was neither contortion nor a change in color . . . The work detail immediately busied itself extracting the gold teeth from the cadavers and cutting off the women's hair. The bodies were then immediately transported by elevator up to the crematories, which had meanwhile been ignited.³⁴

Critique:

—Even though the wording is a bit confused, it may be deduced from the context that the aforementioned cremation capacity corresponds to each crematorium. However, the possibility of incinerating two thousand cadavers in five crematories of three muffle furnaces each is absurd. It would be equivalent to nearly six cadavers an hour per muffle furnace, or what amounts to the same thing, less then eleven minutes per cadaver.

—According to the plan, the dimensions of the freight elevator were approximately 2 x 1.30 meters. Not very practical, therefore, for transporting the two thousand cadavers up to the level of the crematories.

—One would hardly be able to see through the peephole of the door how those persons closest to the “pipe” which fed in the gas “were falling down dead,” since due to the crowding of the room (nearly two thousand people in 210 square meters), it would not be possible to see beyond the first row of the human mass. Apart from the fact that it would be physically impossible to “fall” in an agglomeration of nine persons per square meter.

—Höss's expression that “the door was opened and the ventilation equipment turned on” implies that these two actions were carried out *simultaneously*, which would have produced a catastrophic effect as the gas spread outside the room, putting the very lives of the executioners in danger.

b) Pery Broad (low-ranking member—*Unterscharführer*—of the Auschwitz garrison):

Construction of the four new crematoriums in Birkenau, two of which were to be equipped with underground gas chambers, was speeded up by every available means. In each chamber, 4,000 units could be gassed simultaneously . . . In crematoriums I (II) and II (III), these rooms [for disrobing] were also underground. A stone staircase about two meters wide led to the underground rooms . . . Crematoriums I (II) and II (III) were equipped with fifteen furnaces, each of which could hold four or five bodies.³⁵

Critique:

— The simultaneous “gassing” of four thousand “units” is absolutely implausible. It would have meant cramming in 19 persons per square meter.

— Crematoriums II and III were provided with five crematories (multiple furnaces) each, not fifteen. Each crematory had three muffle furnaces. The capacity which Broad attributes to each furnace (in reality, muffle furnace) merits as much belief as the four thousand “units” introduced in the gas chamber.

c) Dr. P. Bendel (Auschwitz internee):

A double railway line brought the deportees to the very door of the twin crematoriums 1 and 2. With their spacious rooms provided with telephones and radios, an ultramodern dissection room, and a museum of anatomical exhibits, they constituted, as an SS man unashamedly told me, “the best thing of this sort ever done.” Completed in January of 1943, their inauguration was honored with the presence of Himmler in person . . . The convoy of those condemned to death entered, by means of a stone stairway, into a large underground room which served as a disrobing room. The instructions were that everyone had to bathe and then immediately pass on to the disinfection . . . From there, completely naked, they went through a narrow corridor into the true gas chambers (two in number). Constructed of reinforced concrete, one has the impression

upon entering them that the ceiling was falling on your head, it was so low. In the middle of these rooms, coming down from the ceiling, two pipes with a grating around them and an exterior valve served for the emission of the gases. Through a little skylight placed in the double door of solid oak, the SS were able to follow the frightful death throes of all those unfortunates. The cadavers were taken out immediately after by the men of the work detail and placed in an elevator that carried them back up to the ground floor where the sixteen furnaces were located. Their total capacity was around two thousand cadavers in 24 hours.³⁶

Critique:

– Crematoriums I (II) and II (III) were not completed in January of 1943 but in March and June, respectively, of the same year.³⁷ Moreover, Himmler could not have been present at the “inauguration,” since he visited Auschwitz for the last time in July of 1942.³⁸

– The official thesis maintains that there was only one gas chamber (Leichenkeller 1) in each crematorium, and not two as this witness claims. These gas chambers were not “so low” as Bendel affirms. The median height, as we previously indicated, was 2.40 meters.

– The total number of crematories in each crematorium, as has been stated several times, was five, each with three muffle furnaces; therefore, Bendel’s version of the sixteen furnaces is false.

d) Alfred Wetzler (Auschwitz internee):

At present there are four crematoriums in operation in Birkenau, two large ones, I and II, and two small, III and IV. Those of type I and II consist of three parts: a) the furnace room; b) the great hall; c) the gas chamber. An enormous chimney rises above the furnace room, around which are grouped nine furnaces, each with four openings; each opening can receive three normal cadavers at one time, and at the end of an hour and a half the corpses are completely consumed. That represents a daily capacity of around 2,000 bodies. Near this room there is a large reception hall arranged so as to give the impression of being the lobby of a public bath. It holds 2,000 people, and apparently there is a similar waiting room on the floor below. From there, a door and several stairsteps take you to the gas chamber, which is very long and narrow. The walls of this room appear to contain shower entrances, for the purpose of deceiving the victims. In the ceiling are fixed three little doors that can be sealed hermetically from the outside. A track leads from the gas chamber toward the crematory room. The administering of the gas is done as follows: the unfortunate victims are taken to the hall (b) where they are ordered to disrobe . . . Next the victims are brought together into the gas chamber (c). In order to squeeze this crowd into the cramped space, shots are frequently fired for the purpose of inducing those who have already got to the far end to move still closer together. When everyone is

inside, the heavy doors are closed. Then comes a short pause, probably to let the temperature of the room rise to a certain level, after which the SS men, wearing gas masks, climb to the roof, open the little doors, and drop a preparation in powder form taken from metal canisters labelled "Cyclon," "For use against parasites." . . . At the end of three minutes everyone in the room has died. No one ever survived this treatment, whereas it was not uncommon to discover signs of life in those who had been executed in the birch forest, because of the primitive methods employed there. Next the room is opened, ventilated, and the Sonderkommando piles up the bodies on flatbed trucks and transports them to the crematory rooms where the incineration takes place.³⁹

Critique:

- We already know that each crematorium was provided with five crematories of three muffle furnaces each. The reference to the nine furnaces and four openings is pure invention.
- The "great hall" is also a product of Wetzler's imagination, just like the "waiting room" on the ground floor. The "gas chamber" and the "crematory room" were not connected by a "track" but, as we know, by an elevator.
- Accordingly, if the only means of access to the crematories from the supposed gas chamber was the freight elevator, the "flatbed truck" mentioned in the text would serve no purpose.
- It would not be necessary for the SS men wearing gas masks to "climb" to the gas chamber, since the latter was underground, and its ceiling was practically at ground level.
- But the best way of convincing ourselves that we are faced with apocryphal evidence is to compare the plan contained in Wetzler's supposed original document (see Figure 12) with Figure 5, put out by the Auschwitz museum. The conclusion is obvious: Wetzler has never seen the place he describes.

* * * * *

G. Wellers, in another work, deals with the testimony of Henryk Tauber, an ex-prisoner of Auschwitz, given on 24 May 1945 before the examining magistrate of the Court of Cracow. In general, this testimony is in agreement with the official thesis. However, it contains a contradiction where he states that he was assigned to the Sonderkommando of crematorium II on 4 March 1943, inasmuch as this crematorium was not turned over to the camp administration until the 31st day of that month. H. Tauber further declared:

Between these two rooms [the disrobing room and the gas chamber] there was a corridor to which there was access from the outside by way of few stairs, and a chute down which they flung the cadavers coming from the camp, to convey them to the crematories.⁴⁰

This chute for cadavers establishes at least that the Germans had designed the crematoriums *also* for the incineration of prisoners who died from natural causes or epidemics, since, as we shall see, the “circuit” followed by those destined for extermination in the gas chambers was different. The tacit acknowledgement of the mixed use of the crematoriums that is derived from Tauber’s statement is per se disturbing for the credibility of the official doctrine. It is difficult to accept that the Germans had established a “circuit” for the cremation of the deceased from non-criminal causes which interfered with that followed by the victims of the gas chambers. It would have been much simpler to take the ones who died from natural causes directly to the crematory furnaces, avoiding their passage through the crowded basement of the crematorium.

Finally, it must be emphasized that all these testimonies are mutually irreconcilable. For example:

- For Höss, the capacity of the gas chambers was three thousand persons, for Broad four thousand, and for Wetzler two thousand.
- The number of crematory furnaces per crematorium was five for Höss (each with three hearths or muffle furnaces), fifteen for Broad, sixteen for Dr. Bendel, and nine (each with four openings) for Wetzler.
- Each crematorium had one gas chamber according to Höss and Wetzler, and two according to Bendel.
- The openings for the introduction of gas into the chamber were several (without specifying) for Höss, two for Bendel, and three for Wetzler.
- The doors of the gas chamber were one for Höss, one “double door” for Bendel, and several (without specifying) for Wetzler.
- The duration of the execution for “gassing” was twenty to thirty minutes for Höss and three minutes for Wetzler.
- The duration of the cremation of one cadaver was, on the average, eleven minutes for Höss and an hour and a half for Wetzler.

In view of the foregoing, one may well ask whether there is really anything in which these testimonies coincide. That notwithstanding, G. Wellers has the audacity to offer them as proof of the existence of the gas chambers, stating that the divergencies produced are “inevitable and natural.”⁴¹

VII. An Absurd Extermination Process

Now let us compare the alleged extermination, just as the official thesis claims it was carried out in crematoriums II and III, with the physical configuration, capacity, and dimensions of these installations (see Figure 13).

a. Entrance to the “disrobing room.” Access to the basement of the crematorium was originally by a door located in the main building itself, since Leichenkeller 1 and 2 lacked direct access from the outside. At least that is what one deduces from the plan. But in accordance with some testimonies, a stairway was presumably built at one end of Leichenkeller 2 in order to give access to the latter directly, a matter that is confirmed upon viewing photographs of the ruins of the crematoriums. On the other hand, we find no explanation of why the Germans constructed an underground “disrobing room,” when it would have been simpler and more economical to make it at ground level. On the other hand, the location underground was perfectly logical if in reality it was a question of a mortuary, just as the plans indicate.

But let us follow the official thesis. Let us accept that two thousand, three thousand or four thousand persons used the aforementioned stairway to enter the 396.5 square meters (less what it would be necessary to deduct for the space occupied by the eleven columns that supported the ceiling) of Leichenkeller 2. By straining our imagination, let us suppose that we have managed to accommodate five, seven, or ten persons per square meter, according to the various sources. Think of the discomfort and nervous strain of maneuvering and getting undressed in that mass of people, bearing in mind that the members of the Sonderkommando also went into the disrobing room in order to calm down the victims (testimony of Rudolf Höss). In those circumstances, the possibility for many of them to put their clothes on the racks (testimony of Dr. Bendel) would be very limited, taking into account also the existence of the “wooden benches” (testimony of Henryk Tauber), which would even further reduce the available space.

b. Once undressed, the victims would go out through a narrow corridor to reach a little vestibule (Vorraum) which gave access to the gas chamber. In the nature of things, the latter room, scarcely 210 square meters in area, would already be chock-full before the last victims had got out of the disrobing room. But let us put that problem aside and imagine that the Germans had succeeded in stuffing the two thousand, three thousand, or four thousand people—who still did not suspect anything—into the gas chamber. To do so, it would be necessary to press nine, fourteen, or nineteen persons respectively into each square meter. And in that precise moment, the SS would proceed to “gas” the crowd by means of a procedure which we shall describe in detail further on.

c. The “gassing” once completed, the energetic members of the Sonderkommando had to get on with the hauling of the cadavers from the jam-packed gas chamber of 30 x 7 meters with only one door approximately 1.80 x 1.90 meters (or 2 x 1.92 if we credit document NO-4465). An accomplishment that would undoubtedly

have taken a great deal of time, even for the most enthusiastic Stakhanovites of extermination.

The next phase consisted in the cutting of hair and the extraction of gold teeth from the cadavers, a labor which, apart from being slow and awkward (jaws clenched by rigor mortis), would also be very dangerous, since the lethal agent (hydrocyanic acid), a very penetrating gas, would have got into the mucus and been retained in the mouth and in the folds of the body, as well as in the hair.⁴²

Afterwards, so the official thesis claims, they would proceed to raise the cadavers up to the level of the cremation room by means of the little freight elevator (approximately 2 x 1.30 meters) located in the same vestibule in which the cadavers were being piled up on top of those the members of the Sonderkommando were operating on in their new assignment as barbers and dentists. Logically, the hauling of the some hundreds or thousands of cadavers to the cremation room by means of such a small freight elevator would again have taken a great deal of time and an eternity of ascending and descending.

d. When we arrive at the moment of the cremation of the cadavers, another unsolvable problem arises. In effect, if we consider that the time it takes to cremate one corpse is fifty minutes, which is the shortest time we have been able to find (see page 309), then it would have been possible to consume only fifteen cadavers in that length of time, which gives us a daily total of 432. So that to convert Höss's two thousand cadavers into ashes, for example, would have taken more than four days, assuming that the furnaces were functioning without interruption twenty-four hours a day. Thus the process of extermination of only a single batch of victims would have jammed the system for four days at a minimum. And thus becomes quite implausible the thesis maintained by the Auschwitz museum through its scale models (see Figure 14) that while the gas chamber was being cleared and the victims taken to the crematory furnaces, the next shift was being prepared in the disrobing room.

VIII. An Aberrant Gas Chamber

Finally let us linger over the supposed gas chamber proper.

As we have already pointed out, the official thesis has it that Leichenkeller 1 of crematoriums II and III was really a gas chamber used for homicide. Now let us see why we consider that the selection of this particular place for extermination by means of poison gas is a technical aberration.

a. We can not understand the reason why the Germans constructed underground gas chambers. It makes no sense. There is no motive for doing so. Quite the contrary: not having built them at ground level entailed a series of additional problems. In the first

place, the low temperature would make the evaporation of the hydrocyanic acid more difficult. In effect, even if the evaporation occurs at 0° centigrade, “HCN [hydrocyanic acid] evaporated more rapidly at a high temperature.”⁴³ Why were the Germans stupidly going to construct an underground and therefore colder building? Why retard the evaporation of the HCN? Why make the extermination process slower? It is absurd. In the second place, if the Germans had built the gas chamber at ground level, they would have spared themselves the installation of the freight elevator, which necessarily even further delayed the hauling of the cadavers to the cremation room. A more rational arrangement would have placed the gas chamber at ground level, that is, at the level of the furnaces, so that the “traffic” between them and the gas chamber would have been enormously simplified. Thus, the concept of an underground gas chamber was not logical from the point of view of the extermination process either. On the other hand, this arrangement of the building would be perfectly logical if the German wished to utilize it as a mortuary, as indicated in the plans. Given the fact that the process of the cremation of cadavers was slow, a space, a “cold room,” was designed for storing them up to the moment of incineration. This “cold room” served the purpose of retarding decomposition. The ventilation system which is shown in the plan of the cross section of Leichenkeller 1 would serve to eliminate the odors arising from putrefaction.⁴⁴ Thus, the thesis maintained by G. Wellers and other authors that the Germans employed a code language whose key has not yet been found and according to which:

Leichenkeller 1 = gas chamber

Leichenkeller 2 = disrobing room

is based solely on groundless speculation.

With regard to the temperature, G. Wellers maintains the following theory:

In a room that is closed and airtight and also full of human beings, the temperature must have risen rapidly. The boiling temperature of hydrocyanic acid is 26° [centigrade]. Without the least doubt, under these conditions, the hydrocyanic acid passed into a gaseous state, and the various surfaces—the walls, the ceiling, the skin area of the bodies of those executed, their hair—reached or exceeded the boiling temperature of the hydrocyanic acid. Thus, a fairly powerful ventilator must have rapidly evacuated the hydrocyanic acid vapors, which did not condense on the warm surfaces.⁴⁵

Wellers does not explain how the temperature could pass almost instantly from some degrees below zero—supposedly they continued to use the gas chamber even during the severe winters of Eastern Europe—to 26° centigrade above zero. Again, the air that was going to be used for ventilation came directly from the outside; so it was a

question of a current of cold air capable of causing condensation of the HCN and thus making its evacuation more difficult. But even accepting Wellers's allegation, the reason for construction of an underground chamber would still be unexplained. On this point the official thesis is confronted with an obstacle that in our judgment is insurmountable.

b. If the Germans had wished to install gas chambers for homicidal purposes, they would naturally have proceeded in accordance with scientific criteria, based on functional designs adapted to the end in view. In other words, they would have to have provided their gas chambers with a few minimum technical requisites. Let us see, by way of example, what the professionals in the field of fumigation by means of gas demand of their installations:

Even the most toxic gases require a certain minimum period of exposure and concentration if they are to be lethal. Thus, any room devised to serve this objective regularly must be so constructed that airtightness is assured. The type of material used in its construction is of little importance, because it can be made impermeable by the application of coatings of chlorine rubber, bituminous, or plastic materials.

A well-designed fumigation chamber, besides being airtight, must have an adequate system for vaporization of the fumigants and for ventilation, as well as a system of simple functioning that reduces technical manipulation to a minimum.⁴⁶

Nothing similar to that was to be found in the supposed gas chambers of crematoriums II and III of Birkenau. Airtightness was nonexistent, particularly in the "wells" or openings through which presumably the gas was introduced.⁴⁷ Nor is there evidence of any lining or coating whatsoever. The various testimonies and the remains themselves indicate only bare concrete walls. Nor was there a vaporization system, the executioners resigning themselves to the primitive and awkward method reported by Höss and other witnesses. As for the ventilation, we have already seen that although Leichenkeller 1 had a system available for drawing out the air (*Entlüftungskanal*), the latter, placed in the lowest part of the building, would hardly have been able to eliminate the hydrocyanic acid vapors, first because the hodgepodge of cadavers would have obstructed the air exhaust vents; and in the second place because HCN is lighter than air and would have become concentrated in the upper part of the chamber.

G. Wellers claims that the existence of this *Entlüftungskanal* is one more indication proving that Leichenkeller 1 was a gas chamber:

When you round out these facts with an attentive examination of the plans of the Leichenkeller Nos. 1 and 2' of crematoriums II (I) and III (II), you observe that cellar No. 1 is not so long as cellar No. 2 and, above all, that it is provided with a ventilation and air exhaust

mechanism that is perfectly visible and noted in the vertical section, whereas the Leichenkeller No. 2 does not have any similar equipment.⁴⁸ (See Figure 15).

Wellers is mistaken on this last point. The report of the test engineer of the Topf company, manufacturer of the crematory furnaces, dated 29 January 1943, establishes:

The delivery of the aeration and ventilation equipment of the mortuaries has been delayed due to a lack of available freight cars.⁴⁹

Let it be emphasized that the technician uses the plural to refer to “the mortuaries,” whereby he implies that both places were provided with ventilation installations. In the same sense, J.-C. Pressac affirms that Leichenkeller 2 also had a system of ventilation “by air intake” through pipes.⁵⁰ Thus, the existence of a ventilation conduit in Leichenkeller 1 does not prove it was a gas chamber used for killing people, since Leichenkeller 2, which is supposed to have been only a disrobing room, has one as well.

In short, it appears that the Germans had omitted even the most elementary components of a simple fumigation chamber in their attempt, supposedly scientific and well planned, to construct homicidal gas chambers.

* * * * *

Fumigation or disinfestation chambers are provided moreover with a mechanism that produces an air current in a closed circuit in order to accelerate and make more efficient the fulfillment of its task. Note how the technicians explain this question:

In a simple chamber, the diffusion of the gas depends on the normal velocity of expansion. This slow process can be considerably *accelerated by means of the artificial movement or better circulation of the air* [emphasis in the original]. The most efficient method of circulation is to extract the gas on one side of the chamber by means of an airtight ventilator, leading it through a tube to the other side, where it is again pumped into the chamber. Circulation of the gas by this means *assures the most complete distribution within the chamber* [emphasis in the original]. When passing across a vaporizer incorporated in the circulatory system, the current of air will draw up and spread the fumigant. The efficiency of the gas will be increased by hooking up a hermetic heater that will gradually raise the temperature of the room.⁵¹

This system of circulation is demonstrably of great efficiency, as shown in Figure 15.

As we have repeatedly indicated, although Leichenkeller 1 had a ventilation-exhaust system, the system, so Höss declares, was set in operation upon completion of the “gassing” (“half an hour after sending in the gas, the door was opened and the ventilation equipment turned on”). There was therefore no circulatory system.

Half an hour after introduction of the Zyklon, the concentration of gas in the chamber would be very irregular (see Figure 15). This fact is difficult to reconcile, for example, with the "three minutes" that Wetzler indicates as the duration of the "gassing."

An objection will possibly be made, nevertheless, that the situation indicated in Figure 15 would only occur in the case of an ordinary fumigation or disinfestation. It is very probable that in a "gassing" of humans in a crowded room conditions might be different, but that does not prevent us from recognizing the utility of the circulatory system, inasmuch as in both cases—fumigation and "gassing"—it was a question of applying and distributing the gas as rapidly and uniformly as possible.

The most curious thing is that the fumigation chambers we have made reference to were in the same concentration camps.⁵² Immediately our attention is drawn to the fact that fumigation and disinfestation chambers, sanitary and hygienic installations, were constructed in an "extermination camp"; and, above all, that the Germans learned nothing from them in constructing their supposed gas chambers for killing humans.

Perhaps it would be instructive to understand, if only superficially, an industrial fumigation or insect control installation such as that we reproduce in Figures 17 and 17a, in order to have a faint idea of what an establishment dedicated to the mass extermination of humans would have to have been, from a technical point of view. Alongside such an installation the crematoriums and the procedures supposedly used in Auschwitz are mere bungling.

c. The lethal agent employed, according to the official thesis, was an insecticide and fumigant known under the trade name of Zyklon B or Zyklon, which the manufacturer, the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Schädlingbekämpfung m.b.H. (abbrev., DEGESCH), defines in the following manner:

In Zyklon, 98%-99% pure liquid hydrocyanic acid is chemically stabilized and absorbed in a porous and inert material. It is available in small pieces (snippets) or in disks of wood pulp.⁵³

The hydrocyanic acid evaporates slowly—depending upon ambient conditions such as humidity and temperature—from the porous base used as a carrier. This slowness operates to make the action of the insect control one of long duration, as indicated by the manufacturer:

Exposure times may vary greatly, for example, from 2 to 72 hours. The different types of pests, small air leaks in dwellings, and unfavorable weather conditions, difficulties of penetration and other circumstances must be taken into account in determining the concentration and time of exposure.⁵⁴

The application of Zyklon is a complex operation in that a team of several persons, technically trained, must distribute the product carefully according to the parasite to be destroyed and the volume of the premises. The operation must be carried out *within* the confines of the area undergoing disinfestation (see Figure 19). Nevertheless, under special conditions, such as clearing a ship's hold of rats, the Zyklon may be hurled from cover, without the necessity of entering the area personally (see Figure 20).⁵⁵

* * * * *

One of the peculiarities of hydrocyanic acid is its high toxicity to humans. Miniscule quantities are sufficient to cause a person's death. The *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, for example, points out that "exposure to concentrations of 200-500 parts [of HCN] per 1,000,000 parts of air for 30 minutes is usually fatal."⁵⁶ Even Exterminationist authors admit that a dosage of one milligram per kilo of body weight "is the minimum dosage that causes death with certainty."⁵⁷ With some seventy milligrams, therefore, one could end the life of a person of seventy kilos. That means that theoretically at least it would be possible to "gas" two thousand people with scarcely 140 grams of hydrocyanic acid.

What was the dosage employed by the Germans in the gas chambers of crematoriums II and III? According to Höss, to "gas" fifteen hundred people, a minimum of seven one-kilo cans of Zyklon B were needed.⁵⁸ Bearing in mind that Zyklon B is composed of 98%-99% hydrocyanic acid, it is apparent that the employment of at least seven kilos assumes that a minimum of 6,860 grams of hydrocyanic acid was introduced into the chamber. [Editor's note: While the HCN accounted for a fraction of the net weight of the Zyklon B can, since it was absorbed in a stabilizer, normally the cans were labeled with, and thus designated by, the weight of the HCN ingredient alone.] If we accept that seventy milligrams are sufficient to cause the death of a person of average size, logic tells us that the fifteen hundred people in the gas chamber would have died on inhaling altogether no more than 105 grams. In other words, 98.47% of the lethal agent would still be in the gas chamber at the completion of the "gassing." The statements of Wellers then are inaccurate in reasoning that the concentration of hydrocyanic acid "must have decreased rapidly in consequence of the absorption of the vapors by the lungs of those executed,"⁵⁹ and that "the 'disinfector' on duty, skillful after a certain amount of experience, knew how to avoid 'wasting' the weapon of the crime."⁶⁰ Besides, it is not logical that the Germans should introduce an excessive quantity of Zyklon B when only the smallest fraction of the same amount would have achieved their objective. The quantity indicated by Höss would have had as a result that the gas chamber would be filled with

hydrocyanic acid precisely at the moment in which the victims had already died and the ventilation process was going to be started.

In any event we realize that adducing all these technical factors as proof is pointless if we accept that the Germans succeeded in cramming fifteen hundred, two thousand, or three thousand people into the approximately five hundred cubic meters of the gas chamber. Under those conditions the gas would have been unnecessary.

To put an end to this section, we do not wish to omit the contents of a letter of a professional toxicologist and judicial expert, Louis Truffert, directed to LICRA (International League Against Racism and Antisemitism) on the occasion of the trial which brought that organization into confrontation with Professor Faurisson.⁶¹ Wellers claims that the toxicologist's letter confirmed the official thesis. Truffert stated among other things that Zyklon B

rapidly releases vapors of hydrocyanic acid, without, however, achieving a considerable concentration in the atmosphere when that is maintained below the boiling point of the poison . . .

That is why it does not seem to me at all impossible that the persons not provided with gas masks might without difficulty enter a gas chamber containing nude bodies whose temperature was likely still to exceed 26 degrees centigrade (therefore not capable of retaining the poison by absorption), however little it had been ventilated, even very slightly.⁶²

Now let us consider some objections to Truffert's thesis. In the first place, if the Zyklon does not reach a "considerable concentration" below 26 degrees centigrade, then there is no explaining why the Germans constructed underground gas chambers, ensuring lower temperatures (see page 319). In the second place, and against Truffert's opinion, the manufacturer of Zyklon establishes standards that are much more strict with respect to ventilation:

Ventilation:

During this period gas masks must be worn. Ventilation takes place in the reverse direction to the application of the gas (gassing). All windows near the entrance are opened first, and later gradually those in the rest of the building. It is advisable to work only 10 to 15 minutes at a time and to make interruptions of half an hour as a precaution against skin poisoning.

According to [Zyklon] concentration, outside temperature and climate conditions, ventilation should continue for at least ten hours. The duration also depends on the type of building, and the number, size and location of windows and other openings.⁶³

The above text illustrates the exhaustive precautions that must be adopted when carrying out fumigation work with hydrocyanic acid. Although the strict instructions of the manufacturer refer to natural

ventilation by means of doors and windows, the conditions present in the supposed gas chamber and its ventilation system (entry of cold air capable of condensing the gas, ventilation openings at ground level, probably sealed off by the jumble of cadavers, and high concentration of hydrocyanic acid at the end of the "gassing") would hardly allow the entry of persons without gas masks to undertake the hard physical exertion of hauling cadavers after only a limited ventilation.

But there is more. On the occasion of the aforementioned litigation between LICRA and related organizations on one side, and Faurisson on the other, the latter visited the toxicologist, Truffert, showing him the plans and the scheme of operation of the supposed gas chamber of Leichenkeller 1. In Faurisson's words, this was the toxicologist's reaction:

He immediately exclaimed about the impossibility of a homicidal gassing operation in such conditions. It is that which he wanted to confirm for us in a letter dated 3 April 1981, a copy of which was to be received by the LICRA. Here is the passage that directly concerns the question: "Nevertheless, the observation that I made, [in my response to LICRA], concerning the possibility of going into a room containing bodies poisoned with hydrocyanic acid without a gas mask, involves the case of a gas chamber at ground level, opening to the fresh air, and it is evident that important reservations must be made in the case of underground installations. Such a situation would require a very large ventilation apparatus and draconian precautions in order to avoid pollution likely to be caused by accidents."⁶⁴

In consequence, we believe that the report of toxicologist L. Truffert can not be considered proof of the existence of a homicide gas chamber either.

IX. Recapitulation

And now, finally, let us summarize the conclusions we have reached in this brief study.

a. The situation of the Birkenau camp, and of crematoriums II and III within the camp, was not suitable for carrying out a massive extermination of human beings under conditions of even the most elementary secrecy.

b. Crematoriums II and III, as revealed to us in the plans, were simple installations designed for the cremation of cadavers, with all the auxiliary facilities typical of such installations: underground mortuaries to retard decomposition, dissection and autopsy rooms, coal bunkers, cremation rooms, etc. To this date there is no document known which indicates that the crematoriums were anything other than what the plans show. This fact has compelled the partisans of "orthodoxy" to invent the theory of the "secret code"

whereby the SS, using commonplace terms, presumably concealed the reality of the gas chambers.

c. Such documents as are available to support the official thesis offer no proof of the criminal character of these installations. The mention of "gas-tight doors" does not necessarily prove the existence of gas chambers used for homicide. Not to mention that the authenticity of some of these documents is at the very least dubious.

d. The studies and reports of the specialists do not seem conclusive either. The report of Truffert, the toxicologist, suffers from one grave deficiency: he was not acquainted with the physical situation of the gas chambers. When Professor Faurisson revealed it to him, Truffert reconsidered his position. The "specialist's report" of Cracow is limited to recording the existence of residues of HCN on some objects which are said to have come from the crematoriums. We have already demonstrated a clear contradiction on this last point.

e. The testimonies of the survivors (internees and former members of the SS) are mutually irreconcilable, some of them even internally so. For the most part they are absurd and do not square with the physical configuration of the actual sites.

f. The aerial photographs taken during the war do not corroborate the official doctrine, but quite the contrary. There are no signs of smoke from the chimneys, nor masses of people around the crematoriums. These graphic documents, analyzed at the time by Allied photography experts, were not used in the postwar trials. That is the best proof that it was not possible to detect in them anything remotely like a mass extermination. And we emphasize that these photographs were taken at a time when the "Holocaust" of Auschwitz was theoretically at its culmination point.

g. The "industrial" process that would have been necessary in the extermination and incineration to accord with the physical configuration of the premises and with the testimonies is manifestly irrational. Moreover, neither the disrobing room, nor the gas chamber, nor the freight elevator, nor the capacity of the crematory furnaces was adapted to a slaughter of the proportions claimed by the official thesis.

h. The contradiction in the case of the gas chamber is particularly patent. It implies that the Germans renounced the employment of a technology in which they were world leaders (fumigation and disinfection gas chambers) in order to "engineer" instead a botched mess in which the process of annihilation by gas would have been slow, cumbersome, and fatal for the executioners themselves.

In view of all the foregoing, our conclusion is obvious: *The thesis of the extermination of great masses of human beings by means of*

poison gas in the gas chambers of crematoriums II and III of Birkenau is untenable.

The official thesis, moreover, combines all the requisites of a historical hoax.

Appendix I. The Surprising Thesis of J.-C. Pressac

J.-C. Pressac, the aforementioned French Exterminationist author, after a series of investigations in Auschwitz, has arrived at the conclusion that all the crematoriums of Birkenau were conceived originally without any criminal purpose, but later “adapted” with the intent of carrying out a massive extermination:

Initially crematorium II—and consequently III—was not planned in 1941 for mass homicide. It was converted for this purpose later. This surprising conclusion derives from a study of the initial plans, correspondence, contemporary photos, and the testimonies of the survivors.¹

And again:

Crematoriums IV and V were not conceived as criminal instruments but were converted to that end.²

Pressac’s position, which implies a Copernican revolution in the Exterminationist doctrine, is difficult to reconcile with the memoirs of Höss, until now considered to be the principal proof of the existence of the gas chambers. Let us have a look at what Höss, the former commander of Auschwitz, states in his supposed memoirs:

In the summer of 1941, when [Himmler] personally gave me the order to prepare in Auschwitz an installation designed for mass extermination and charged me with its operation, I could not imagine the extent of this undertaking or the effect it would produce.³

And:

A few days after [the meeting with Himmler] I sent to the Reichsführer by special messenger a detailed plan of the location and an exact description of the projected installations. I never received an answer nor a decision in the matter. Later, Eichmann told me in passing that Himmler was in agreement.⁴

Pressac, however, maintains that crematoriums II and III of Birkenau were designed later than October of 1941.⁵ Therefore, and according to the thesis of the French author, the Germans were designing their crematoria as hygienic installations devoid of any criminal character *after Höss received the order to prepare installations for mass extermination*. The sequence of events—if we follow Pressac’s logic in relation with the official doctrine—would have to be as follows:

1. In the summer of 1941 Höss received the order to prepare one or several extermination installations and went so far as to prepare a plan, which Himmler approved.

2. Later, despite Himmler's instructions, Höss designed several large-capacity crematoriums of a sanitary and hygienic character, with no criminal features.

3. Finally, at some unknown date, Höss, with criminal intent, converted several installations conceived for sanitary use, already under construction or perhaps completed, into extermination facilities.

In our judgment, the Exterminationist thesis at this point finds itself in a blind alley. If, with Pressac, we analyze the Birkenau crematoriums in depth, we come to the conclusion that their original conception is incompatible with the role they are given as wholesale human slaughterhouses.⁶ But if we admit the commonplace character of the crematoriums—at least in their conception—we then enter into contradiction with the supposed memoirs of Höss, which until now have been considered the cornerstone of the Auschwitz legend.

As Professor Faurisson has said, with J.-C. Pressac's analysis, the legend of the gas chambers "has entered its death throes."

Appendix II.

Marginal Notes to an Aerial Photograph of Auschwitz

Figures 8 and 8a have an extraordinary historical value. The photograph was taken by the U.S. Air Force on 25 August 1944 and then went completely unnoticed, without anything abnormal being found in it by the photo interpretation specialists of the time. It was not until 1979, as a result of the telecast of the *Holocaust* series, that two specialists of the CIA, D.A. Brugioni and R.G. Poirier, rescued it from the dusty archives, interpreting it and commenting on it according to the official dogma.¹ In spite of their Exterminationist good intentions, the authors had to acknowledge that

even though the camp survivors remember a cloud of smoke and flames that issued continuously from the chimneys of the crematory furnaces and that was visible in a radius of some kilometers, the photographs we have studied do not offer any positive proof.²

G. Wellers comments on this grave disagreement with the official thesis as follows:

In short, the photos do not confirm the statements according to which the crematories and burial pits were in constant activity every day.

I am willing to believe that it is more a matter of an expression than a daily reality: when we say: "I'm dying of hunger," we are not really at the brink of death.³

The confession of Wellers is important insofar as it serves to acknowledge that it is not necessary to take the testimony of the supposed witnesses literally. It is an important concession. In order

to give his argument more force, the French author remarks that on the date the photograph was taken, no convoys of Jews arrived at Auschwitz. According to Wellers,

this explains perfectly the absence, on the days indicated, of exceptional activity around the crematoria and of clouds of smoke issuing from the chimneys or from the incineration pits.⁴

As we have stated, the photograph which we reproduce is dated 25 August 1944, a date on which, according to the *Kalendarium* of Auschwitz, no convoy arrived at Birkenau. But the previous day, according to the same source, yielded the arrival of five convoys destined for extermination. And it is absolutely inconceivable that several thousands of people could be exterminated and incinerated in less than 24 hours without leaving the slightest trace. In the photograph, which, according to the position of the shadows, was taken in the early hours of the morning, there is not the slightest trace of smoke, open fires, or movement of crowds of people or vehicles around the crematoriums to be detected. That the five convoys slated for extermination should have vanished into thin air in less than 24 hours without leaving any traces is one of the typical physical impossibilities that characterize the Auschwitz legend.

With regard to the photograph itself, we call attention to several aspects we find interesting. The gate to crematorium II is open, which is surprising in an installation supposedly ultrasecret. The photo interpretation specialists of 1979 explain that it was due to the fact that a group of prisoners was making its way in that direction in order to be exterminated.⁵ Wellers, who knows that according to the *Kalendarium* no convoys arrived that day, has to correct the analysts of the CIA:

We have to think, with some reservations, that on the 25th of August it was a question of a transfer of a group of detainees from Birkenau to the Neuengamme camp.⁶

Therefore in the opposite direction.

On the other hand, no one has explained the function of the garden which was situated on the grounds of the crematorium. In good Exterminationist logic, it must have formed part of the *attrezzo* [stage effects] arranged on the scene by the Germans to confuse their victims about their fatal destiny.

The rectangular hole located in the upper part of the enclosure of crematorium II is characterized by the CIA analysts, inclined towards any interpretation of a sinister kind, as a "possible cremation pit," without noting the absurdity of digging a pit to burn cadavers when the logical thing would be to burn them on a pyre.

In short, the interpretation given by the analysts of 1979 to this photograph prove the legend's power of suggestion: Brugioni and Poirier are "seeing" the extermination process on a day when,

according to the official sources themselves, there was no such extermination.

Notes

Main Text:

1. These research scholars are known today as *Revisionists*. A good study of the development of Historical Revisionism can be found in the work of the Italian author Carlo Mattogno, *Il mito dello sterminio ebraico*, Monfalcone, Sentinella d'Italia, 1985, pp. 42-55 [Translated in this issue of *The Journal of Historical Review*].
2. Martin Gilbert, *Auschwitz and the Allies*, London, Arrow, 1984.
3. Danuta Czech, "Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Konzentrationslager Auschwitz-Birkenau," *Hefte von Auschwitz*, Nos. 2 (1959), 3 (1960), 4 (1961), 6 (1962), 7 (1964), 8 (1964). The aforementioned C. Mattogno points out that the *Kalendarium* enjoys a great reputation among Establishment historians, but in reality, rather than an historical scientific work, it is essentially a propagandistic endeavor whose principal aim is to give sanction, through a vast pseudoscientific apparatus, to the myth of the 'death factory' of Auschwitz" (C. Mattogno, *Wellers e i 'gasati' di Auschwitz*, Parma, La Sfinge, n.d., p. 6). Mattogno, in the same work, gives six examples of falsehoods, inventions, falsification of sources and utilization of spurious sources in the *Kalendarium* (pp. 6-9).
4. There is no unanimity with respect to the nomenclature of the crematoriums of Birkenau. The Central Construction Office of the Waffen-SS and Police, Auschwitz (*Zentralbauleitung der Waffen-SS und Polizei Auschwitz*) employed a double nomenclature, giving these two crematoriums the numbers I and II as well as II and III respectively. In our work we have chosen the latter designation as being that generally accepted at the present time (cf., for example, J.-C. Pressac, "Les 'Krematorien' IV et V de Birkenau et leurs chambres à gaz," *Le Monde Juif*, No. 107, 1982, p. 97).
5. Wilhelm Stäglich, *Le Mythe d'Auschwitz*, Paris, La Vieille Taupe, 1986, p. 9.
6. Gerald Reitlinger, *The Final Solution*, p. 105, quoted by W. Stäglich, op. cit., p. 434, n. 108.
7. Testimony of Mark Klein reproduced in Leon Poliakov and Josef Wulf, *El Tercer Reich y los judios*, Barcelona, Seix Barral, 1960, p. 216.
8. Documento NO-4463. The Americans, in the celebrated postwar trials by the Nuremberg Military Tribunal (NMT), classified evidential documents according to an alphanumeric code. This document corresponds to the "concentration camps" trial (US versus Pohl, *Concentration Camps Case*).
9. Robert Faurisson, *Mémoire en défense contre ceux qui m'accusent de falsifier l'Histoire*, Paris, La Vieille Taupe, 1980, p. 155 (facsimile reproduction of the letter of K. Smolen, director of the Auschwitz, to the author).

10. J.-C. Pressac, loc. cit., p. 114.
11. R. Faurisson, op. cit., p. 153.
12. Ibid.
13. Georges Wellers, *Les chambres à gaz ont existé*, n.p., Gallimard, 1981, p. 90; AAVV, *Les chambres à gaz secret d'État*, Paris, Les Editions de Minuit, 1984, p. 198-199.
14. Arthur Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, Costa Mesa, Institute for Historical Review, 1980, pp. 120-121; R. Faurisson, op. cit., p. 85. Professor Faurisson has modified his initial position, indicating that it is not possible to determine the purpose of the Vergasungskeller inasmuch as we do not have a detailed plan of all the constituent parts of Crematorium II (personal letter from the author 17 February 1987). However, the same author has also hazarded the hypothesis that the Vergasungskeller was the place where the products employed in fumigation were stored. In France he points out, this material must be stored "in a dry basement, well ventilated and locked" ("Gas zur Vergasung," paper of Professor Faurisson, 1985?).
15. J.-C. Pressac, on the other hand, maintains that a report of the test engineer of the manufacturing company which made the furnaces, "clarifies directly" that the Vergasungskeller was Leichenkeller 1 (loc. cit., p. 107, n. 10). However, this report confines itself to indicating that it had still not been possible to dismantle the framework from the ceiling of Leichenkeller 2 (AAVV, op. cit., p. 199), so that the only thing that this text "clarifies directly" is that the Leichenkeller spoken of in document NO-4473 was Leichenkeller 2. The Vergasungskeller could have been located in any other underground space of the crematorium, not necessarily in Leichenkeller 1 (let us remember that there was also a Leichenkeller 3).
16. Personal letter from the author (19 September 1986).
17. AAVV, op. cit., p. 76. There are two carbon copies of the original document preserved in the Auschwitz museum. In one of them there is mention of "three gastight towers" (*drei gasdichte Türme*); the word "towers" (*Türme*) is repeated in the the document a little farther on. In the other copy, the word "towers" had been corrected to "doors" (*Türen*), leaving the second one, on the other hand, intact. Who the "corrector" was is not known. Reproduction of the documents: *Colloque de l'Ecole des hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, L'Allemagne nazie et le génocide Juif*, n.p., Gallimard-Le Seuil, 1985, J.-C. Pressac, "Etude et Réalisation des Krematorien IV et V d'Auschwitz-Birkenau," pp. 571-572.
18. *Hefte von Auschwitz*, 4, 1961, p. 110. Cited by C. Mattogno, *Auschwitz: un caso di plagio*, Parma, La Sfinge, s.f., p. 12.
19. W. Stäglich, op. cit., p. 72. He cites as source the "Central Construction Office of Hamburg," which alludes to the crematory furnace of Oejendorf.
20. C. Mattogno, *Auschwitz: un caso di plagio*, p. 13.
21. R. Faurisson, *Réponse à Pierre Vidal-Naquet*, Paris, La Vieille Taupe, 1982, p. 79.

22. L.A. Rollins, "Azriel Eisenberg Presents the Greatest Sob Story Ever Told (with a Cast of Millions)," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1985-1986, p. 485, vol. 6, No. 4.
23. *Gran Enciclopedia del Mundo*, Bilbao, Durvan, 1966, article "Incineration," volume 10, p. 852. In this case, a cadaver leaves from "two to three kilos of white mineral ashes."
24. W. Stäglich, op. cit., p. 73
25. Protection was also necessary against high explosive and incendiary bombs. British historian David Irving has made clear that the principal cause of death in the Allied air raids on the German cities was the emanation of poison gases, carbon monoxide above all, produced by fires, to the extent that the Germans, on several occasions, performed autopsies on cadavers, suspecting the the Allied had used poison gas. (D. Irving, *La destrucción de Dresde*, Madrid, Uriarte, n.d., pp. 43, 64 and 243).
26. M. Gilbert points out that the United State Air Force, by mistake, dropped a number of bombs on Birkenau. One of them killed thirty civilian workers (M. Gilbert, op. cit., p. 315). Let us point out in passing the difficulty of keeping secret the mass killings supposedly carried out in Birkenau, since it is admitted that civilian workers moved around within the area of the "extermination camp."
27. G. Wellers, op. cit., pp. 205-208. As incredible as it may seem, specialist reports have never been made on the buildings which supposedly served as gas chambers. For the various postwar tribunals it has been enough to recall article 21 of the statutes of the International Military Tribunal of 1945 to obviate any investigation of the physical reality of the gas chambers. Article 21 establishes:

The Tribunal shall not require proof of facts of common knowledge.
28. Serge Thion, *Vérité historique ou vérité politique?*, Paris, La Vieille Taupe, 1980, pp. 314-317.
29. We are indebted for this information to the Italian investigator, Carlo Mattogno, to whom, moreover, nothing indicates that these spots are openings.
30. Witness H. Tauber, for example, speaks of "the little shafts of the four openings through which the gas was thrown into the chamber" (AAVV, *Les chambres à gaz secret d'Etat*, p. 208). J.-C. Pressac mentions "the little chimneys which stuck up from the roof of the gas chamber about 40-50 centimeters" (*L'Album d'Auschwitz*, n. p., Seuil, 1983, p. 212).
31. J.-C. Pressac, "Les 'Krematorien' IV et V de Birkenau et leurs chambres à gaz," p. 127.
32. G. Wellers, op. cit., pp. 109-116.
33. With regard to the memoirs of R. Höss, commander of Auschwitz, see the critique of Paul Rassinier (*El drama de los judíos europeos*), Barcelona, Acervo, 1976, pp. 53-63), R. Faurisson (*Mémoire en défense*, pp. 157-164; very enlightening also is his work "Comment les britanniques ont obtenu les aveux de Rudolf Höss, commandant d'Auschwitz," *Annales d'histoire révisionniste*, No. 1, spring 1987, pp.

- 137-152), W. Stäglich (op. cit., pp. 272-298) and, above all, C. Mattogno (*Auschwitz: le "confessioni" di Höss*, Parma, n.d., La Sfinge).
34. G. Wellers, op. cit., pp. 109-111.
 35. G. Wellers, op. cit., pp. 111-112.
 36. G. Wellers, op. cit., p. 113.
 37. AAVV, *Les chambres à gaz secret d'Etat*, p. 198.
 38. W. Stäglich, op. cit., p. 219.
 39. G. Wellers, op. cit., pp. 114-115.
 40. AAVV, *Les chambres à gaz secret d'Etat*, p. 208. Chapter VII ("Auschwitz") in this work written by G. Wellers.
 41. G. Wellers, op. cit., p. 129.
 42. Compare with the procedure followed in removing a cadaver from the gas chamber in some American prisons: "The doctor and two assistants must enter the chamber wearing gas masks, rubber apron, rubber gloves; the doctor shakes the head of hair of the dead person in order to eliminate as far as possible the molecules of hydrocyanic acid . . . ; the two assistants must wash the body with a stream [of water]" (S. Thion, op. cit., p. 307).
 44. This interpretation seems to be upheld even by a notorious Exterminationist like J.-C. Pressac, who states that large ventilated basements had been provided in crematoriums II and III, "necessitated by an increasing mortality rate and the delay of the several days that were likely to elapse between the death and the cremation" (*L'album d'Auschwitz*, p. 212). In the same sense, "Les 'Krematorien' IV et V et leurs . . .," p. 108. An important contradiction derives, in our judgment, from this fact. Pressac claims that crematoriums II and III were conceived initially without any criminal purpose (cf. Appendix I), being converted later into human slaughterhouses. Following the reasoning of the French author, one arrives at the absurd conclusion that these crematoriums needed mortuaries when they had to attend only to the usual natural death rate of the camp, and that, on the other hand, they did not need them when they had to contend with mountains of cadavers of the "exterminated."
 45. G. Wellers, op. cit., p. 134.
 46. DEGESCH, *Fumigation Chambers for Pest Control*, Frankfurt, n.d., p. 8.
 With regard to the installation and functioning of gas chambers for the execution of men condemned to death in some American prisons, see S. Thion, op. cit., pp. 301-309 and the newspaper *The Spotlight*, 24 September 1979 (reprint), p. 13.
 47. "Above the gas chamber rose up the little shafts of the four openings through which the gas was thrown into the chamber. These openings were closed by a slab of concrete fitted with two wooden handles." Deposition of H. Tauber, member of the Sonderkommando assigned in crematorium II, before the examining magistrate of the Tribunal of Cracow on 24 May 1945 (AAVV, *Les chambres à gaz secret d'Etat*, p. 208).

48. G. Wellers, op. cit., p. 90.
49. AAVV, *Les chambres à gaz secret d'Etat*, p. 199.
50. J.-C. Pressac, "Les 'Krematorien' IV et V de Birkenau et leurs . . .," p. 128. In another work, Pressac is still more explicit, indicating that "it was possible to kill with gas (gazer) in both mortuaries since both were equipped with ventilation." (*L'Album d'Auschwitz*, p. 214).
51. DEGESCH, *Fumigation Chambers for Pest Control*, p. 8.
52. Friedrich P. Berg, "The German Delousing Chambers," *The Journal of Historical Review*, vol. 7, no. 1, Spring 1986, pp. 73-94. Document NO-18 reproduces the plan of one of these chambers.
53. DEGESCH, *Zyklon for Pest Control*, p. 11. Cf. Figure 18.
54. DEGESCH, *Zyklon for Pest Control*, p. 17.
55. In this case exceptional precautions must be taken: "Where the fumigation is restricted to the holds and stores of grain, no one is allowed to stay on board the ship until two hours have passed after the reopening of the last space fumigated. Access to the deck and the areas not subjected to fumigation may be permitted only after the chemical test has proven that the gas did not penetrate into the unfumigated parts of the ship." (*Zyklon for Pest Control*, p. 23).
56. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, n.p., William Benton, 1970, volume 11, p. 941. Two hundred parts per million are equivalent to scarcely 240 milligrams per cubic meter.
57. AAVV, *Les chambres à gaz secret d'Etat*, p. 258.
58. Documents NI-034 and NI-036. Cited by C. Mattogno, *Auschwitz: le "confessioni" di Höss*, p. 37. The argument expounded below is based on the data from this work.
59. G. Wellers, op. cit., p. 135.
60. G. Wellers, op. cit., p. 136.
61. Professor Faurisson considered the story in the memoirs of Höss, to the effect that the members of the Sonderkommando could proceed with the hauling out of the cadavers from the gas chamber immediately after the "gassing" without being provided with gas masks, physically impossible (R. Faurisson, *Mémoire en défense contre . . .*, pp. 157-164; S. Thion, op. cit., pp. 179-180).
62. G. Wellers, op. cit., p. 210.
63. DEGESCH, *Zyklon for Pest Control*, p. 21.
64. R. Faurisson, *Réponse à Pierre Vidal-Naquet*, p. 39.

Appendix I

1. *L'Album d'Auschwitz*, p. 212.
2. J.-C. Pressac, "Les 'Krematorien' IV et V de Birkenau et leurs . . .," p. 126.
3. Rudolf Hoess [Höss], *Yo, comandante de Auschwitz*, Barcelona, Muchnik, 1979, p. 145.
4. R. Hoess [Höss], op. cit., p. 192.
5. *L'album d'Auschwitz*, p. 212.

6. In studying the extermination process in crematoriums IV and V, Pressac employs expressions like "industrially the running of the operations is aberrant" (Les 'Krematorien' IV et V de Birkenau et leurs . . .," p. 126).

Appendix II

1. Dino A. Brugioni and Robert G. Poirier, "Une Analyse rétrospective du complexe d'extermination 'Auschwitz-Birkenau,'" *Le Monde Juif*, No. 97, January-March 1980, p. 2. The authors acknowledge having based their commentaries on the works of Kraus and Kulka, N. Levin, and "the official investigations of the Polish government."
2. D.A. Brugioni and R. G. Poirier, loc. cit., p. 15.
3. G. Wellers, op. cit., p. 127.
4. Ibidem.
5. D.A. Brugioni and R.G. Poirier, loc. cit., pp. 8-9.
6. G. Wellers, op. cit., p. 128.

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Figure 1: Plan of the Auschwitz region.
(from M. Gilbert, *Auschwitz and the Allies*)

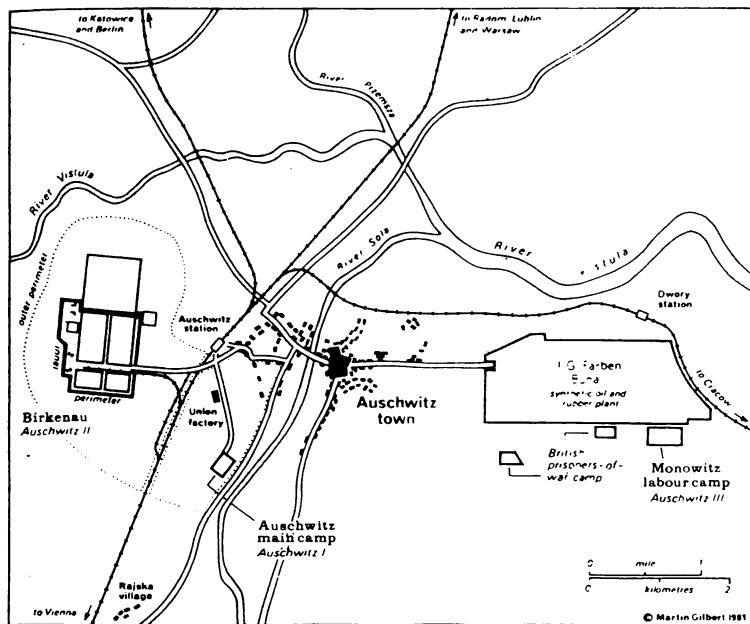


Figure 2:
 Plan of Birkenau
 (Auschwitz II).
 (from G. Wellers,
Les chambres à gaz ont existé)

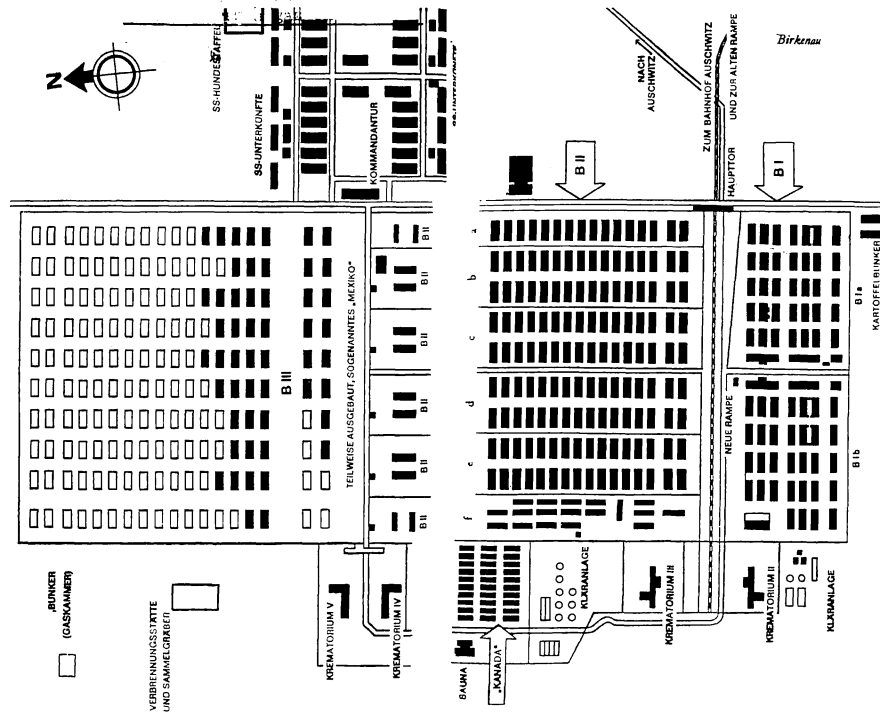


Figure 3:
Arrival of a
convoy at the
Birkenau ramp.
(from Casaril,
L'Album d'Auschwitz)



Figure 4: Women
on the Birkenau
ramp.
Crematorium III
is in the
background.

(from Casaril,
L'Album d'Auschwitz)



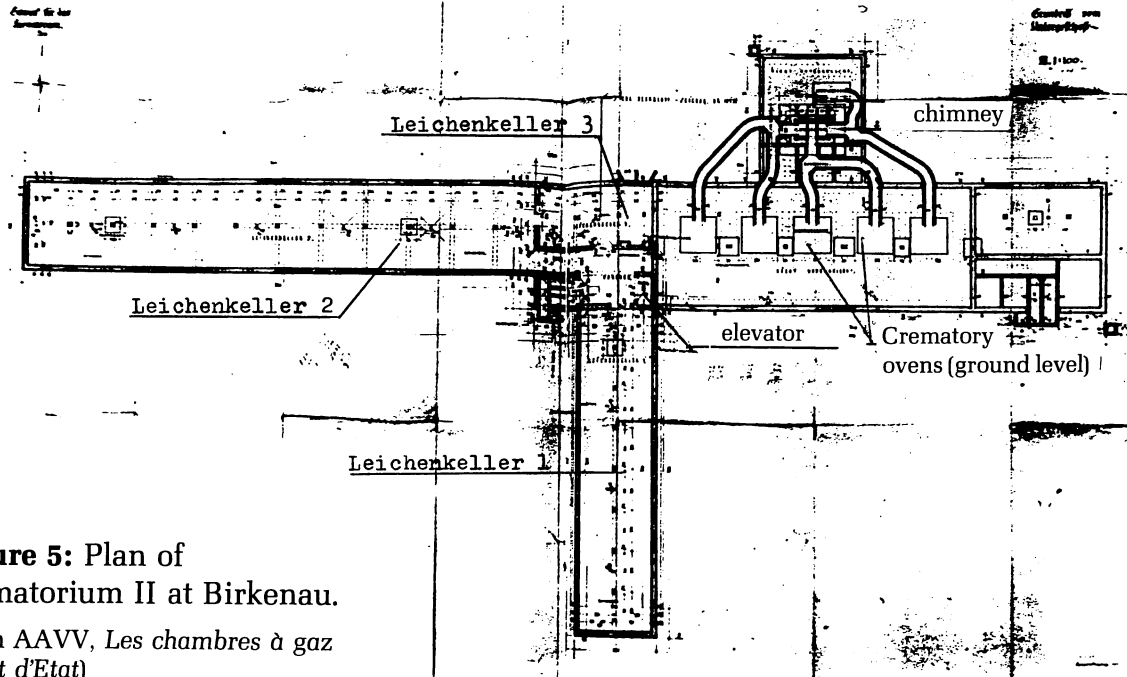


Figure 5: Plan of crematorium II at Birkenau.
(from AAVV, *Les chambres à gaz secret d'Etat*)

Figure 6:

Crematory room of
crematorium II or
III (while under
construction).

(from KL Auschwitz)

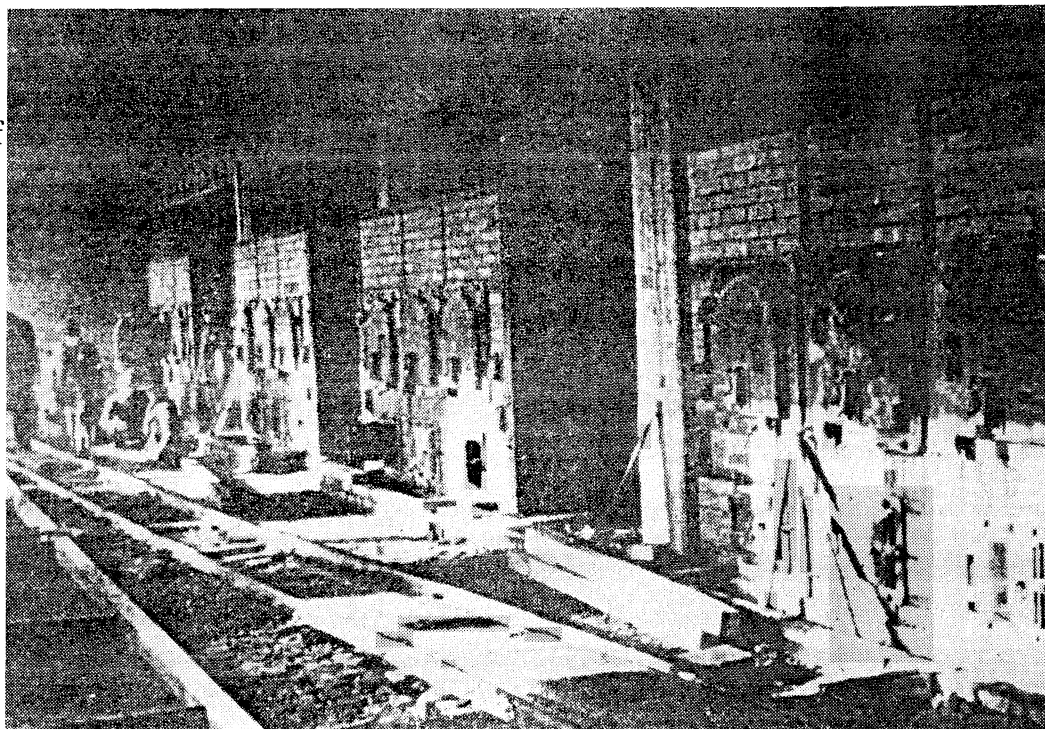
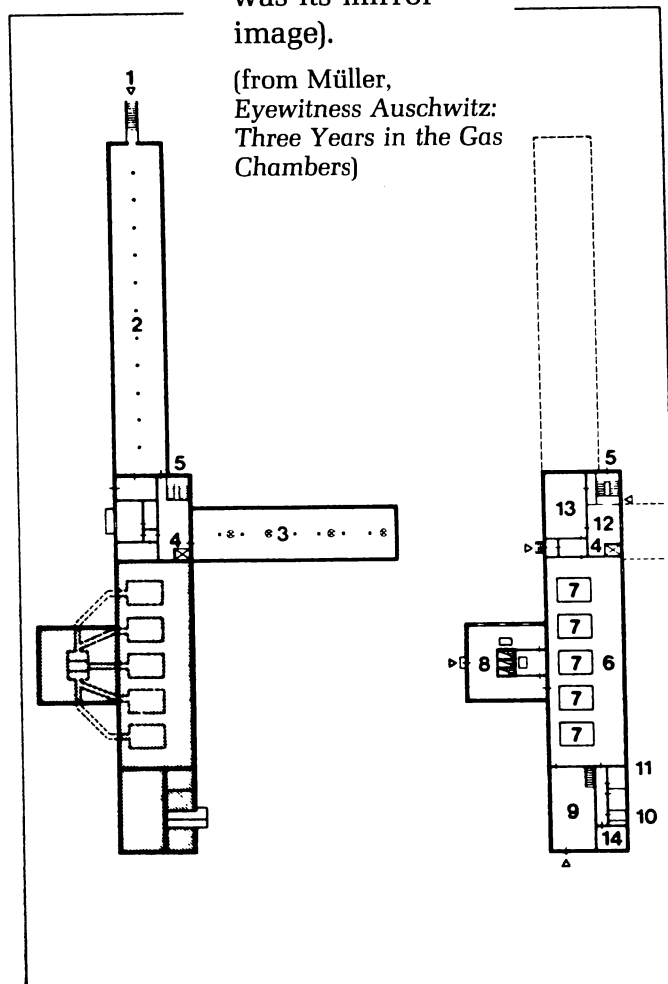


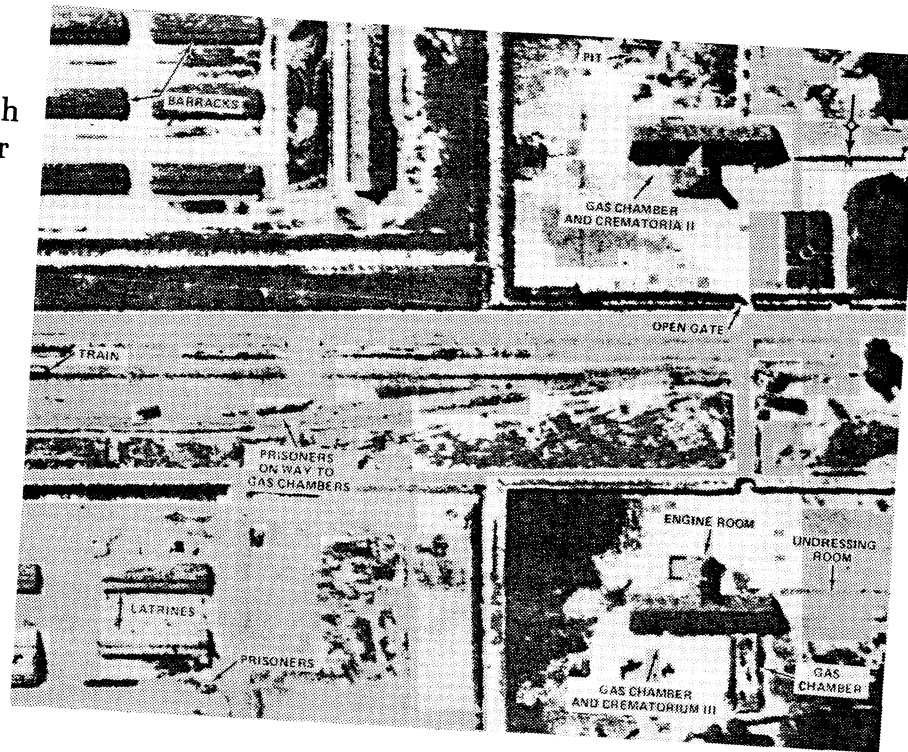
Figure 7: Plan of crematorium III (crematorium II was its mirror image).

(from Müller, *Eyewitness Auschwitz: Three Years in the Gas Chambers*)



- 1 Stairs to changing room; 2 Changing room; 3 Gas chamber; ■ concrete pillar; ⊗ gas inlet; 4 Lift for corpses; 5 Chute for remains of corpses; 6 Incineration room; 7 Ovens, each with 3 chambers; 8 Chimney; 9 Coke store; 10 Washroom WC; 11 *Kommandoführer's* office; 12 Execution room; 13 Room where gold fillings melted down in crematorium 2, dissecting room; 14 In crematorium 3 quarters of those who melted down gold fillings

Figure 8: Aerial photograph taken by the U.S. Army Air Force on August 25, 1944.
(from Brugioni and Poirier, *The Holocaust Revisited*)



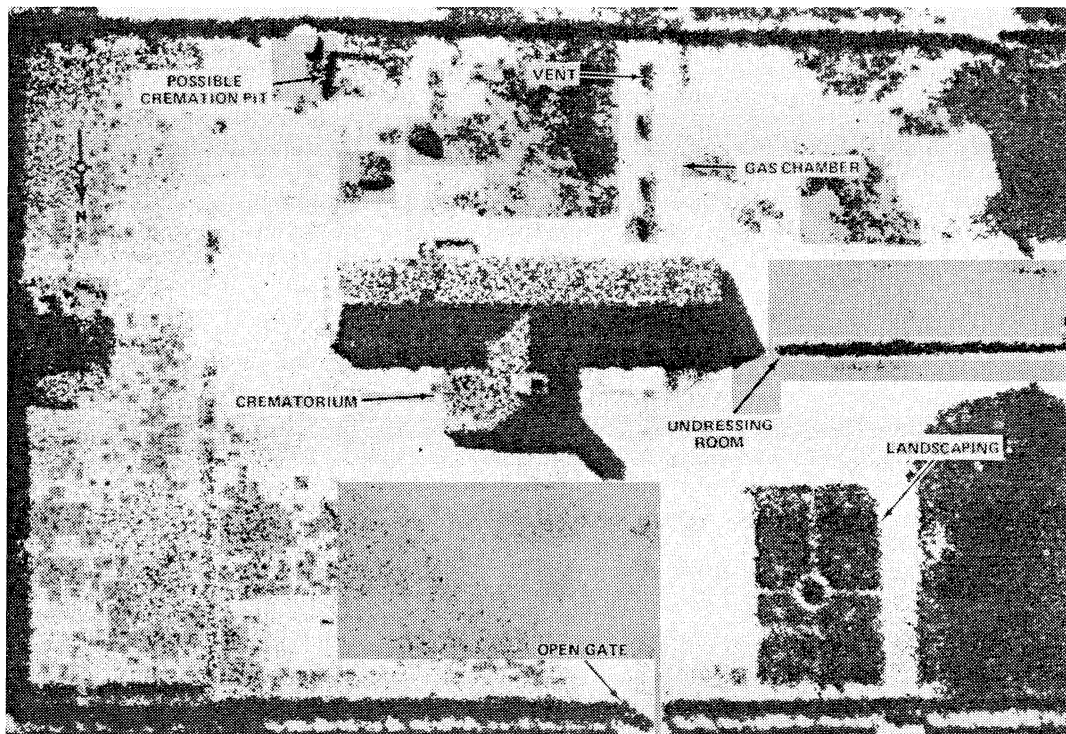
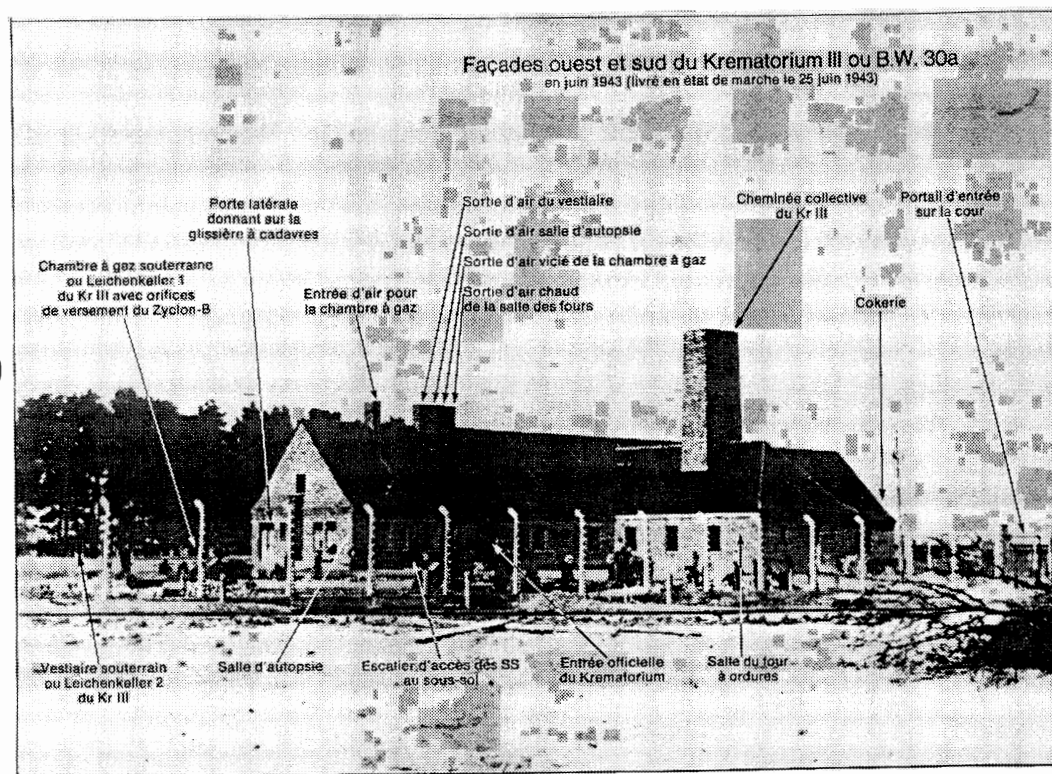


Figure 8a: Enlargement of the preceding photograph (Figure 8), showing details of crematorium II. (from Brugioni and Poirier, *The Holocaust Revisited*)

Figure 9:
South and west
facades of
crematorium III.

(from Casaril,
L'Album d'Auschwitz)



29. Januar 1943

Bftgb.Nr.:22250/43/Bi/L.

Betr.: Krematorium II. Bauzustand.
Bezug: Fernschreiben des $\frac{1}{2}$ -WVHA Nr. 2648 vom 28.1.43.
Ankg.: 1 Prüfbericht

An
Antsgruppenchef C,
 $\frac{1}{2}$ -Brigadeführer und Generalmajor
der Waffen- $\frac{1}{2}$ Dr. Ing. Kammler,
Berlin-Lichterfelde-West
Unter den Eichen 126-135

Das Krematorium II wurde unter Einsatz aller verfügbaren Kräfte trotz unsagbarer Schwierigkeiten und Frostwetter bei Tag- und Nachbetrieb bis auf bauliche Kleinigkeiten fertiggestellt. Die Öfen wurden im Beisein des Herr Oberingenieur Prüfer der ausführenden Firma, Firma Topf u. Söhne, Erfurt, angefeuert und funktionieren tadellos. Die Eisenbetondecke des Leichenkellers konnte infolge Frosteinwirkung noch nicht ausgeschalt werden. Die ist jedoch unbedeutend, da der Vergasungskeller hierfür benützt werden kann.

Die Firma Topf u. Söhne konnte infolge Waggonsperr die Be- und Entlüftungsanlage nicht wie von der Zentralbauleitung gefordert rechtzeitig anliefern. Nach Eintreffen der Be- und Entlüftungsanlage wird jedoch mit dem Einbau sofort begonnen, sodass voraussichtlich am 20.2.43 die Anlage vollständig betriebsfertig ist.

Ein Bericht des Prüfungsinieure der Firma Topf u. Söhne, Erfurt, wird beigelegt.

Der Leiter der Zentralbauleitung
der Waffen- $\frac{1}{2}$ und Polizei Auschwitz

Verteiler:
1 $\frac{1}{2}$ -Ustuf Janisch u. Kirschneck
1 Registratur (Akt Krematorium)

$\frac{1}{2}$ -Hauptsturmführer

[Bischoff]

F.d.R.d.A.:

Bischoff
 $\frac{1}{2}$ -Ustuf. (F)

Figure 10:
Nuremberg document NO-4473

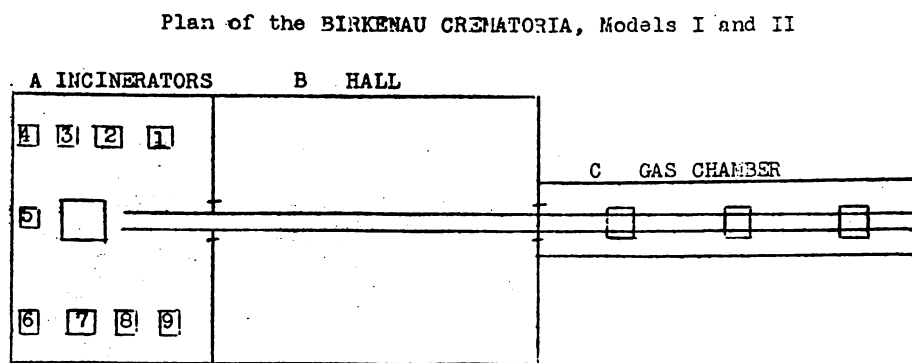


Figure 12: Plan of crematorium II and III of Birkenau, according to Wetzler. (from the U.S. National Archives, Washington, D.C. Document OSS-C.I.D. XL8883)

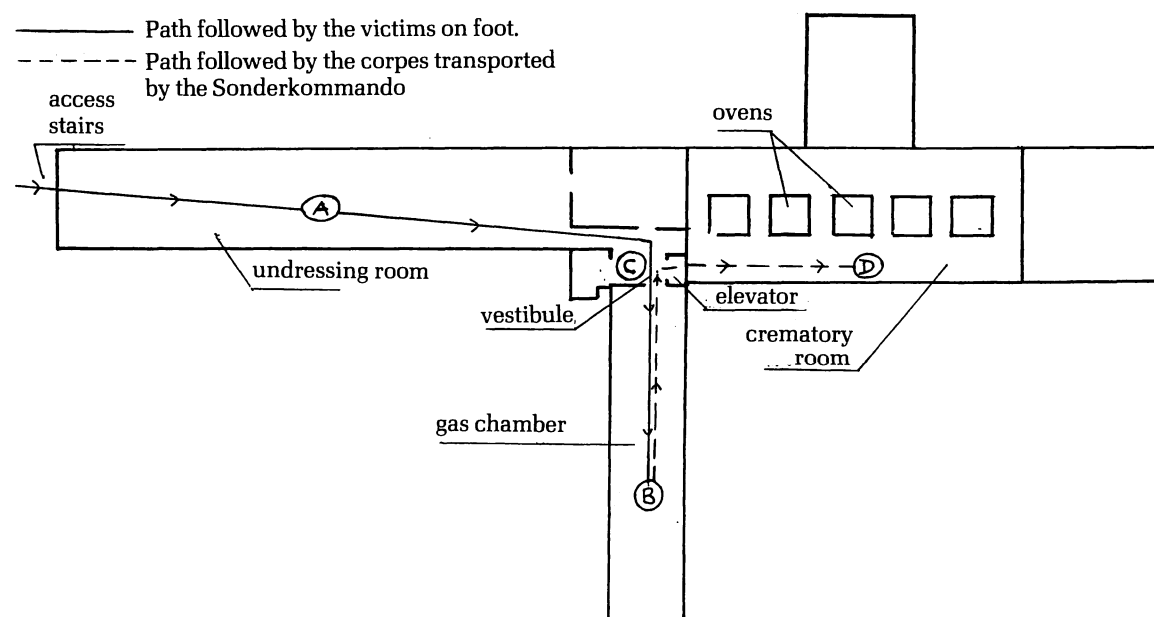


Figure 13: Route followed by the victims, according to the official thesis.
 (drawing by the author)

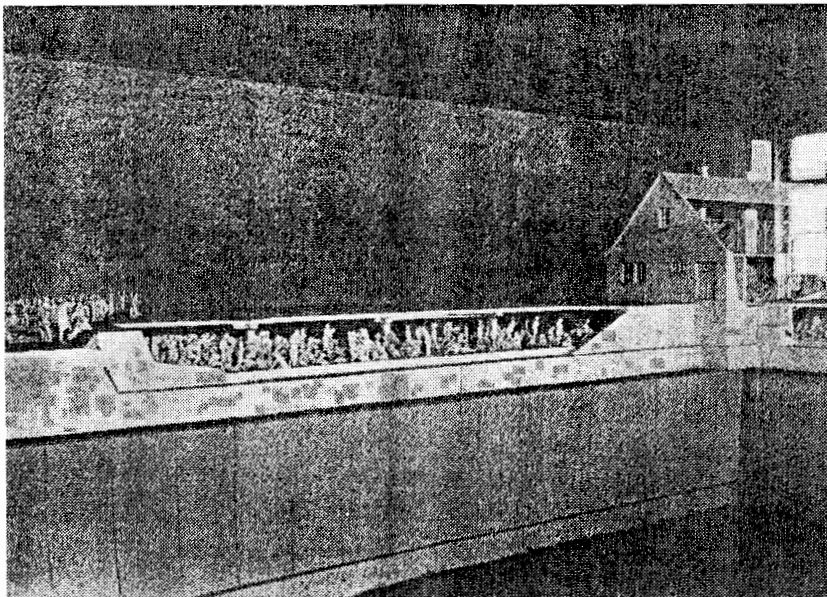
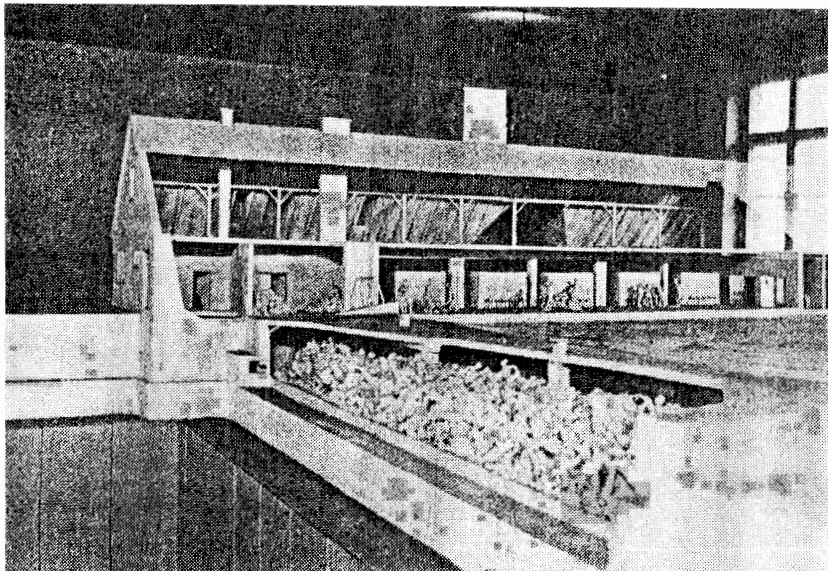


Figure 14: Reconstruction of the “extermination process” according to the Auschwitz Museum.

(from Stäglich, *The Auschwitz Myth*)



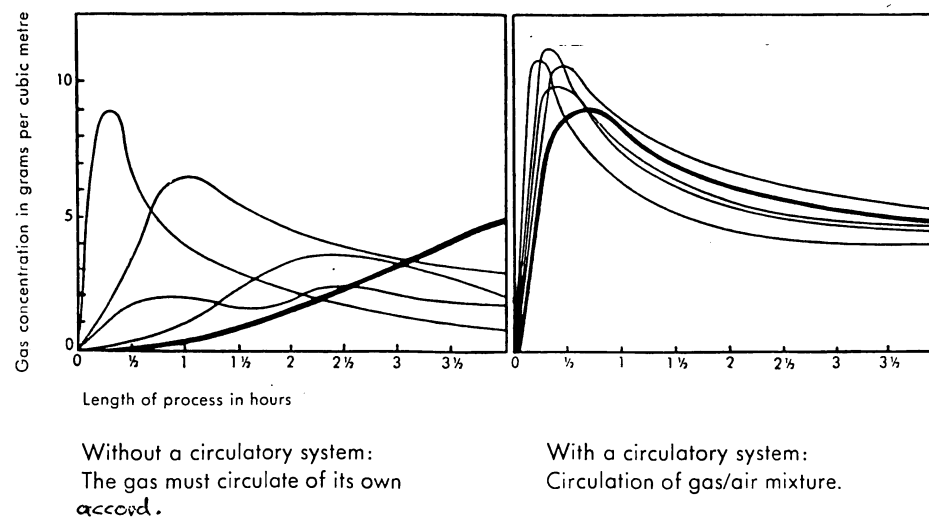


Figure 15: Diagram illustrating the effectiveness of the circulatory system.

(from DEGESCH, *Fumigation Chambers for Pest Control*)

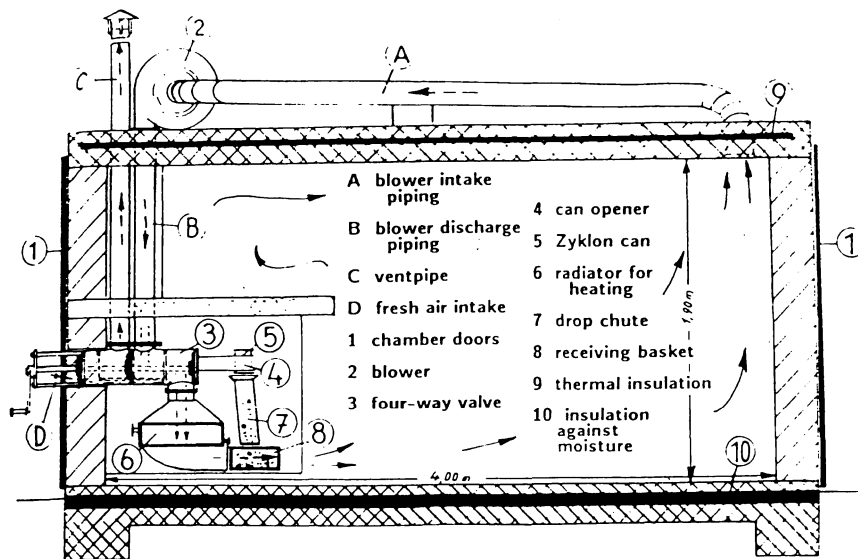


Figure 16:
Elevation drawing of a delousing chamber
with a DEGESCH circulatory system.

(from F.P. Berg, "The German Delousing Chambers," *The Journal of Historical Review*)

Figure 17:
Plan of a vacuum fumigation plant,
Casablanca (Morocco).

(from DEGESCH,
Fumigation Chambers for Pest Control)

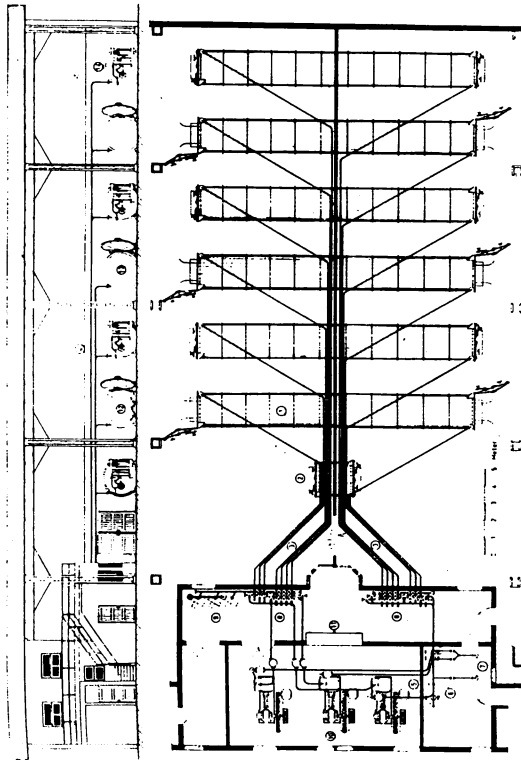


Figure 17a:
Vacuum fumigation plant, Casablanca (Morocco).
Control room with control panel and control valves.
(from DEGESCH, *Fumigation Chambers for Pest Control*)

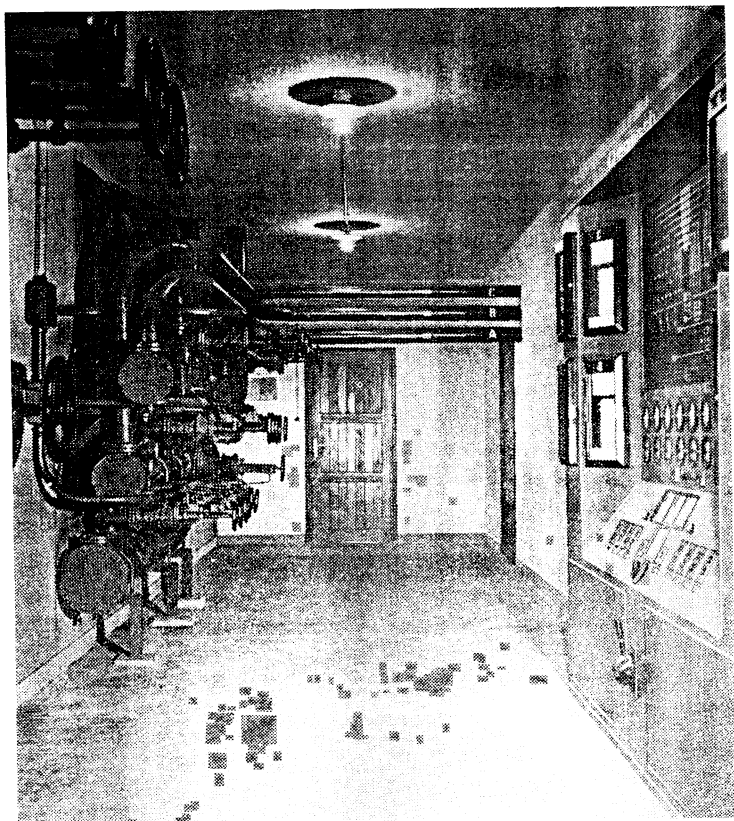


Figure 18:
Zyklon containers and their contents: snippets and
wooden discs impregnated
with hydrogen cyanide.
(from DEGESCH, *Zyklon for Pest Control*)

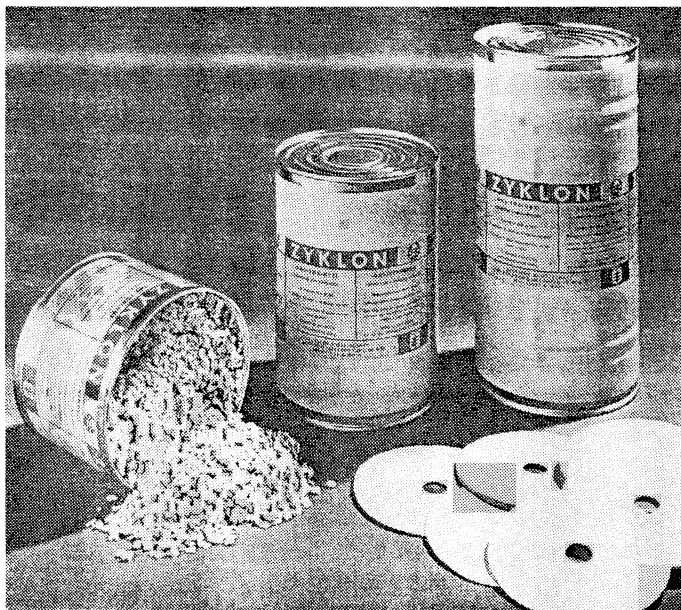
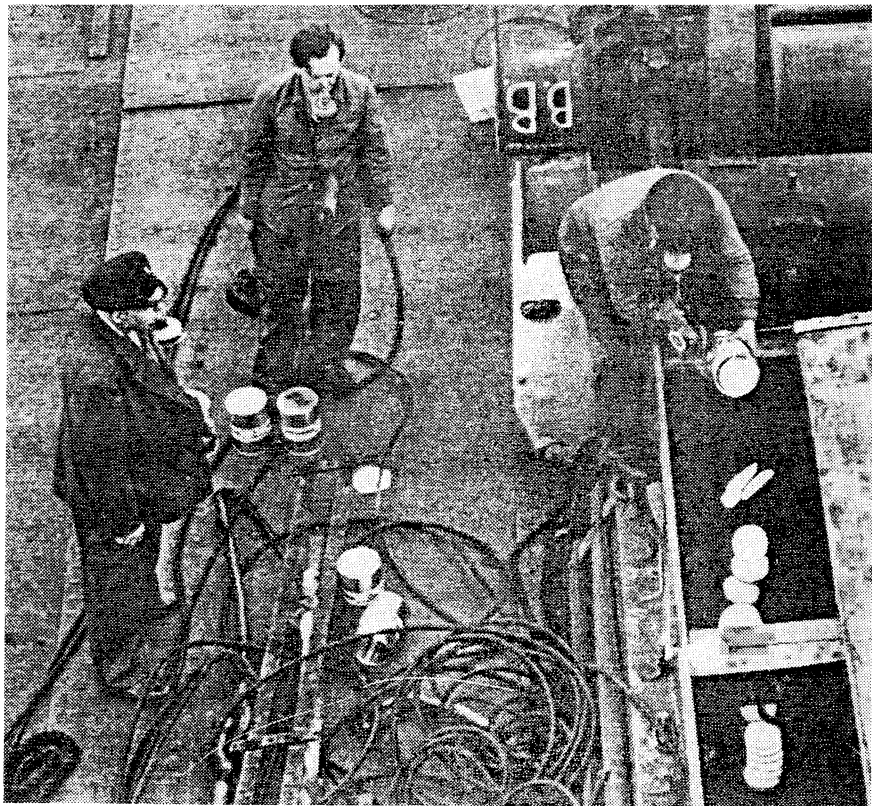


Figure 19:
Fumigation with Zyklon
(from DEGESCH, *Zyklon for Pest Control*)



Figure 20: Fumigation of a ship's hold with Zyklon.

(from DEGESCH,
Zyklon for Pest Control)



Book Reviews

THE SECOND OLDEST PROFESSION: SPIES AND SPYING IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY by Phillip Knightley. New York: Penguin Books edition, 1988; xii, 436 pp., photographs and index, \$7.95, ISBN 0-14-010655-3.

Reviewed by James J. Martin

People over-impressed by spies and espionage are fond of quoting the observation attributed to Napoleon that a spy "in the right place" is worth 20,000 soldiers on the battlefield. At Waterloo, Napoleon could have used 100,000 more armed men and five fewer spies. Even earlier, when he faced Imperial Russia as an adversary, Napoleon did not get anywhere near his money's worth from spies, if anything at all, and they had the loveliest of situations for espionage agents: the Czar's intelligence service transmitted its communications in the language of the enemy, the French. Nevertheless, the catastrophe of 1812 was not averted. Apparently the failure to conquer Russia was another case of the spies not being in the "right place."

These reflections have been inspired by contemplating some of the implications of Phillip Knightley's new book on the occupation or enterprise of intelligence-gathering, though he has chosen to concentrate on the history of this endeavor for mainly the last 75 years. Those whose first encounter with the author was his book *The First Casualty* (1975), which dealt so engagingly and informatively with the phenomenon we call the war correspondent, will find here the same genial style and feeling for narrative, the same sure competence in mustering his sources, and the same no-nonsense direct and unevasive judgments and conclusions.

We have long been entertained by a vast number of fictional yarns and allegedly "real" accounts about spies and intelligence operations in which the activity is enhanced by clever devices into an occupation of the highest exciting romantic nature. And its operatives invariably emerge as heroes and role models of the most stunning sort, the fictional ones maybe more glamorous than the "real life" figures; Ian Fleming's James Bond, whose novels and films have entertained many millions, is probably the most memorable of a stream of such creations.

But a large number of the real life spies reported by Knightley are a sordid and commonplace lot, a surprisingly large number of them not very bright, few imaginative, and in the main surprisingly unproductive. If their supply of useful secret information about

whomever they are supposed to report on were compared to the output of farmers, and was as crucial to human survival, the race would have died of starvation long ago. And what is specially depressing to those brought up on the glamor of film characters such as Double-O Seven and Matt Helm, as well as several other attractive sleuths in espionage in many war thrillers, the people Knightley parades by us lack most of the drama and mystery, let alone the good looks, one gets to expect of such actors. Even Mata Hari really comes down to a kind of humdrum-looking lass one can see many superior to on almost any afternoon at the shopping mall. If most of the characters populating *The Second Oldest Profession* had been recruited for what we call "show-biz," one might think many suitable to play extras in the comedies of Ben Turpin or W.C. Fields, or as inept bit players in the short-subjects buffooneries of Clark & McCullough.

It appears to this reviewer that Knightley has two main points to make: 1) spies and spying have been gravely exaggerated over the last 75 years and the total record of their production has been extremely modest, if indeed measurable, in many instances, and 2) there is an inverse relationship between production and effectiveness on the one hand, and growth in an almost exponential manner in terms of money, personnel, budgets and spread of activity on the other, especially in the last 40 years, and increasingly so by the decade.

Knightley's drastic assessment of the various intelligence establishments in the two World Wars will be of primary interest to Revisionists, no doubt. This will be especially true for those who long ago grew weary of the constant gasbags turning out the gee-what-a-great-job-we-did espionage books, either by self-serving memoir-production factories or by people who are hardly anything but promotional flacks seeking to gild the reputation of various administrative paradises, hopeful of sustaining expanding demands for more personnel and more money, usually to produce less of what they are hired to locate.

Knightley is convinced that espionage systems are becoming better than ever, however, in one department: exposing and penetrating one another and reducing relative effectiveness to the point where they might as well stay home and use the national library facilities in a thorough manner, which might result in the accumulation of far more information of a useful sort about their adversaries than they ever accumulate through cloak-and-dagger adventures wandering about in one another's country, let alone what can be learned right at home through electronic interception and surveillance systems and the ever-increasing efficiency of satellite photographic snooping operations.

For those unfamiliar with the author, it should be understood that

Mr. Knightley is a British citizen residing in London, and that his book, like David Irving's recent biography of Sir Winston Churchill, is obviously directed first of all to citizens of the United Kingdom and other parts of the world populated by descendants of those who created the British Empire. Thus there is some neglect of various areas in the subject peculiar to American concerns, though there is compensation for this in the closing chapters, where much attention is directed to a percipient overview of the CIA and the intelligence history of the last four decades. Another area examined in considerable detail along with this, but probably never detailed enough for Britons, is the astounding circumstances involving and surrounding the string of prominent British intelligence figures who have defected to the Soviet Union since the end of World War Two (most of chapters 12, 13 and 14).

Knightley might have made his book even more useful and informative if he had added two chapters, the first on the immensely complicated electronic intelligence communications involving half a dozen powers in the year and a half or so prior to the outbreak of general war in the Pacific in 1941 with the Pearl Harbor debacle (it would be very interesting to learn what Britain and Australia really knew about the entire Purple-Magic business, after all the hinting over the years), and the second on a totally neglected sector, the operations of Israel's Mossad, with its worldwide spread of activities in half the countries of the world, it seems, in the last quarter of a century. And he should have spared us running by the Tricycle/Dusko Popov stuff and its fake omniscience concerning Japanese political and martial planning. Popov knew about as much about all that and the American situation in Hawaii as he knew about the traffic in contraband paprika on the Danube, though his German contacts knew less. Why major books on Pearl Harbor of the last dozen years even bother to mention him is a puzzler, though one or two have really dismantled him.

Knightley may also be quarreled with for his boosting Richard Sorge as an espionage giant. For a man who could not even read Japanese he surely was a strange character to head up such an important and sensitive station as Red intelligence in Tokyo in the critical period ending with the precipitation of the Pacific War.

Sorge's fame rests on one key fortunate encounter: the liaison he made with the really significant figure in it all, Hotsumi Ozaki, the remarkable Japanese Communist who infiltrated right into the cabinet of the Japanese government. Without Ozaki, Sorge would have been lucky to report the changing of the seasons in Japan back to Moscow correctly.

The Second Oldest Profession gets off to a modestly paced start since there were no national intelligence organizations in existence even in vestigial shape before 1909, and that of the British, begun

that year, was essentially little more than a shadow of what its innovators hoped would take shape. Intelligence in the First World War was primitive and probably comparable to what might have been recognizable a century before, except for the innovation of radio. Despite it all there were gargantuan reputations made in these times, but many were expert liars of several varieties, some of whom might have been more at home as vaudeville and circus performers, if one can believe their described idiosyncrasies. How most of them could ever have functioned as collectors of secret information useful to their home countries is not understandable. Knightley explodes a few of these pretentious frauds, and also does some puncturing of spy years involving cases which stubbornly remain as part of our cultural heritage regardless of what is done decade after decade to reduce them to proper dimensions.

The fakers of espionage drama and romance have always had a field day with Mata Hari, an alleged Javanese exotic dancer, but in actuality a passably attractive woman of Dutch ancestry named Margareta Gertruda Zelle, who had lived in Java a few years (Java was a Dutch colony in those times.) Forty-one years old at the time she was arrested in Paris by the French for allegedly spying for the Germans in 1917 (Knightley courteously concedes she was "far from beautiful"), she was tried and shot as a spy by the French (who demonstrated some arrogance in executing a female civilian of a neutral country). But no one ever established that she ever found out anything for anyone; Knightley concludes after looking at all the important accounts of it all carefully, "there was not a shred of evidence that Mata Hari had ever given the Germans any information at all, a fact that the French finally admitted in 1932" (the French historian Paul Allard in 1933 declared he had read everything ever published about the case and admitted that not only did he not know in the slightest what she was supposed to have done but that he had never met another Frenchman who knew a thing about that business either).

Another celebrated World War I espionage tale which has produced an immense literature concerned the Austrian soldier, Col. Alfred Redl, who allegedly supplied the Imperial Russian forces with much important information, which supposedly contributed heavily to Austrian military setbacks at Russian hands early in the war which began in August, 1914. Knightley's re-study revealed nothing of the kind. He found that the chief of Austrian intelligence had flatly admitted that the lack of success stemmed entirely from "military deficiencies" of the Austrian forces, while the Russian Army High Command considered Col. Redl a liability instead of an asset, and had summarily categorized what information received from him as obsolete even before the war had started.

Of major interest to those concerned primarily with the war of

1939-1945 are chapters 8 and 10, which deal respectively with the famed British electronic surveillance apparatus credited with deciphering the German Ultra code system, and the first American central intelligence system, the ancestor of the CIA organization, the Office of Strategic Services (OSS). Knightley finds the reputations of both grievously inflated, if not terminally bloated into unrecognisability. By the time he gets through with them, various of their claims are discounted drastically.

Part of Knightley's interest in cutting the Ultra booster crowd down to size stems from the rise of a new historical industry within the Establishment, which originated about a dozen years ago after the publication of *The Ultra Secret* by Frederick Winterbotham in 1974 after it had been sat on officially for 30 years. This was followed by half a dozen other books, which, for the first time, exploited the concentrated enterprise based outside London at Bletchley Park. This operation became so attractive as a result of this now permitted publicity that a new kind of Establishment historical revisionism developed, characterized by the likes of Ronald Lewin's *Ultra Goes to War*. The consequence of this and related revisions was that the military commanders, so glorified in past accounts, were downgraded and the special information supplied by the Ultra-crackers at Bletchley Park was not only credited with making success in the field possible, but elevated to the top height of glitter.

These accounts come out gravely reduced as a result of Knightley's pursuit of this new round of glamorizing of intelligence-gathering in another form. He is inexact and not too clear in dealing with the analog of all this in the Pacific theater, but extremely cogent concerning the scene in Europe. Chapter 8 deserves slow and concentrated reading, and can hardly be more than outlined here. One of the persuasive lines of Ultra-pushers is that their work permitted British and American commanders (there is little if any evidence Ultra was shared with Stalin, though the Soviets may have had their own Ultra-crackers, as they were smart enough to break several British ciphers during the war) to have access to the most secret thoughts and plans of the Germans. In view of the number of spectacular disasters suffered from Dunkirk to Dieppe to North Africa to Arnhem to the Bulge the "Allied" leaders were not reading all this wondrous information too carefully, it would seem. But the whole yarn has little foundation anyway.

Knightley discovered that somewhere around 70% of German communications were not sent electronically in the first place. The use of teleprinters, special telephones, various surface cable systems, and other "landlines," immune from electronic interception, let alone the use of motor vehicle and motorcycle couriers, regular telephone, even pigeons and dogs, scrambles the legend of electronic compromising of all German communications. Sometimes two

different modes were used for the same message: the question might go by regular postal telegraph, the answer, intercepted in Britain, by radio. *But*—the interceptors only had the answer, and had not the slightest idea what the question was.

Knightley further makes hash out of the yarn that Churchill permitted the bombing of Coventry to take place in order to conceal from the Germans that the British had cracked Ultra (and deciphered it via the Enigma machine, the analogs respectively of Purple and the Magic machine in the Pacific theater.) And he further demonstrates that the Germans were not fooled by some intelligence strategy about the time and place of the Normandy landings in June, 1944. (What the Germans could not cope with was holding off the legions of Western-supplied Stalin in the East and those of Eisenhower and Montgomery in the West simultaneously.)

“Ultra made a significant contribution to the war effort in a few fields only, and little or none in others,” Knightley concludes, “It did not win the war and it is doubtful if it even shortened it.” He goes on to drive in the final spike: “The combination of a long-held wartime secret and the ability of articulate people to tell the story behind that secret once they were free to do so, has given Ultra an importance in intelligence history that it does not deserve.” And to make matters even more sober, Knightley quoted from another specialist on it all (p. 155), who declared bluntly, “for at least half the war poor British codes and ciphers probably gave away as much as was gained.”

[It is very probable that most code books are stolen, then copied and returned, (to prevent suspicion and thereupon rewriting or replacement), discovered in battlefield debris, salvaged from an adversary’s crashed aircraft or wrecked ship, or recovered from a sunken submarine. The real geniuses in electronic surveillance counter-intelligence are those who crack the ciphers in which coded messages are sent. Even people who should know better use the words “code” and “cipher” as though they were interchangeable or synonyms. The late Adm. Edwin T. Layton, chief intelligence officer of the US Pacific Fleet for some time, once briefly distinguished between the two by summarizing it this way: encoding changes the text of a plain-language message by substituting “idea for idea,” and enciphering after encoding changes the message again by substituting “letter by letter.”]

The chapter on the OSS is complicated, and deserves more than one reading because it deals with more than this subject. Included in it is an expert deflation of the entire “fifth column” fantasy which attributed German military success in Norway, Denmark and Holland in 1940 to traitorous behavior by their nationals and collaboration with a multitude of infiltrated German spies and saboteurs. In the course of his analysis Knightley also brings in on the subject such experts as the British and Dutch historians, A.J.P.

Taylor and Louis de Jong, respectively, the former describing the fifth column hysteria as “the product of panic-stricken imaginations,” and the latter after much study concluding that it was “almost entirely mythical.” (But even shortly after the whole lie was spread across the world 48 years ago, one of the major liars, the American journalist Leland Stowe, admitted in Sweden that he had made up much of what he had broadcast about it all. However, it survives in popular legend to this day and gets repeated regularly by the fairy-tale peddlers.)

The origins of the OSS as told here have been dealt with in five other books on the subject read by this reviewer, but there is in this account an expert analysis of the global strategy underlying its creation and what it was expected to accomplish which stands out. Obviously many military men were repelled and angered by the planting in their midst of a collection of untrained amateurs with no proven skills in intelligence work whatever, and in the middle of a war, to boot; Gen. MacArthur would not permit them to work in his sector of the Pacific theater of operations, for example.

But what was the quality of the recruits for *British* counter-intelligence? Knightley quotes the Establishment historian Hugh Trevor-Roper, himself in this service for a time, on the pre-1939 class: they “were by and large pretty stupid, and some of them very stupid” (p. 87), with the leaders “being of remarkable stupidity” (p. 113). In the case of SOE (Special Operations Executive), the British World War Two apparatus which became entangled in a mixture of intelligence and “covert operations” (sabotage and “destabilization” capers of varying sorts), Knightley described “many” of its agents simply as “politically illiterate.” (This was the operation from which Ian Fleming, another wartime British intelligence chief himself, drew the material which later culminated in his James Bond creations.)

From the story of recruiting and training British agents emerges another engaging anecdote. What was to be done with those who failed to make the grade as agents and operatives? They obviously shared a great many secrets with the successful, and had to be kept silent. The chances of their becoming indiscreet, compromised or blackmailed into disastrous revelations had to be effectively blocked. A posh special detention center was created for them in Scotland, Knightley tells us, and a policy of lying was adopted, denying the detainees ever existed and concealing all traces of their whereabouts from everyone, including close relatives. In harmony with the institutional policy of “once in, never out,” they enjoyed the questionable limbo in which they were cast “for the duration.” But despite the close supervision of their overall confinement, the author reports that they passed the rest of the war “in considerable comfort.” Scraps of information as to this exotic event began to get around in

the 1970s and the whole thing eventually became, among other things, the inspiration for one of television's most successful and intelligent series, *The Prisoner*, starring the actor Patrick MacGoohan (even this writer, who generally charges a stiff fee for watching 99% of TV, confesses to having seen with great interest every episode of this show).

In the course of Knightley's recruitment discussion he relates a number of double-agent stories, but one in particular stands out. In the chapter "Cross and Double-Cross," Knightley mentions a British intelligence attempt to recruit a waiter on the Taurus express train running between Istanbul and Baghdad who turned out to be a major in the Turkish army, already in the employ of four other countries besides his own.

Getting on to the matter of wartime "cooperation" of the Anglo-American intelligence systems, it is in view of Churchill's conception of the European war and how "victory" might eventuate that we begin to understand how this American organization (OSS) was expected to work closely with prior-organized British agencies, and hopefully perform a vital function. An innovation in the structuring of the OSS, however, is critical, and of considerable impact as it evolved after the war into the CIA. As has been noted in another context (recruiting), the British always separated intelligence-gathering from "covert operations," a euphemism covering assassinations, sabotage and other forms of expected destructive "destabilization" of the enemy's countryside. The British intelligence and counter-intelligence operations MI5 and MI6 (SIS) did not engage in the latter excursions; for that purpose they had separate functionaries, SOE (Special Operations Executive.) The OSS was supposed to work with SOE, but as Knightley demonstrates, they often worked at cross purposes in several areas and frequently against one another. Assigned both intelligence-gathering and sabotage objectives, the OSS mainly failed to achieve much of anything in either, in his view. (In-house official histories and accounts by their functionaries present a somewhat different picture of the OSS, of course, but they are tedious reading. In one of a set of two big sleep-producing volumes bearing introductions by their chief historian, Kermit Roosevelt, there is the revelation that they infiltrated an OSS agent into the prisoner population of the German concentration camp at Mauthausen, an interesting diversionary caper which apparently resulted in no exploitation of the achievement whatever.)

How the arts of sabotage via covert operations in cooperation with internal "resistance" elements on the Continent were supposed to be so effective in the war, as per Churchill's idea of "setting Europe ablaze," is succinctly stated by Knightley (p. 216):

. . . this was based upon the perception that Britain could not survive

another war of attrition on the battle plains of Europe. Instead, Germany would be softened up by an economic blockade, strategic bombing, propaganda and subversive warfare. Then, at the right moment, resistance forces in the Occupied Countries, supplied and trained by Britain, would rise and attack the Germans as a prelude to an invasion, probably from the south, the soft underbelly of Europe.

Knightley described this Churchillian vision, to which the OSS became inescapably bound, as "almost totally illusory." But the whole idea fit in well with the romantic notions of OSS first head and founding father, William J. Donovan, who luxuriated in the imagery of shadow warfare, secret missions, intrigue and the whole spectrum of covert cloak and dagger business. Despite the bulky productions of a platoon of flacks, it would be good to see some evidence of what conflagrations they caused in following Churchill's exhortation "to set Europe ablaze."

It would be hard to be less impressed by the "covert operations" aspect of Anglo-American intelligence than Knightley is; he thought the SOE-OSS actions largely ineffective and in many ways little better than imbecilic, utterly ignorant of European continental demographic, political and economic realities, and also, as a result of the two organizations' mutual jealousies and spite, mutually destructive (there are few books with a darker estimate of the futility of the "resistance" than this one, in many ways approximating the somber views of the late Captain Basil H. Liddell Hart on it all 40 years ago). Knightley cites another prominent British wartime intelligence officer, not a member of either the OSS or SOE, whose estimate of it from an intelligence point of view was fully as critical (p. 210): "The Americans had no intelligence service to speak of. OSS was an exact parallel of SOE, drawing on the ethnic dregs of America for skill in languages and knowledge of foreign countries. Their security was non-existent, but they were in constant liaison with SIS and SOE. Thus our security was bitched one remove."*

Knightley is simultaneously spellbound and appalled by the contemporary situation in the world international intelligence

*Among a considerable number of well-known events of this century which are brought up once more in this book, this time with special relationship to intelligence or counter-espionage considerations, is the famed flight of Rudolf Hess from Germany to Scotland in the spring of 1941, on which we all know there is an incredible literature. Knightley believes it worthy of rumination as to whether Hess was *invited* to come to Britain by a substantial faction interested in ending the war with the Germans, and the quarantine imposed on him by Churchill made imperative by the danger this visit presented to the Churchill regime's policy and relationship with Stalinist Russia. Knightley notes that no British counter-intelligence officer whatever, regardless of rank, influence or prestige, was allowed anywhere near Hess, let alone be permitted to talk to him.

business, where he sees a new type of spy has emerged, one who spies on everybody. But more impressive is the immense scope of it all, in which an estimated million and a quarter people in spy organizations spend over \$35 billion annually, producing a stock of information only trifling in value when ranged against the investment.

The growth industry in major intelligence departments of the super-powers in the last generation or so has been uncovering the penetration of their various services by agents or “moles” of their opposition. A large literature already exists on these excursions and they have become a standard theme for movies and TV shows. And a subsidiary activity has been the “defection game,” as Knightley titles his Chapter 13 on it, in which the British have been especially prominent. The world has been regaled by one bestseller after another on the famed Burgess-Philby-Maclean-Blunt-Blake *dramatis personae*, and others, let alone further speculations of possible “moles” left behind still burrowed into the system somewhere, a nightmare which flashes past the consciousness of superiors in intelligence services everywhere. Those who may have read the two books by Chapman Pincher and that by Peter Wright and their views on the possibility of the late Sir Roger Hollis, former head of MI6, being the “fifth man” filling out the Burgess-Philby-Maclean-Blunt coterie of Comintern-recruited insiders, will note that Knightley has disagreements with both on this still undecided controversy. (Reference is to the reputed tactic of the Comintern to recruit cells of five persons among Communist helpers of Stalinism in other countries.)

He further has some disquieting observations about “double-agents” and the possibility of defectors really being undercover invaders of the espionage system of the land to which they are “defecting,” being on assignment seeking to learn from their newly adopted land of allegiance who *their* in-place men are in the falsely deserted former homeland. As Knightley goes on to say at various points, it all becomes an endless game carried on among the intelligence-espionage establishments aimed at one another, sopping up much of their energies and leaving leftover time and shreds of intellect to fulfill the job for which they were put to work on to start with.

The intelligence “community” loves to cooperate in narratives which purport to establish that the outcome of this or that war or campaign was fundamentally determined by the contribution of covert espionage and the divulgence of “secrets” enabling this or that success or insuring this or that failure as the case may be. What you get from Knightley is quite the reverse: that military success or failure derives from preponderance or deficiency in men, guns, machines, tanks, ships, planes, a substantial modicum of luck, and

the proceeds from what might be called the steady evolution of the fortunes of war, and that the contribution of spying regardless of the diverse variations thereof which might be employed, is pretty modest, if at all measurable. As he concludes, "when not deep in their fantasy world, the intelligence community knows that open, published information, and that obtained through traditional diplomatic and other overt contacts, have proved this century by far the most useful source of military, political and economic intelligence for both sides," ending up by quoting Harry Rositzke, a senior officer in the CIA's Soviet block section at one time, as to where he would rank the role played by spying in the above categories, who frankly declared, "It's way down there."

The chances are high that those reading this book with care will find that their conceptions of spying and espionage will never ever be the same again. The famed writer of spy thrillers, John Le Carré, has recommended it to heads of state, but it is a chance for one and all as well, as Le Carré suggests to "discover what imbecilities are committed in the hallowed name of intelligence."

GERMAN BIG BUSINESS AND THE RISE OF HITLER by Henry Ashby Turner, Jr. New York: Oxford University Press 1985. Hardbound, 487 pages, \$25.00, ISBN 0-10-503492-9.

Reviewed by John M. Ries

A good portion of the the accepted legacy of German big business and its alleged role in the establishment of the Third Reich rests on the authenticity of the memoirs of certain key individuals who either participated in or witnessed the rise to power of Adolf Hitler from close proximity. Perhaps the two most important were Ruhr industrialist Fritz Thyssen and Hitler's press secretary Otto Dietrich. Thyssen, whose contempt for the Weimar Republic led him to support Hitler's NSDAP as early as the fall of 1923, was long considered to be one of its most important sources of funds. His memoirs, which Turner points out were ghostwritten, have been used by historians to substantiate the close connection between big business and the Nazi movement from its earliest days.

Questions arise, however, concerning the memoirs' authenticity, one particularly interesting example being a passage where Thyssen claims that he "donated 100,000 gold marks to the NSDAP in October 1923." This was a critical period not only in the life of the NSDAP but in that of the Republic as well. Separatist movements were rampant throughout the Rhineland and Bavaria, and the Communists were threatening to take over the governments of Saxony and Thuringia. Moreover, the French occupation of the

Ruhr, the industrial heart of Germany, continued to exert demoralizing effects, perhaps chief of which was the incredible hyper-inflation which threatened to wipe out what was left of the German middle class.

Given the dire situation at that time, one can well appreciate the uplifting effect a sum of 100,000 gold marks would have had on the morale of the NSDAP, then just one of many right-wing extremist groups plotting the overthrows of the tottering Weimar Republic. Yet Turner states flatly that "in light of the available evidence, it seems unlikely that Thyssen gave any such sum to the Nazis." In the same paragraph of his memoirs, Thyssen claims that he did not make the payment to Hitler himself but to General Erich Ludendorff, perhaps the most important figure in anti-Republican circles at that time, "to use it as best he could." Whether Ludendorff would have favored the NSDAP more than any of the other groups operating in Bavaria at that time remains doubtful.

Otto Dietrich's 1934 memoirs of the *Kampfzeit* are likewise considered by Turner to be more propagandistic than substantial. Their self-serving nature is revealed by the contradictions between them and a later version published in 1955. Over that span of time it appears that Dietrich tempered his revolutionary ardor with a more realistic assessment of the events. This is evident when one compares the two accounts he provides of the reactions to Hitler's speech to the Düsseldorf Industry Club on January 26, 1932. In the 1934 version, Dietrich gives the following description of the impression Hitler made with the "elite of *die Wirtschaft*" who came to hear him speak on the remedies he would propose to heal the ailing German economy:

The effect on the businessmen [of the speech], so far as they deserved the name, was profound and became evident in the ensuing difficult months of struggle.

According to Turner, this remark has been accepted by historians as proof that big business increased its subsidies to the NSDAP as a result of the speech. However, in the 1955 version, Dietrich presents a quite different picture, saying that beyond some:

well-meaning but insignificant sums [collected at the door] . . . one would not speak of any support worthy of mention, much less of financing Hitler's political struggle by *die Wirtschaft* or heavy industry.

An "equally embellished" account in Thyssen's memoirs has served, along with Dietrich's earlier version, as a "seminal source on the Industry Club speech and its aftermath."

What to make of this contradiction? Which version is closer to the truth?

Turner compares both to outside references and decides in favor of the 1955 version. "From all indications," he says, "neither Hitler

nor any other Nazis mounted any sustained follow-up from those who had been present at his Industry Club speech or otherwise to enlist them for their purposes.”

He goes on to add:

that Hitler's failure to follow up vigorously on the entree he had gained to the business community through his Industry Club speech tends to substantiate the hypothesis that he sought merely to neutralize big business, not to bring its leaders actively behind the NSDAP or to exploit its financial resources for his party.

From the preceding examples one can readily agree with the assessment Turner made of the task he faced in the preparation of this study when he said that it became “of necessity, a book that deals not only with the past but with myths about the past.” These “myths” were found to be present not only in contemporary memoirs, but in press releases, the post-war testimony of witnesses at Nuremberg, and even from Hitler himself. They all contributed to the creation of a legend involving an important yet misunderstood aspect of the origins of the Third Reich; namely, from which sources the NSDAP received its funding.

The picture of the relationship between German big business and the Nazi party which Turner provides us is one that reveals how little big business had to do with the party's success. In Republican Germany, the big business community was a loosely organized, politically ineffective interest group that was held together primarily by its opposition to the growing menace of *Sozialpolitik*, that is, the modern welfare state. Its political dealings were mainly with the so-called bourgeois parties of the center and right: the DVP (Deutsche Volkspartei), the DDP (Deutsche Demokratische Partei), and the DNVP (Deutsche Nationale Volkspartei). However, the general disdain big business had for the republican form of government, a government that jeopardized the privileged position it once held under the defunct Imperial order, precluded any serious attempt to use the system to its advantage, a system where “votes, not money” were the determining factor in political success.

In this milieu the NSDAP was only one of many political parties big business considered funding. However, because of the party's anti-capitalist economic policies, evident since the proclamation of the twenty-five point program of February 1920, the big business community was never able to reconcile itself to lending more than half-hearted support, and this was invariably of a tactical, rather than an ideological, nature. This distrust of a party that seemed more often than not ready to side with the radical left on important social and economic issues became so pervasive that not even the party's strident anti-Marxism and its desire to inculcate support for national values could overcome it.

It may be true that contributions of various sorts came from big businessmen like Fritz Thyssen, the Berlin manufacturer Ernst von Borsig, and the retired coal executive Emil Kirdorf, but despite statements to the contrary, they were never a critical source of funding. Most of the NSDAP funds were derived from membership dues, interest-free loans, and the gate receipts from the many mass rallies the party held. After the parliamentary breakthrough in September 1930, sales from *Mein Kampf* skyrocketed, providing Hitler himself with a steady source of income. And during the depression the volunteer labor given by party activists helped ease the effects of the increasingly austere economic conditions.

In sum, the NSDAP was a prototypical "grass-roots" political organization able to expand and prosper during a period when most of the bourgeois parties suffered a serious loss of support. Only the Communist Party could compare in this regard, and it never attracted the mass following the NSDAP did.

Turner's book provides us with a new perspective on the origins of the rise of Hitler, one based on a critical look at the role played by German big business based on the examination of *all* the relevant documents rather than the rather eclectic surveys currently before the public today. This will contribute, hopefully, to the encouragement of closer reading of historical accounts dealing with essential aspects of contemporary history, as well as the development of a more discriminating attitude towards the sensationalized distortions of the truth which confront us on a daily basis.

THE THIRD REICH AND THE PALESTINE QUESTION
by Francis R. Nicosia. Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1985, Hardbound xiv+319 pages, \$35.00, ISBN 0-292-72731-3.

Reviewed by John M. Ries

Although Zionists today are loath to admit it publicly, the fact remains that the Zionist movement, during the period leading up to the Second World War, worked closely with the National Socialist government in Germany to solve the so-called Jewish question. Needless to say, professional historians have largely neglected this surprising cooperation. Two works by Jewish journalists, Lenni Brenner's *Zionism in the Age of the Dictators* and Edwin Black's *The Transit Agreement*, have dealt with the aspects of it, but their books must now be regarded as superseded by Francis R. Nicosia's *The Third Reich and the Palestine Question*, the first (and

probably definitive) study of National Socialist Germany's Palestine policy in the 1930's.

On August 25, 1933, the Ministry of Economics issued a circular to all German currency control offices informing them of the recently concluded agreement with the Jewish Agency for Palestine. Known as the Ha'avara, or Transfer Agreement, it tied the emigration of Jews to Palestine to the sale of the German goods. By permitting each Jew who indicated a willingness to emigrate to Palestine the opportunity to take along a fixed portion of assets in the form of German goods, Germany's tight currency restrictions were circumvented, while the depressed export economy of the Reich received a much needed stimulus. Above all, the arrangement greatly promoted the removal of Jews from Germany, a principal domestic goal of the Hitler regime.

Nicosia also feels that there is reason to believe that the Jewish anti-German boycott, begun shortly after Hitler came to power in January 1933, may have been neutralized as a result of Ha'avara. In any event, even though Germany became the number-one exporter of goods to Palestine by 1937 due to the Ha'avara Agreement, its significance did not reside in its economic benefits, but in the fact that it created a consensus in the German government for Palestine as the principal destination for German Jews. This lasted until the effects of the Arab revolt beginning in 1936 and the Peel Partition Plan the following year forced a reconsideration. Thereafter, the consensus was altered, but the policy of promoting Jewish emigration remained the same.

The German Zionist Organization was employed by the government to "re-educate" the largely liberal assimilationist German Jewish community on the desirability of the Palestine option. The SS oversaw the establishment of occupational retraining centers run by the Hechalutz, the principal Zionist youth organization, to teach young Jews the necessary skills in demand in Palestine. Located throughout Germany, the centers also provided training for Jews who planned to emigrate to other countries. The British Embassy in Berlin issued its stamp of approval in a memorandum of April 3, 1936, pointing out that they "enabled the Jewish Agency to select suitable candidates for admission to Palestine, better prepared for absorption into the economy of the country."

The German government accorded preferential treatment to Zionist organizations at the expense of liberal/assimilationist ones. For example, in February 1935, Heydrich ordered the prohibition of speeches and activities that counseled Jews to remain in Germany. The SD (Sicherheitsdienst) attended Jewish meetings, censoring speakers who advocated the continuation of a Jewish presence in Germany while encouraging propaganda activities on the part of Zionists. By May 1935, "a general ban on all meetings and speeches

of Jewish organizations in Germany was issued by the Gestapo . . . although local Jewish cultural and sports activities, as well as the activities of Zionist organizations, were exempt." Nicosia's statement that "this was in keeping with the Nürnberg laws of September 1935, according to which all German Jews were formally placed beyond the pale of German citizenship" is in error, since the Nürnberg laws had not yet been enacted. Nevertheless, it is important to note that when they were passed on September 15, 1935, they were welcomed by Zionist groups which considered them important in breaking down the resistance of the majority of German Jews, who still regarded the Hitler regime as a temporary phenomenon. The net effect of this German-Zionist connection was to make Zionism the principal movement among Jewish youth in Germany in the 1930s, relegating support for liberal assimilationism to the older generation.

An important aspect of German Palestine policy was the relationship of Germany to Palestine's Arab population. From 1933 on, the Arabs of the Middle East sought German help against the influx of Jews into Palestine, feeling that the anti-Jewish policies of the Hitler regime could be employed in behalf of the Arab cause for independence from the British Mandate. However, this was not to be the case. German policy in the 1930's was based on the acceptance of two things: Zionism and British imperialism. Any official encouragement of Arab nationalism would have upset the status quo in the region, a state of affairs totally unacceptable to Germany. As a result, aside from a few insignificant shipments of arms to Arab insurgents in the late 1930s, along with a brief dalliance on the part of German Intelligence at the same time (probably without the approval of Hitler), nothing substantial was done to change this policy of willful neglect.

As mentioned earlier, the outbreak of an Arab revolt in 1936 forced a reconsideration of Germany's Palestine policy and prompted the first genuine debate over the primacy of Palestine as the destination for German Jews. The Peel Partition Plan, an unsuccessful attempt to divide the country into Jewish and Arab sectors, conjured up the specter of a Jewish state, a state which was opposed by all German government and party figures. Nicosia points out that it was not simply for ideological reasons that National Socialism opposed the Jewish state (a section of the book is devoted to just such a discussion). Rather it was the fact that "the anti-Semitic policies of the Hitler regime would make a Jewish state a natural enemy of the Reich and a dangerous addition to the growing coalition of nations hostile to the new Germany." However, as the chances for such an occurrence began to diminish, Hitler reaffirmed his support for Palestine as the *Zielland* for German Jews, although efforts were made to explore alternatives, such as Madagascar (Poland had already made repeated overtures to the French for its

use as a site for the large Polish Jewish population). This change was prompted by the realization that Palestine had a limited capacity to absorb the growing number of Jewish immigrants, as the resistance of the Arab population and the resultant tighter restrictions placed on Jewish immigration by British authorities made increasingly clear.

Nicosia claims that by late 1937 Hitler began to "prepare for war" as the chances for British cooperation with his proposed changes in the European territorial arrangement seemed more and more remote. This thesis has been challenged by Revisionists, if for no other reason than the meeting held between Hitler and British foreign secretary Halifax at Berchtesgaden in November 1937, at which Halifax agreed in principal to all of Hitler's territorial demands. In any event, a transfer of authority over Jewish policy in Germany took place at this time, with the SS given complete control over all its aspects. The mechanism for voluntary emigration established by the Ha'avara Agreement earlier became obsolete with the confiscation of Jewish capital from 1938 on. Henceforth, the legal niceties of the Reich's previous Jewish emigration policy were overlooked as the SS began to cooperate with the Zionist Mossad le Aliyah Bet (Committee for Illegal Immigration) with the full knowledge of both British and U.S. authorities. This policy of "compulsion" was to continue until the "Final Solution," the nature of which Nicosia is careful to avoid specifying.

Aside from a couple of minor discrepancies which in no way detract from the credibility of this book, e.g. January 27 instead of January 26, 1932, as the date given for Hitler's Düsseldorf Industry Club Speech, the main thesis of *The Third Reich and the Palestine Question* is quite convincing. Perhaps Nicosia's rather strong reliance on Hitler's musings in *Mein Kampf* as a blueprint for his later foreign policy initiatives should be challenged, as they indeed have by various Revisionists, but that is more properly the subject of another study. What is important is the author's recognition that Hitler had no desire to go to war against England or to challenge the integrity of the British Empire. The German acceptance of the status quo in the Middle East is further confirmation of this fact.

HISTORICAL NEWS AND COMMENT

The End of a Myth

ROBERT FAURISSON

Despite the May 11 conviction of Revisionist activist and publisher Ernst Zündel in Toronto for "knowingly and injuriously spreading a false report," the second trial of Ernst Zündel was a Pyrrhic victory for Holocaust Exterminationists. As in Zündel's 1985 trial, Revisionist scholars and researchers presented a mass of new evidence against the Holocaust legend, evidence which, as it accumulated day by day, made a mockery of Judge Ron Thomas's "judicial notice" of the Holocaust.

The most important testimony at the second Zündel trial was undoubtedly that of American engineer Fred Leuchter. In this article, which serves as the foreword to the report in which Leuchter presented his unprecedented findings, Robert Faurisson tells how he contacted Leuchter and explains the significance of his testimony. A condensed version of *The Leuchter Report: The End of a Myth* is now available from IHR for \$20. —Ed.

Fred A. Leuchter, 45, is an engineer living in Boston, Massachusetts, who specializes in the design and fabrication of execution hardware used in prisons throughout the United States. One of his major projects was the design of a new gas chamber at the Missouri State Penitentiary at Jefferson City.

In January of 1988, I was in Toronto, Canada, assisting in the defense of Mr. Ernst Zündel, a German-Canadian who was on trial for spreading false news by publishing *Did Six Million Really Die?*, a booklet which challenged the prevailing view that six million Jews were killed by the Nazis during World War II, primarily through the use of gas chambers using hydrocyanic gas (Zyklon B gas).

Ernst Zündel had been previously tried on the same charge in 1985. The trial lasted seven weeks and ended with a conviction and a sentence of fifteen months imprisonment. In January 1987, the Ontario Court of Appeal overturned the judgment because of grave errors in law and ordered that a new trial be held. The retrial began on January 18, 1988 and at the time of this writing is still proceeding.

My initial conversations with Fred Leuchter took place in Boston on the 3rd and 4th of February, 1988. I was impressed with the conciseness of his answers to my questions and by his ability to explain every detail of gassing procedures. He confirmed to me the particularly dangerous nature of an execution by hydrocyanic gas.

Executions using this gas were carried out for the first time in the United States in 1924, but as late as 1988 major difficulties still existed in the construction of execution gas chambers, including the problem of leakage. I noticed that Fred Leuchter did not question the standard notion of the Holocaust.

After my return from Boston to Toronto and after I had reported to Ernst Zündel on my discussions with Fred Leuchter, Mr. Zündel decided to ask the latter to prepare an expert opinion on the alleged gas chambers in Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek.

Mr. Leuchter accepted the assignment after a weekend in Toronto reviewing wartime aerial photographs of the camps, plans of the crematoriums and alleged gas chambers, documents on Zyklon B and slides taken of the sites in the 1970's by the Swedish researcher Ditlieb Felderer.

On February 25, 1988, Mr. Leuchter left for Poland together with his wife Carolyn, his draftsman Howard Miller, cinematographer Jürgen Neumann, and Polish interpreter Tijudar Rudolf. They returned eight days later on March 3rd.

Upon return, Fred Leuchter wrote his report of 192 pages including appendices. His conclusions were clear: the evidence was overwhelming that there were no execution gas chambers at Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek, and that the alleged gas chambers at these sites could not have been, then or now, utilized or seriously considered to function as execution gas chambers.

On the 20th and 21st of April, 1988, he stood on the witness stand in Toronto. At first, he replied to the questions put to him by Mr. Zündel's defense lawyer, Douglas H. Christie, the latter assisted by Keltie Zubko. He then faced cross-examination by the Crown Prosecutor, John Pearson, an official who had been assisted throughout the trial by another Crown Attorney, a law clerk and frequent consultations with Jewish advisors sitting immediately behind him in the courtroom.

The examination and cross-examination took place in the presence of a judge and an eleven-member jury. In the courtroom, the atmosphere was one of extreme tension. I was sitting beside a number of Revisionist experts, including Dr. William Lindsey, chief research chemist for Dupont Corporation before his retirement in 1985. Everyone in the courtroom, regardless of their own personal viewpoints on the topic under examination, was acutely aware, I think, of participating in a historical event. The myth of the gas chambers was ending.

The previous day, the director of the Missouri State Penitentiary, Bill Armontrout, had given testimony explaining the procedure and practical operation of a cyanide gas chamber. For every attentive listener it was revealed that if it was so difficult to execute a single person in this manner, then the alleged execution of hundreds of thousands of persons by the Germans using Zyklon B would equal the problem of trying to square the circle.

Following Fred Leuchter on the witness stand came Dr. James Roth, Ph.D. (Cornell Univ.), Manager of Alpha Analytical Laboratories in Ashland, Massachusetts. Dr. Roth reported on the analysis of samples taken from the walls, floors, ceilings and other structures inside the alleged gas chambers of Auschwitz I and Birkenau. These tests revealed either no detection of traces of cyanide or extremely low levels. The only exception was the control sample number 32 taken from Delousing Facility Number 1 at Birkenau. These results were graphically produced in Appendix I of the report and displayed to the jury on an overhead projector. The difference in detected cyanide between the delousing facility, on one hand, and the alleged gas chambers on the other, was spectacular. The extremely low levels of cyanide found in some crematoria were likely, in my opinion, to have resulted from disinfection of the premises during the war.

I think I was the first to point out that all studies of the alleged German execution gas chambers using Zyklon B should commence with a study of the American execution gas chambers. As early as 1977, with the help of an American friend, Eugene C. Brugger, a lawyer in New York City, I began an inquiry into this area. During this research, I obtained information from six American penitentiaries, those of San Quentin, California; Jefferson City, Missouri; Santa Fe, New Mexico; Raleigh, North Carolina; Baltimore, Maryland; and Florence, Arizona. I was forced to conclude at that time that only an expert in American gas chamber technology could finally determine whether the alleged German execution gas chambers were capable of having been used as described in Holocaust literature.

During the next several years, my articles on German gas chambers always referred to the American gas chambers. These articles included "The Rumor of Auschwitz or the Gas Chamber Problem," published on the 29th of December, 1978 in the French daily newspaper, *Le Monde*, and a long interview published in August, 1979 in the Italian periodical *Storia Illustrata*. I visited the gas chamber in Baltimore, Maryland in September 1979, and obtained eight photographs of the chamber and additional documentation. Then, during a meeting held in New York City under the chairmanship of Fritz Berg, I showed the Gas Chamber Procedure Check Sheet of the Baltimore penitentiary and discussed its implications.

In 1980, in the first issue of the newly-created *Journal of Historical Review*, I published an article entitled "The Mechanics of Gassing," in which I described in some detail the gas chamber procedures used in the United States. In the same year, I published, in *Verité historique ou verité politique?*, the eight photographs of the Baltimore gas chamber. My video entitled "The Gas Chamber Problem," made in 1982, began with an analysis of the American gas chambers.

In 1983, I prepared for the Institute for Historical Review, Los Angeles, a book in English on the Holocaust controversy which was to include, for the first time, a list of the questions put to the penitentiary wardens and their answers. The book, however, was never published: on July 4, 1984, American Independence Day, the archives of the Institute were destroyed by arson. This fire, for all intents and purposes, destroyed the financial viability of the Institute and a number of projects, including that of my book, were abandoned.

The Holocaust has appeared to be a subject of enormous proportion. But this "giant," as Dr. Arthur Butz has pointed out in *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, is a giant with feet of clay. To see the feet of clay, one need only go to Auschwitz Concentration Camp in Poland. In the words of Dr. Wilhelm Stäglich, "the extermination thesis stands or falls with the allegation that Auschwitz was a 'death factory'." And for me, the whole mystery of Auschwitz is, in turn, concentrated on the 65 square meters of the alleged gas chamber of Auschwitz I and on the 210 square meters of the alleged gas chamber of Birkenau. These 275 square meters should have been forensically examined immediately after the war by the Allies, but no such examination was ever carried out then or since. The Polish examining magistrate, Jan Sehn, ordered some forensic examinations at Auschwitz, but not of the alleged execution gas chambers themselves.

Research by Revisionists has shown that the places alleged to be execution gas chambers could not have been used for such a purpose. Ditlieb Felderer published photographs indicating the flimsy construction of vents and doors to the gas chambers and the lack of prussian blue stain on the walls. I myself had discovered in 1975, in the archives of the Auschwitz State Museum (archives which are well guarded by the Communist officials), the plans of these alleged gas chambers and was the first to publish them in various books and articles. These plans were also shown at the first convention of the Institute for Historical Review in Los Angeles in 1979, when Mr. Zündel was present. In reality, these alleged gas chambers had been mortuaries or, as indicated on the plans, "Leichenhalle" for Krema I (later transformed into an air-raid shelter) and "Leichenkeller" for Krema II.

Nevertheless, in order to obtain an entirely scientific confirmation

of what simple common sense compelled us to see and what Revisionist research work and documents had revealed, it was necessary to look for an American gas chamber specialist. I desperately tried to find such a specialist, but frankly, I had little hope of finding a man who was not only an expert in gas chamber technology, but also one courageous enough to carry out such an investigation in a Communist country and to publish the results if they confirmed Revisionist conclusions. Fortunately, I was wrong.

Fred Leuchter was this specialist. He went to Poland, conducted the forensic examination, wrote his report and testified in a Canadian court on behalf of Mr. Zündel. In so doing, he has quietly entered history.

Fred Leuchter is a modest but quietly determined man who speaks precisely. He would be an excellent professor and has the real gift of making people understand the intricacies of any difficult problem. When I asked him whether or not he was afraid of any dangerous consequences, he replied, "A fact is a fact." Upon reading *The Leuchter Report*, David Irving, the famous British historian, said on April 22nd, 1988 during his testimony in Toronto that it was a "shattering" document which would become essential for any future historian writing on the Second World War.

Without Ernst Zündel, almost nothing of what has now transpired would have been conceivable. He sacrifices everything in his search for historical accuracy and lives under difficult conditions, facing influential and powerful enemies. The pressure on him is permanent and takes the most unexpected and sometimes the most vicious forms. But he has a strong personality and charisma. He knows how to analyze any given situation, to evaluate the ratios of forces, to turn adversity into advantage. From all parts of the world he attracts and mobilizes highly competent people. He is a profound man, a genius who combines common sense with a keen understanding of people and situations.

He may once again go to prison for his research and beliefs or be threatened with deportation. All this is possible. Anything may happen when there is an intellectual crisis and a realignment of historical concepts of such a dimension. Revisionism is the great intellectual adventure of the end of this century. Whatever happens, Ernst Zündel is already the victor. He is a pacifist-activist who has achieved this victory through the powers of reason and persuasion.

—April 23, 1988
Toronto

Interview with Michel De Boüard on the “Thesis of Nantes”

This interview, which originally appeared in the French newspaper, Ouest-France (August 1-2, 1986) has been translated from the French journal Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine [Review of Modern and Contemporary History], tome xxxiv, January-March 1987. The original was written by Jacques Lebailly.

When a member of the [French] Institute, with a brilliant career as a historian, and an incontestable patriotic record (Commander of the Legion of Honor, War Cross, Resistance Medal), dares to say, in the midst of a polemic in which the minister of higher education deemed himself obliged to enter: “Had I been a member of the jury, I would probably have given a grade of ‘Very Good’ to Mr. Roques’ thesis,” it may seem a provocation. At the very least it can only be an act of uncommon courage. It is that indeed, and furthermore, it’s an appeal to intellectual rigor in the grave debate on deportation.¹

Michel de Boüard, former dean of the faculty of letters at Caen, is a renowned medievalist, a member of the Committee for the History of the Second World War, who campaigned against fascism before the war. He continues to proclaim his commitments as a Catholic and a man of the Left (today he still speaks with emotion of his long service in the ranks of the Communists, which he left in 1960). A scholar and a man not prone to exaggerate, he fought in the Resistance and was deported to Mauthausen, where he was registered as number 63584, category NN.² He is one critic who can’t be labeled either an amateur or a nostalgist for Nazism.

Hear him:

Mr. Roques’ thesis defines itself in its title: *The Confessions of Kurt Gerstein. A Comparative Study of the Different Versions – Critical Edition*.³ Gerstein’s testimony has been known since 1947. There were several versions available. It is an important text because everyone who has dealt with the concentration camps has adduced this testimony. It was poorly understood and has been used with a carelessness which a historian cannot tolerate. (Embarrassing passages were excised due to things which seemed untrue, different versions were conflated, etc.) The thesis is a good critical edition. It is true that one sensed perhaps a certain . . . partiality, but where is

the thesis without it? A thesis is not a catechism! A thesis is to be discussed, and if I had been a member of the jury I would have discussed it with the author. I don't agree with everything, but a critical study was needed. It's been done and I say: thank you Mr. Roques. In any case, according to my reading, it is not true that this thesis denies the existence of the gas chambers."

Ouest-France: "If one were to accept, like Mr. Roques, that the Gerstein testimony is to be completely rejected, would that change anything regarding your belief in the gas chambers?"

Michel de Boüard: "Certainly not!"

And Mr. de Boüard explains that there is a distinction to be made between the conviction of the former deportee based on what he's seen, heard, (and also believed, because that derives from logic and common sense) and the "proofs" obligatory for a historian, for whom a deportee is not to be believed merely on the strength of his word. The fact that each day thousands of deportees entered a given place and were never seen leaving is the determinative element of conviction, he says, which doesn't prevent pointing out the danger of certain certitudes which he admits he himself was the victim of: "In the monograph on Mauthausen which I wrote for *La Revue d'histoire de la Seconde Guerre mondiale* [Review of the History of the Second World War] in 1954, in two places I spoke of a gas chamber. Reflecting on this later I said to myself: where did I acquire the conviction that there was a gas chamber at Mauthausen? It wasn't during my stay at the camp, for neither I nor anyone else suspected there was one there, it was rather a rumor I heard after the war, that's granted. Then I noticed that in my text—although I supported most of my statements with references—there was no reference concerning the gas chamber . . .

"Now, I was a member of the French command of the international resistance organization at the camp and we were well informed about what happened there.

"Besides, it seems the specialists, notably those from the Institute for [Contemporary] History in Munich, have learned that gassings didn't take place anywhere but in the camps Chelmno, Auschwitz, Sobibor, Treblinka, Belzec, and Majdanek. There weren't any in the camps within Germany (within the borders of 1937)."

Michel de Boüard, without, however, giving in to new certitudes, remains sceptical about gassings at Mauthausen.

"It was also thought," he continues, "that there must have been a set-up for execution by shooting. About this I can say that I once saw a group of twenty or thirty men standing at the door of the building which housed the bunker and the crematorium. They went in one by one, at intervals of several seconds, and later I noticed while looking at the registries for deaths in the camp, on which I have done a good

deal of work, that the deaths were entered at intervals of one minute."

"Whether the killings were carried out in one manner or another changes none of the horror of the camps, but it is not necessary to say anything on that. When the texts of this writer or that are invoked, let's begin by doing what is done in the study of every historical problem: establishing all the written, oral and material sources, everything there is, and then making a critical study, source by source, and there will be no more of these polemics."

Ouest-France: "You've taken into consideration that your stand (which, in view of your past, can in no way be an ideological stance) could supply grist to the mill of certain . . . nostalgics?"

Michel de Boüard: "I don't disregard that. Naturally I can't say that I give it no notice, but frankly what am I to do? I am a historian and the truth alone interests me. Besides all this won't benefit the fascists, etc. None of that is serious."

Ouest-France: "It's been said that the Roques thesis was accomplished in an irregular fashion."

Michel de Boüard: "That's another problem. If there were irregularities in form, it is unacceptable, but then one would have to say that it was necessary to nullify the oral dissertation."

Ouest-France: "You were president of the Association of Deportees of Calvados and you resigned. Why?"

Michel de Boüard: "I found myself torn between my conscience as a historian and the duties that entails, and my attachment to a group of comrades I love deeply but who don't wish to recognize the necessity of treating the historical fact of the deportation in accordance with sound historical method."

"I'm haunted by the thought that in a hundred years, or even fifty, historians will submit the concentration camp system of the Second World War to investigation and by the thought of what they will discover. The file is rotten. On the one hand there is a vast amount of tall tales and inaccuracies, repeated obstinately, particularly on the numerical scale, of amalgamations, generalizations, and, on the other hand, there are very solid critical studies which demonstrate how ridiculous these exaggerations are. I fear that historians will say, finally, that the deportation itself must have been a myth. That's the danger. This thought haunts me."

Notes

1. [In France the terms *déporté*, *déportation*, etc. connote more than deportation: they embrace the entire concentration camp experience.—Ed.]

2. The abbreviation NN is commonly interpreted to mean *Nacht und Nebel* (Night and Fog). Another interpretation has been advanced as well: *Nomen nescio* (Name unknown).
3. [An English translation of Henri Roques' thesis will soon be available from IHR. —Ed.]

About the Contributors

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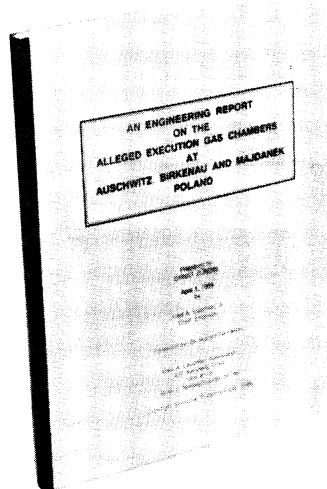
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CARLO MATTOGNO was born in Orvieto, Italy in 1951. He has done advanced linguistic and exegetical studies in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Sanskrit. Mr. Mattogno is a specialist in textual criticism, and has published a number of Revisionist studies in Italian, including *Il rapporto Gerstein: anatomia di un falso* and *Auschwitz: due false testimonianze*.

JOHN M. RIES is a graduate of Notre Dame University (B.A.) and the University of Tulsa (M.A.). He is working on a book dealing with the intellectual history of the Weimar Republic.

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From the Editor

This issue of *The Journal* presents, for the first time in English, the complete text of Adolf Hitler's December 11, 1941 speech to the Reichstag. This important document, in which the German dictator proclaimed to the world his reasons for going to war against the United States, has long been withheld from the American people. It is telling that almost fifty years after America's entry into the Second World War the great majority of even educated Americans have scant inkling as to the facts of the months-long, one-sided naval war America waged against Germany on the high seas before December 7, 1941 (even as the U.S. was sending massive shipments of arms and supplies to the British and Soviet empires). It should also be stressed that Roosevelt's admirers among Establishment historians have long admitted that Roosevelt cynically deceived the American people and violated both American and international law in goading Germany into war, conduct these historians have praised highly. *The Journal* is proud to publish Mark Weber's expert translation of Hitler's historic speech.

Suppression of history is also the game in Canada, where Ernst Zündel has been twice tried and convicted for selling a Revisionist examination of the Holocaust. Robert Faurisson, the guiding spirit of the Zündel defense, presents a superb summary of the gains for historical scholarship which have resulted in the Canadian government's clumsy efforts at censoring the truth.

Friedrich P. Berg offers a thoroughly documented study of German efforts to battle typhus during the Second World War, and how anti-typhus measures have been distorted and falsified into the lie of a gas-chamber "Holocaust" of the European Jews. Berg's work is of vital importance in the second stage of Holocaust Revisionism: after showing what didn't happen in the German-occupied East, establishing what *did* occur.

Dr. Charles Weber provides a timely review of Ingrid Weckert's *Feuerzeichen*, a German-language Revisionist study of "Reichskristallnacht," of which we have all heard so much lately. IHR hopes to publish an English translation of this important book in the coming year.

This issue of *The Journal* is rounded out with important new information on Simon Wiesenthal's reliability about his activities during the Second World War, a tantalizing disclosure about Soviet propagandist Ilya Ehrenburg, and a courageous letter written by the inimitable George Bernard Shaw in 1945. There is also a memorial tribute to Dr. Karl Otto Braun, a staunch friend of Historical Revisionism and the Institute for Historical Review, who passed away last summer.

—Theodore J. O'Keefe

The Reichstag Speech
of 11 December 1941

Hitler's Declaration of War Against the United States

It has often been said that Hitler's greatest mistakes were his decisions to go to war against the Soviet Union and the United States. Whatever the truth may be, it's worth noting his own detailed justifications for these grave decisions.

On Thursday afternoon, 11 December 1941, four days after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Hitler spoke to the Reichstag in Berlin. The 88-minute address, which he had written himself, was broadcast to the nation. In it the German leader recounted the reasons for the outbreak of war in September 1939, explained why he decided to strike against the Soviet Union in June 1941, reviewed the dramatic course of the war thus far, and dealt at length with President Franklin Roosevelt's hostile policies toward Germany. Hitler detailed the increasingly belligerent actions of Roosevelt's government and then dramatically announced that Germany was now joining Japan in war against the United States.

The day after it was delivered, a very inaccurate and misleading translation of portions of the address appeared in the New York Times. But although it should be of particular interest to Americans, a complete text of this important historical document has apparently never before been made available to the English-speaking world.

This translation is my own, as are the brief clarifications given in brackets.

Following the speech, I have included Germany's formal note to the U.S. government declaring war and a short list of items for suggested further reading.

—Mark Weber

Deputies! Men of the German Reichstag!

A year of world-historical events is coming to an end. A year of great decisions is approaching. In this grave period I speak to you, deputies of the Reichstag, as the representatives of the German nation. In addition, the entire German nation should also review what has happened and take note of the decisions required by the present and the future.

After the repeated rejection of my peace proposal in 1940 by the British Prime Minister [Churchill] and the clique that supports and controls him, it was clear by the fall of that year that this war would have to be fought through to the end, contrary to all logic and necessity.

You, my old Party comrades, know that I have always detested half-hearted or weak decisions. If Providence has deemed that the German people are not to be spared this struggle, then I am thankful that She has entrusted me with the leadership in a historic conflict that will be decisive in determining the next five hundred or one thousand years, not only of our German history, but also of the history of Europe and even of the entire world.

The German people and its soldiers work and fight today not only for themselves and their own age, but also for many generations to come. A historical task of unique dimensions has been entrusted to us by the Creator which we are now obliged to carry out.

The western armistice which was possible shortly after the conclusion of the conflict in Norway [in June 1940] compelled the German leadership, first of all, to militarily secure the most important political, strategic and economic areas that had been won. Consequently, the defense capabilities of the lands which were conquered at that time have changed.

From Kirkenes [in northern Norway] to the Spanish frontier stretches the most extensive belt of great defense installations and fortresses. Countless air fields have been built, including some in the far north which were blasted out of granite. The number and strength of the protected submarine shelters that defend naval bases are such that they are practically impregnable from both the sea and the air. They are defended by more than one and a half thousand gun battery emplacements, which had to be surveyed, planned and built. A network of roads and rail lines has been laid out so that the lines of communication between the Spanish frontier and Petsamo [in the far North] can be defended independently from the sea. The installations built by the Pioneer and construction battalions of the navy, army and air force in cooperation with the Todt Organization are not at all inferior to those of the Westwall [along the German frontier with France]. The work to further strengthen all this continues without pause. I am determined to make this European front impregnable against any enemy attack.

This defensive work, which continued during the past winter, was complemented by military offensives insofar as seasonal conditions permitted. German naval forces above and below the waves continued their steady war of annihilation against the navy and merchant marine of the British and their subservient allies. Through reconnaissance flights and air attacks, the German air force helps to destroy enemy shipping and in countless retaliation air attacks to give the British a better idea of the reality of the so-called "exciting war" which is the creation, above all, of the current British Prime Minister [Churchill].

Germany was supported in this struggle during the past summer above all by its Italian ally. For many months our ally Italy bore on its shoulders the main weight of a large part of British might. Only because of the enormous superiority in heavy tanks were the British able to bring about a temporary crisis in North Africa, but by 24 March of this past year a small combined force of German and Italian units under the command of General [Erwin] Rommel began a counterattack.

Agedabia fell on 2 April. Benghazi was reached on the 4th. Our combined forces entered Derna on the 8th, Tobruk was encircled on the 11th, and Bardia was occupied on 12 April. The achievement of the German Afrika Korps is all the more outstanding because this field of battle is completely alien and unfamiliar to the Germans, climatically and otherwise. As once in Spain [1936-1939], so now in North Africa, Germans and Italians stand together against the same enemy. While these daring actions were again securing the North African front with the blood of German and Italian soldiers, the threatening clouds of terrible danger were gathering over Europe.

Compelled by bitter necessity, I decided in the fall of 1939 to at least try to create the prerequisite conditions for a general peace by eliminating the acute tension between Germany and Soviet Russia [with the German-Soviet non-aggression pact of 23 August 1939]. This was psychologically difficult because of the basic attitude towards Bolshevism of the German people and, above all, of the [National Socialist] Party. Objectively, though, this was a simple matter because in all the countries that Britain said were threatened by us and which were offered military alliances, Germany actually had only economic interests.

I may remind you, deputies and men of the German Reichstag, that throughout the spring and summer of 1939 Britain offered military alliances to a number of countries, claiming that Germany intended to invade them and rob them of their freedom. However, the German Reich and its government could assure them with a clear conscience that these insinuations did not correspond to the truth in any way. Moreover, there was the sober military realization that in case of a war which might be forced upon the German nation

by British diplomacy, the struggle could be fought on two fronts only with very great sacrifices. And after the Baltic states, Rumania and so forth were inclined to accept the British offers of military alliance and thereby made clear that they also believed themselves to be threatened [by Germany], it was not only the right but also the duty of the German Reich government to delineate the [geographical] limits of German interests [between Germany and the USSR].

All the same, the countries involved realized very quickly—which was unfortunate for the German Reich as well—that the best and strongest guarantee against the [Soviet] threat from the East was Germany. Thus, when these countries, on their own initiative, cut their ties with the German Reich and instead put their trust in promises of aid from a power [Britain] which, in its proverbial egotism, has for centuries never given help but has always demanded it, they were lost. All the same, the fate of these countries aroused the strongest sympathy of the German people. The winter war of the Finns [against the USSR, 1939-1940] aroused in us a feeling of admiration mixed with bitterness: admiration because, as a soldierly nation, we have a sympathetic heart for heroism and sacrifice, and bitterness because our concern for the enemy threat in the West and the danger in the East meant that we were not in a position to help. When it became clear to us that Soviet Russia concluded that the [German-Soviet] delineation of political spheres of influence [in August 1939] gave it the right to practically exterminate foreign nations, the [German-Soviet] relationship was maintained only for utilitarian reasons, contrary to reason and sentiment.

Already in 1940 it became increasingly clear from month to month that the plans of the men in the Kremlin were aimed at the domination, and thus the destruction, of all of Europe. I have already told the nation of the build-up of Soviet Russian military power in the East during a period when Germany had only a few divisions in the provinces bordering Soviet Russia. Only a blind person could fail to see that a military build-up of unique world-historical dimensions was being carried out. And this was not in order to protect something that was being threatened, but rather only to attack that which seemed incapable of defense.

The quick conclusion of the campaign in the West [May-June 1940] meant that those in power in Moscow were not able to count on the immediate exhaustion of the German Reich. However, they did not change their plans at all, but only postponed the timing of their attack. The summer of 1941 seemed like the ideal moment to strike. A new Mongol invasion was ready to pour across Europe. Mr. Churchill also promised that there would be a change in the British war against Germany at this same time. In a cowardly way, he now tries to deny that during a secret meeting in the British

House of Commons in 1940 he said that an important factor for the successful continuation and conclusion of this war would be the Soviet entry into the war, which would come during 1941 at the latest, and which would also make it possible for Britain to take the offensive. Conscious of our duty, we observed the military build-up of a world power this last spring which seemed to have inexhaustible reserves of human and material resources. Dark clouds began to gather over Europe.

What is Europe, my deputies? There is no geographical definition of our continent, but only a racial [volkliche] and cultural one. The frontier of this continent is not the Ural mountains, but rather the line that divides the Western outlook on life from that of the East.

At one time, Europe was confined to the Greek isles, which had been reached by Nordic tribes, and where the flame first burned which slowly but steadily enlightened humanity. And when these Greeks fought against the invasion of the Persian conquerors, they did not just defend their own small homeland, which was Greece, but [also] that concept which is now Europe. And then [the spirit of] Europe shifted from Hellas to Rome. Roman thought and Roman statecraft combined with Greek spirit and Greek culture. An empire was created, the importance and creative power of which has never been matched, much less surpassed, even to this day. And when the Roman legions defended Italy in three terrible wars against the attack of Carthage from Africa, and finally battled to victory, in this case as well Rome fought not just for herself, but [also] for the Greco-Roman world which then encompassed Europe.

The next invasion against the home soil of this new culture of humanity came from the wide expanses of the East. A horrific storm of cultureless hordes sprang from the center of Asia deep into the heart of the European continent, burning, ravaging and murdering as a true scourge of God. Roman and Germanic men fought together for the first time on the Catalaunian battle fields in a decisive conflict [451 A.D.] of tremendous importance for a culture which had begun with the Greeks, passed on to the Romans, and then encompassed the Germanic peoples. Europe had matured. The Occident arose from Hellas and Rome, and for many centuries its defense was the task not only of the Romans, but above all of the Germanic peoples.

What we call Europe is the geographic territory of the Occident, enlightened by Greek culture, inspired by the powerful heritage of the Roman empire, its territory enlarged by Germanic colonization. Whether it was the German emperors fighting back invasions from the East by the Unstrut or on the Lechfeld [near Augsburg, in 955], or others pushing back Africa from Spain over a period of many years, it was always a struggle of a developing Europe against a profoundly alien outside world.

Just as Rome once made her immortal contribution to the building

and defense of the continent, so now have the Germanic peoples taken up the defense and protection of a family of nations which, although they may differ and diverge in their political structure and goals, nevertheless together constitute a racially and culturally unified and complementary whole.

And from this Europe there have not only been settlements in other parts of the world, but intellectual [geistig] and cultural fertilization as well, a fact which anyone realizes who is willing to acknowledge the truth rather than deny it. Thus, it was not England which cultivated the continent, but rather Anglo-Saxon and Norman branches of the Germanic nation from our continent which moved to the [British] island and made possible her development, which is certainly unique in history. In the same way, it was not America that discovered Europe, but the other way around. And all that which America did not get from Europe may seem worthy of admiration to a Jewified mixed race, but Europe regards that merely as symptomatic of decay in artistic and cultural life, the product of Jewish or Negroid blood mixture.

My Deputies! Men of the German Reichstag!

I have to make these remarks because this struggle, which became obviously unavoidable in the early months of this year, and which the German Reich, above all, is called upon this time to lead, also greatly transcends the interests of our own people and nation. When the Greeks once stood against the Persians, they defended more than just Greece. When the Romans stood against the Carthaginians, they defended more than just Rome. When the Roman and Germanic peoples stood together against the Huns, they defended more than just the West. When German emperors stood against the Mongols they defended more than just Germany. And when Spanish heroes stood against Africa, they defended not just Spain, but all of Europe as well. In the same way, Germany does not fight today just for itself, but for our entire continent.

And it is an auspicious sign that this realization is today so deeply rooted in the subconscious of most European nations that they participate in this struggle, either with open expressions of support or with streams of volunteers.

When the German and Italian armies took the offensive against Yugoslavia and Greece on the 6th of April of this year, that was the prelude to the great struggle in which we now find ourselves. That is because the revolt in Belgrade [on 26 March 1941] which led to the overthrow of the former prince regent and his government determined the further development of events in that part of Europe. Although Britain played a major role in that coup, Soviet Russia played the main role. What I had refused to Mr. Molotov [the Soviet Foreign Minister] during his visit to Berlin [in November 1940], Stalin believed he could obtain indirectly against our will by

revolutionary activity. Without regard for the treaties they had signed, the Bolshevik rulers expanded their ambitions. The [Soviet] treaty of friendship with the new revolutionary regime [in Belgrade] showed very quickly just how threatening the danger had become.

The achievements of the German armed forces in this campaign were honored in the German Reichstag on 4 May 1941. At that time, though, I was not able to reveal that we were very quickly approaching a confrontation with a state [Soviet Russia] which did not attack at the time of the campaign in the Balkans only because its military build-up was not yet complete and because it was not able to use its air fields as a result of the mud from melting snow at this time of year which made it impossible to use the runways.

My Deputies! Men of the Reichstag!

When I became aware of the possibility of a threat to the east of the Reich in 1940 through [secret] reports from the British House of Commons and by observations of Soviet Russian troop movements on our frontiers, I immediately ordered the formation of many new armored, motorized and infantry divisions. The human and material resources for them were abundantly available. [In this regard] I can make only one promise to you, my deputies, and to the entire German nation: while people in democratic countries understandably talk a lot about armaments, in National Socialist Germany all the more will actually be produced. It has been that way in the past, and it is not any different now. Whenever decisive action has to be taken, we will have more and, above all, better quality weapons with each passing year.

We realized very clearly that under no circumstances could we allow the enemy the opportunity to strike first into our heart. Nevertheless, the decision in this case [to attack the USSR] was a very difficult one. When the writers for the democratic newspapers now declare that I would have thought twice before attacking if I had known the strength of the Bolshevik adversaries, they show that they do not understand either the situation or me.

I have not sought war. To the contrary, I have done everything to avoid conflict. But I would forget my duty and my conscience if I were to do nothing in spite of the realization that a conflict had become unavoidable. Because I regarded Soviet Russia as a danger not only for the German Reich but for all of Europe, I decided, if possible, to give the order myself to attack a few days before the outbreak of this conflict.

A truly impressive amount of authentic material is now available which confirms that a Soviet Russian attack was intended. We are also sure about when this attack was to take place. In view of this danger, the extent of which we are perhaps only now truly aware, I can only thank the Lord God that He enlightened me in time and has given me the strength to do what must be done. Millions of German

soldiers may thank Him for their lives, and all of Europe for its existence.

I may say this today: If this wave of more than 20,000 tanks, hundreds of divisions, tens of thousands of artillery pieces, along with more than 10,000 airplanes, had not been kept from being set into motion against the Reich, Europe would have been lost.

Several nations have been destined to prevent or parry this blow through the sacrifice of their blood. If Finland [for example] had not immediately decided, for the second time, to take up weapons, then the comfortable bourgeois life of the other Nordic countries would have been quickly ended.

If the German Reich, with its soldiers and weapons, had not stood against this opponent, a storm would have burned over Europe which would have eliminated once and for all time the laughable British idea of the European balance of power in all its intellectual paucity and traditional stupidity.

If the Slovaks, Hungarians and Rumanians had not also acted to defend this European world, then the Bolshevik hordes would have poured over the Danube countries as did once the swarms of Attila's Huns, and [Soviet] Tatars and Mongols would [then] force a revision of the Treaty of Montreux [of July 1936] on the open country by the Ionian Sea.

If Italy, Spain and Croatia had not sent their divisions, then a European defense front would not have arisen which proclaims the concept of a new Europe and thereby effectively inspires all other nations as well. Because of this awareness of danger, volunteers have come from northern and western Europe: Norwegians, Danes, Dutch, Flemish, Belgians and even French. They have all given the struggle of the allied forces of the Axis the character of a European crusade, in the truest sense of the word.

This is not yet the right time to speak of the planning and direction of this campaign. However, in a few sentences I would like to say something about what has been achieved [so far] in this greatest conflict in history. Because of the enormous area involved as well as the number and size of the events, individual impressions may be lost and forgotten.

The attack began at dawn on 22 June [1941]. With dauntless daring, the frontier fortifications which were meant to protect the Soviet Russian build-up against us from surprise attack were broken through. Grodno fell by 23 June. On 24 June, following the capture of Brest-Litovsk, the fortress [there] was taken in combat, and Vilnius and Kaunas [in Lithuania] were also taken. Daugavpils [in Latvia] fell on 26 June.

The first two great encirclement battles near Bialystok and Minsk were completed on 10 July. We captured 324,000 prisoners of war, 3,332 tanks and 1,809 artillery pieces. By 13 July the Stalin Line had

been broken through at almost every decisive place. Smolensk fell on 16 July after heavy fighting, and German and Rumanian units were able to force their way across the Dniester [River] on 19 July. The Battle of Smolensk ended on 6 August after many encircling operations. As a result, another 310,000 Russians were taken as prisoners. Moreover, 3,205 tanks and 3,120 artillery pieces were counted—either destroyed or captured. Just three days later the fate of another Soviet Russian army group was sealed. On 9 August in the battle of Uman, another 103,000 Soviet Russian prisoners of war were taken, and 317 tanks and 1,100 artillery pieces were either destroyed or captured.

Nikolayev [in the Ukraine] fell on 13 August, and Kherson was taken on the 21st. On the same day the battle near Gomel ended, resulting in 84,000 prisoners as well as 144 tanks and 848 artillery pieces either captured or destroyed. The Soviet Russian positions between the Ilmen and Peipus [Lakes] were broken through on 21 August, while the bridgehead around Dnepropetrovsk fell into our hands on 26 August. On the 28th of that month German troops entered Tallinn and Paldiski [Estonia] after heavy fighting, while the Finns took Vyborg on the 20th. With the capture of Petrokrepost on 8 September, Leningrad was finally cut off from the south. By 16 September bridgeheads across the Dnieper were formed, and on 18 September Poltava fell into the hands of our soldiers. German units stormed the fortress of Kiev on 19 September, and on 22 September the conquest of [the Baltic island of] Saaremaa was crowned by the capture of its capital.

The battle near Kiev was completed on 27 September. Endless columns of 665,000 prisoners of war marched to the west. In the encircled area, 884 tanks and 3,178 artillery pieces were captured.

The battle to break through the central area of the Eastern front began on 2 October, while the battle of the Azov Sea was successfully completed on 11 October. Another 107,000 prisoners, 212 tanks and 672 artillery pieces were counted. After heavy fighting, German and Rumanian units were able to enter Odessa on 16 October. The battle to break through the center of the Eastern front that had begun on 2 October ended on 18 October with a success that is unique in world history. The result was 663,000 prisoners, as well as 1,242 tanks and 5,452 artillery pieces that were either destroyed or captured. The capture of Dagoe was completed on 21 October. The industrial center of Kharkov was taken on 24 October. After very heavy fighting, the Crimea was finally reached, and on 2 November the capital of Simferopol was stormed. On 16 November the Crimea was overrun as far as Kerch.

As of 1 December, the total number of captured Soviet Russian prisoners was 3,806,865. The number of destroyed or captured tanks was 21,391, of artillery pieces 32,541, and of airplanes 17,322.

During this same period of time, 2,191 British airplanes were shot down. The navy sank 4,170,611 gross registered tons of shipping, and the air force sank 2,346,180 tons. Altogether, 6,516,791 gross registered tons were destroyed.

My Deputies! My German people!

These are sober facts and, perhaps, dry figures. But may they never be forgotten by history or vanish from the memory of our own German nation! For behind these figures are the achievements, sacrifices and sufferings, the heroism and readiness to die of millions of the best men of our own people and of the countries allied with us. Everything had to be fought for at the cost of health and life, and through struggle such as those back in the homeland can hardly imagine.

They have marched endless distances, tortured by heat and thirst, often bogged down with despair in the mud of bottomless dirt roads, exposed to the hardships of a climate that varies between the White and Black Seas from the intense heat of July and August days to the winter storms of November and December, tormented by insects, suffering from dirt and pests, freezing in snow and ice, they fought—the Germans and the Finns, the Italians, Slovaks, Hungarians, Rumanians and Croatians, the volunteers from the northern and western European countries—in short, the soldiers of the Eastern front!

Today I will not single out specific branches of the armed forces or praise specific leaders—they have all done their best. And yet, truth and justice requires that something be mentioned again: As in the past, so also today, of all of our German fighting men in uniform, the greatest burden of battle is born by our ever-present infantry soldiers.

From 22 June to 1 December [1941], the German army has lost in this heroic struggle: 158,773 dead, 563,082 wounded and 31,191 missing. The air force has lost: 3,231 dead, 8,453 wounded and 2,028 missing. The navy: 310 dead, 232 wounded and 115 missing. For the German armed forces altogether: 162,314 dead, 571,767 wounded and 33,334 missing.

That is, the number of dead and wounded is somewhat more than double the number of those lost in the [four month long] battle of the Somme of the [First] World War [in 1916], but somewhat less than half the number of missing in that battle—all the same, fathers and sons of our German people.

And now let me speak about another world which is represented by a man [President Franklin Roosevelt] who likes to chat nicely at the fireside while nations and their soldiers fight in snow and ice: above all, the man who is primarily responsible for this war.

When the nationality problem in the former Polish state was growing ever more intolerable in 1939, I attempted to eliminate the

unendurable conditions by means of a just agreement. For a certain time it seemed as if the Polish government was seriously considering giving its approval to a reasonable solution. I may also add here that in all of these German proposals, nothing was demanded which had not previously belonged to Germany. In fact, we were willing to give up much which had belonged to Germany before the [First] World War.

You will recall the dramatic events of that period—the steadily increasing numbers of victims among the ethnic Germans [in Poland]. You, my deputies, are best qualified to compare this loss of life with that of the present war. The military campaign in the East has so far cost the entire German armed forces about 160,000 deaths, whereas during just a few months of peace [in 1939] more than 62,000 ethnic Germans were killed, including some who were horribly tortured. There is no question that the German Reich had the right to protest against this situation on its border and to press for its elimination, if for no other reason than for its own security, particularly since we live in an age in which [some] other countries [notably, the USA and Britain] regard their security at stake even in foreign continents. In geographical terms, the problems to be resolved were not very important. Essentially they involved Danzig [Gdansk] and a connecting link between the torn-away province of East Prussia and the rest of the Reich. Of much greater concern were the brutal persecutions of the Germans in Poland. In addition, the other minority population groups [notably the Ukrainians] were subject to a fate that was no less severe.

During those days in August [1939], when the Polish attitude steadily hardened, thanks to Britain's blank check of unlimited backing, the German Reich was moved to make one final proposal. We were prepared to enter into negotiations with Poland on the basis of this proposal, and we verbally informed the British ambassador of the proposal text. Today I would like to recall that proposal and review it with you.

[Text of the German proposal of 29 August 1939:]

Proposal for a settlement of the Danzig-Corridor problem and the German-Polish minority question:

The situation between the German Reich and Poland is now such that one more incident could lead to action by the military forces which have taken position on both sides of the frontier. Any peaceful solution must be such that the basic causes of this situation are eliminated so that it does not simply repeat itself, which would mean that not only eastern Europe but other areas as well would be subject to the same tensions. The causes of this situation are rooted in, first, the intolerable border that was specified by the dictated peace of

Versailles [of 1919], and, second, the intolerable treatment of the minority populations in the lost territories.

In making this proposal, the German Reich government is motivated by the desire to achieve a permanent solution which will insure that both sides have vitally important connecting roads, and which will solve the minority problem, insofar as that is possible, and if not, will at least insure a tolerable life for the minority populations with secure guarantees of their rights. The German Reich government is convinced that it is absolutely necessary to acknowledge the economic and physical destruction that has occurred since 1918 and to completely compensate for it. Of course, it regards this obligation as binding on both sides.

On the basis of these considerations, we make the following practical proposals:

1. The Free City of Danzig returns immediately to the German Reich on the basis of its purely German character and the unanimous desire of its population.
2. The territory of the so-called [Polish] Corridor will decide for itself whether it wishes to belong to Germany or to Poland. This territory consists of the area between the Baltic Sea [in the north] to a line marked [in the south] by the towns of Marienwerder, Graudenz, Kulm and Bromberg—including these towns—and then westwards to Schoenlanke.
3. For this purpose a plebiscite will be conducted in this territory. All Germans who lived in this territory on 1 January 1918 or were born there before that date are entitled to vote in the plebiscite. Similarly, all Poles, Cashubians, and so forth, who lived in this territory on that date or were born there before that date are also entitled to vote. Those Germans who were expelled from this territory will return to vote in the plebiscite.
To insure an objective plebiscite and to make sure that all necessary preliminary preparation work is completely carried out, this territory will come under the authority of an international commission, similar to the one organized in the Saar territory. This commission is to be organized immediately by the four great powers of Italy, the Soviet Union, France and Britain. This commission will have all sovereign authority in the territory. Accordingly, Polish soldiers, Polish police and Polish authorities are to clear out of this territory as soon as possible, by a date to be agreed upon.
4. This territory does not include the Polish harbor of Gdynia, which is regarded as fundamentally sovereign Polish territory, to the extent of [ethnic] Polish settlement. The specific border of this Polish harbor city will be negotiated by Germany and Poland and, if necessary, determined by an international court of arbitration.

5. In order to insure sufficient time for the preparations necessary in order to conduct a just plebiscite, the plebiscite will not take place until after at least 12 months have passed.
6. In order to guarantee unhindered traffic between Germany and East Prussia, and between Poland and the [Baltic] Sea during this period [before the plebiscite], roads and rail lines may be built to insure free transit. The only tolls that may be imposed are those necessary for the maintenance of the transit routes or for transport itself.
7. A simple majority of the votes cast will decide whether the territory will go to Germany or to Poland.
8. After the plebiscite has been conducted, and regardless of the result, free transit will be guaranteed between Germany and its province of Danzig-East Prussia, as well as between Poland and the [Baltic] Sea. If the plebiscite determines that the territory belongs to Poland, Germany will obtain an extraterritorial transit zone, consisting of an auto super-highway [Reichsautobahn] and a four-track rail line, approximately along the line of Buetow-Danzig and Dirschau. The highway and the rail line will be built in such a way that the Polish transit lines are not disturbed, which means that they will pass either above or underneath. This zone will be one kilometer wide and will be sovereign German territory. In case the plebiscite is in Germany's favor, Poland will have free and unrestricted transit to its harbor of Gdynia with the same right to an extraterritorial road and rail line that Germany would have.
9. In case the Corridor returns to Germany, the German Reich declares that it is ready to carry out an exchange of population with Poland to the extent that this would be suitable for the Corridor.
10. The special rights desired by Poland in the harbor of Danzig will also be given to Germany in the harbor of Gdynia on the basis of parity.
11. In order to eliminate all fear of threat from either side, Danzig and Gdynia will be purely commercial centers, that is, with no military installations or military fortifications.
12. The peninsula of Hela, which will go to either Poland or Germany on the basis of the plebiscite, will also be demilitarized in any case.
13. The German Reich government has protested in the strongest terms against the Polish treatment of its minority populations. For its part, the Polish government also believes itself called upon to register protests against Germany. Accordingly, both sides agree to submit these complaints to an international investigation commission which will be responsible for investigating all

complaints of economic and physical damage as well as other acts of terror.

Germany and Poland pledge to compensate for all economic and other harm inflicted on minority populations on both sides since 1918, or to annul all expropriations and provide for complete reparation for the victims of these and other economic measures.

14. In order to eliminate the feeling of deprivation of international rights of the Germans who will remain in Poland, as well as of the Poles who will remain in Germany, and above all, to insure that they are not forced to act contrary to their ethnic-national feelings, Germany and Poland agree to guarantee the rights of the minority populations on both sides through comprehensive and binding agreements. These will insure the right of these minority groups to maintain, freely develop and carry on their national-cultural life. In particular, they will be allowed to maintain organizations for these purposes. Both sides agree that members of their minority populations will not be drafted for military service.

15. If agreement is reached on the basis of these proposals, Germany and Poland declare that they will immediately order and carry out the demobilization of their armed forces.

16. Germany and Poland will agree to whatever measures are necessary to implement the above points as quickly as possible.

[End of the text of the German proposal]

The former Polish government refused to respond to these proposals in any way. In this regard, the question presents itself: How is it possible that such an unimportant state could dare to simply disregard such proposals and, in addition, carry out further cruelties against the Germans, the people who have given this land its entire culture, and even order the general mobilization of its armed forces?

A look at the documents from the [Polish] Foreign Ministry in Warsaw later provided the surprising explanation. They told of the role of a man [Roosevelt] who, with diabolical lack of principle, used all of his influence to strengthen Poland's resistance and to prevent any possibility of understanding. These reports were sent by the former Polish ambassador in Washington, Count [Jerzy] Potocki, to his government in Warsaw. These documents clearly and shockingly reveal the extent to which one man and the powers behind him are responsible for the Second World War.

Another question arises: Why had this man [Roosevelt] developed such a fanatic hostility against a country which, in its entire history, had never harmed either America or him?

With regard to Germany's relationship with America, the following should be said:

1. Germany is perhaps the only great power which has never had a colony in either North or South America. Nor has it been otherwise politically active there, apart from the emigration of many millions of Germans with their skills, from which the American continent, and particularly the United States, has only benefited.
2. In the entire history of the development and existence of the United States, the German Reich has never been hostile or even politically unfriendly towards the United States. To the contrary, many Germans have given their lives to defend the USA.
3. The German Reich has never participated in wars against the United States, except when the United States went to war against us in 1917. It did so for reasons which were completely explained by a commission which President Roosevelt himself established [or rather, endorsed] to investigate this issue. [This was the special U.S. Senate investigating committee, 1934-1935, chaired by Sen. Gerald Nye.] This commission to investigate the reasons for America's entry into the [First World] war clearly established that the United States entered the war in 1917 solely for the capitalist interests of a small group, and that Germany itself had no desire or intention to come into conflict with America.

Furthermore, there are no territorial or political conflicts between the American and German nations which could possibly involve the existence or even the [vital] interests of the United States. The forms of government have always been different. But this cannot be a reason for hostility between different nations, as long as one form of government does not try to interfere with another, outside of its naturally ordained sphere.

America is a republic led by a president with wide-ranging powers of authority. Germany was once ruled by a monarchy with limited authority, and then by a democracy which lacked authority. Today it is a republic of wide-ranging authority. Between these two countries is an ocean. If anything, the differences between capitalist America and Bolshevik Russia, if these terms have any meaning at all, must be more significant than those between an America led by a President and a Germany led by a Fuehrer.

It is a fact that the two historical conflicts between Germany and the United States were stimulated by two Americans, that is, by Presidents Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt, although each was inspired by the same forces. History has given its verdict about Wilson. His name will always be associated with the most base betrayal of a pledge [Wilson's "14 points"] in history. The result was the disruption of national life, not only in the so-called vanquished countries, but among the victors as well. Because of this broken pledge, which alone made the imposed Treaty of Versailles [1919] possible, countries were torn apart, cultures were destroyed and the

economic life of all was ruined. Today we know that a group of self-serving financiers stood behind Wilson. They used this paralytic professor in order to lead America into a war from which they hoped to profit. The German nation once believed this man, and had to pay for this faith with political and economic ruin.

After such a bitter experience, why is there now another American president who is determined to incite wars and, above all, to stir up hostility against Germany to the point of war? National Socialism came to power in Germany in the same year that Roosevelt came to power in the United States [1933]. At this point it is important to examine the factors behind the current developments.

First of all, the personal side of things: I understand very well that there is a world of difference between my own outlook on life and attitude, and that of President Roosevelt. Roosevelt came from an extremely wealthy family. By birth and origin he belonged to that class of people which is privileged in a democracy and assured of advancement. I myself was only the child of a small and poor family, and I had to struggle through life by work and effort in spite of immense hardships.

As a member of the privileged class, Roosevelt experienced the [First] World War in a position under Wilson's shadow [as assistant secretary of the Navy]. As a result, he only knew the agreeable consequences of a conflict between nations from which some profited while others lost their lives. During this same period, I lived very differently. I was not one of those who made history or profits, but rather one of those who carried out orders. As an ordinary soldier during those four years, I tried to do my duty in the face of the enemy. Of course, I returned from the war just as poor as when I entered in the fall of 1914. I thus shared my fate with millions of others, while Mr. Roosevelt shared his with the so-called upper ten thousand.

After the war, while Mr. Roosevelt tested his skills in financial speculation in order to profit personally from the inflation, that is, from the misfortune of others, I still lay in a military hospital along with many hundreds of thousands of others. Experienced in business, financially secure and enjoying the patronage of his class, Roosevelt then finally chose a career in politics. During this same period, I struggled as a nameless and unknown man for the rebirth of my nation, which was the victim of the greatest injustice in its entire history.

Two different paths in life! Franklin Roosevelt took power in the United States as the candidate of a thoroughly capitalistic party, which helps those who serve it. When I became the Chancellor of the German Reich, I was the leader of a popular national movement, which I had created myself. The powers which supported Mr.

Roosevelt were the same powers that I fought against out of deepest inner conviction and because of the fate of my people. The "brain trust" which served the new American president was made up of members of the same national group which we fought against in Germany as a parasitical expression of humanity, and which we began to remove from public life.

And yet, we also had something in common: Franklin Roosevelt took control of a country with an economy which had been ruined as a result of democratic influences, and I assumed the leadership of a Reich which was also on the edge of complete ruin, thanks to democracy. There were 13 million unemployed in the United States, while Germany had seven million unemployed and another seven million part-time workers. In both countries, public finances were in chaos, and it seemed that the spreading economic depression could not be stopped.

From then on, things developed in the United States and in the German Reich in such a way that future generations will have no difficulty in making a definitive evaluation of the two different socio-political theories. Whereas the German Reich experienced an enormous improvement in social, economic, cultural and artistic life in just a few years under National Socialist leadership, President Roosevelt was not able to bring about even limited improvements in his own country. This task should have been much easier in the United States, with barely 15 people per square kilometer, as compared to 140 in Germany. If economic prosperity is not possible in that country, it must be the result of either a lack of will by the ruling leadership or the complete incompetence of the men in charge. In just five years, the economic problems were solved in Germany and unemployment was eliminated. During this same period, President Roosevelt enormously increased his country's national debt, devalued the dollar, further disrupted the economy and maintained the same number of unemployed.

But this is hardly remarkable when one realizes that the intellects appointed by this man, or more accurately, who appointed him, are members of that same group who, as Jews, are interested only in disruption and never in order. While we in National Socialist Germany took measures against financial speculation, it flourished tremendously under Roosevelt. The New Deal legislation of this man was spurious, and consequently the greatest error ever experienced by anyone. If his economic policies had continued indefinitely during peace time, there is no doubt that sooner or later they would have brought down this president, in spite of all his dialectical cleverness. In a European country his career would certainly have ended in front of a national court for recklessly squandering the nation's wealth. And he would hardly have avoided a prison

sentence by a civil court for criminally incompetent business management.

Many respected Americans also shared this view. A threatening opposition was growing all around this man, which led him to think that he could save himself only by diverting public attention from his domestic policies to foreign affairs. In this regard it is interesting to study the reports of Polish Ambassador Potocki from Washington, which repeatedly point out that Roosevelt was fully aware of the danger that his entire economic house of cards could collapse and that therefore he absolutely had to divert attention to foreign policy.

The circle of Jews around Roosevelt encouraged him in this. With Old Testament vindictiveness they regarded the United States as the instrument which they and he could use to prepare a second Purim [slaughter of enemies] against the nations of Europe, which were increasingly anti-Jewish. So it was that the Jews, in all of their satanic baseness, gathered around this man, and he relied on them.

The American president increasingly used his influence to create conflicts, intensify existing conflicts, and, above all, to keep conflicts from being resolved peacefully. For years this man looked for a dispute anywhere in the world, but preferably in Europe, that he could use to create political entanglements with American economic obligations to one of the contending sides, which would then steadily involve America in the conflict and thus divert attention from his own confused domestic economic policies.

His actions against the German Reich in this regard have been particularly blunt. Starting in 1937, he began a series of speeches, including a particularly contemptible one on 5 October 1937 in Chicago, with which this man systematically incited the American public against Germany. He threatened to establish a kind of quarantine against the so-called authoritarian countries. As part of this steady and growing campaign of hate and incitement, President Roosevelt made another insulting statement [on 15 Nov. 1938] and then called the American ambassador in Berlin back to Washington for consultations. Since then the two countries have been represented only by charges d'affaires.

Starting in November 1938, he began to systematically and consciously sabotage every possibility of a European peace policy. In public he hypocritically claimed to be interested in peace while at the same time he threatened every country that was ready to pursue a policy of peaceful understanding by blocking credits, economic reprisals, calling in loans, and so forth. In this regard, the reports of the Polish ambassadors in Washington, London, Paris and Brussels provide a shocking insight.

This man increased his campaign of incitement in January 1939. In a message to the U.S. Congress [of 4 Jan. 1939] he threatened to take every measure short of war against the authoritarian countries.

He repeatedly claimed that other countries were trying to interfere in American affairs and he talked a lot about upholding the Monroe Doctrine. Starting in March 1939 he began lecturing about internal European affairs which were no concern of the President of the United States. In the first place, he doesn't understand these problems, and secondly, even if he did understand them and appreciated the historical circumstances, he has no more right to concern himself with central European affairs than the German head of state has to take positions on or make judgments about conditions in the United States.

Mr. Roosevelt went even beyond that. Contrary to the rules of international law, he refused to recognize governments he didn't like, would not accept new ones, refused to dismiss ambassadors of non-existent countries, and even recognized them as legal governments. He went so far as to conclude treaties with these ambassadors, which then gave him the right to simply occupy foreign territories [Greenland and Iceland].

On 15 April 1939 Roosevelt made his famous appeal to me and the Duce [Mussolini], which was a mixture of geographical and political ignorance combined with the arrogance of a member of the millionaire class. We were called upon to make declarations and to conclude non-aggression pacts with a number of countries, many of which were not even independent because they had either been annexed or turned into subordinate protectorates by countries allied with Mr. Roosevelt [Britain and France]. You will recall, my Deputies, that I then gave a polite but straightforward answer to this obtrusive gentleman [on 28 April 1939], which succeeded in stopping, at least for a few months, the storm of chatter from this staunch warmonger.

But now the honorable wife [Eleanor Roosevelt] took his place. She and her sons [she said] refused to live in a world such as ours. That is at least understandable, for ours is world of work and not one of deceit and racketeering. After a short rest, though, he was back at it. On 4 November 1939 the Neutrality Act was revised and the arms embargo was repealed in favor of a one-sided supply [of weapons] to Germany's adversaries. In the same way in eastern Asia, he pushed for economic entanglements with China which would eventually lead to effective common interests. That same month he recognized a small group of Polish emigrants as a so-called government in exile, the only political basis of which was a few million Polish gold pieces which were taken away from Warsaw.

On 9 April [1940] he froze all Norwegian and Danish assets [in the United States] on the lying pretext of wanting to keep them from falling into German hands, even though he knew full well, for example, that Germany has not interfered with, much less taken control of, the Danish government's administration of its financial

affairs. Along with the other governments in exile, Roosevelt now recognized one for Norway. On 15 May 1940, Dutch and Belgian governments in exile were also recognized, and at the same time Dutch and Belgian assets [in the USA] were frozen.

This man revealed his true attitude in a telegram of 15 June [1940] to French Premier [Paul] Reynaud. Roosevelt told him that the American government would double its aid to France, on the condition that France continue the war against Germany. In order to give special emphasis to his desire that the war continue, he declared that the American government would not recognize acquisitions brought about by conquest, which included, for example, the retaking of territories which had been stolen from Germany. I do not need to emphasize that now and in the future, the German government will not be concerned about whether or not the President of the United States recognizes a border in Europe. I mention this case because it is characteristic of the systematic incitement of this man, who hypocritically talks about peace while at the same time he incites to war.

And now he feared that if peace were to come about in Europe, the billions he had squandered on military spending would soon be recognized as an obvious case of fraud, because no one would attack America unless America itself provoked the attack. On 17 June 1940 the President of the United States froze French assets [in the USA] in order, so he said, to keep them from being seized by Germany, but in reality to get hold of the gold that was being brought from Casablanca on an American cruiser.

In July 1940 Roosevelt began to take many new measures towards war, such as permitting the service of American citizens in the British air force and the training of British air force personnel in the United States. In August 1940 a joint military policy for the United States and Canada was established. In order to make the establishment of a joint American-Canadian defense committee plausible to at least the stupidest people, Roosevelt periodically invented crises and acted as if America was threatened by immediate attack. He would suddenly cancel trips and quickly return to Washington and do similar things in order to emphasize the seriousness of the situation to his followers, who really deserve pity.

He moved still closer to war in September 1940 when he transferred fifty American naval destroyers to the British fleet, and in return took control of military bases on British possessions in North and Central America. Future generations will determine the extent to which, along with all this hatred against socialist Germany, the desire to easily and safely take control of the British empire in its hour of disintegration may have also played a role.

After Britain was no longer able to pay cash for American

deliveries, he imposed the Lend-Lease Act on the American people [in March 1941]. As President, he thereby obtained the authority to furnish lend-lease military aid to countries which he, Roosevelt, decided it was in America's vital interests to defend. After it became clear that Germany would not respond under any circumstances to his continued boorish behavior, this man took another step forward in March 1941.

As early as 19 December 1939, an American cruiser within the safety zone [the *Tuscaloosa*] maneuvered the [German] passenger liner *Columbus* into the hands of British warships. As a result, it had to be scuttled. On the same day, US military forces helped in an effort to capture the German merchant ship *Arauca*. Again contrary to international law, on 27 January 1940 the US cruiser *Trenton* reported the movements of the German merchant ships *Arauca*, *La Plata* and *Wangoni* to enemy naval forces.

On 27 June 1940 he announced a limitation on the free movement of foreign merchant ships in US harbors, completely contrary to international law. In November 1940 he permitted US warships to pursue the German merchant ships *Phrygia*, *Idarwald* and *Rhein* until they finally had to scuttle themselves to keep from falling into enemy hands. On 13 April 1941 American ships were permitted to pass freely through the Red Sea in order to supply British armies in the Middle East.

In the meantime, all German ships were confiscated by the American authorities in March [1941]. In the process, German Reich citizens were treated in the most degrading way, ordered to certain locations in violation of international law, put under travel restrictions, and so forth. Two German officers who had escaped [to the United States] from Canadian captivity were shackled and returned to the Canadian authorities, likewise completely contrary to international law.

On 27 March [1941] the same president who is [supposedly] against all aggression announced support for [General Dusan] Simovic and his clique of usurpers, who had come to power in Belgrade [Yugoslavia] after the overthrow of the legal government. Several months earlier, President Roosevelt had sent [OSS chief] Colonel Donovan, a very inferior character, to the Balkans with orders to help organize an uprising against Germany and Italy in Sofia [Bulgaria] and Belgrade. In April he [Roosevelt] promised lend-lease aid to Yugoslavia and Greece. At the end of April he recognized Yugoslav and Greek emigrants as governments in exile. And once again, in violation of international law, he froze Yugoslav and Greek assets.

Starting in mid-April [1941] US naval patrols began expanded operations in the western Atlantic, reporting their observations to the British. On 26 April, Roosevelt delivered twenty P.T. boats to

Britain. At the same time, British naval ships were routinely being repaired in US harbors. On 12 May, Norwegian ships operating for Britain were armed and repaired [in the USA], contrary to international law. On 4 June, American troop transports arrived in Greenland to build air fields. And on 9 June came the first British report that a US war ship, acting on orders from President Roosevelt, had attacked a German submarine near Greenland with depth charges.

On 14 June, German assets in the United States were frozen, again in violation of international law. On 17 June, on the basis of a lying pretext, President Roosevelt demanded the recall of the German consuls and the closing of the German consulates. He also demanded the closing down of the German "Transocean" press agency, the German Library of Information [in New York] and the German Reichsbahn [national railway] office.

On 6 and 7 July [1941], American armed forces acting on orders from Roosevelt occupied Iceland, which was in the area of German military operations. He hoped that this action would certainly, first, finally force Germany into war [against the USA] and, second, also neutralize the effectiveness of the German submarines, much as in 1915-1916. At the same time, he promised military aid to the Soviet Union. On 10 July, Navy Secretary [Frank] Knox suddenly announced the existence of an American order to fire against Axis warships. On 4 September the US destroyer Greer, acting on orders, operated together with British airplanes against German submarines in the Atlantic. Five days later, a German submarine identified US destroyers as escort vessels with a British convoy.

In a speech delivered on 11 September [1941], Roosevelt at last personally confirmed that he had given the order to fire against all Axis ships, and he repeated the order. On 29 September, US patrols attacked a German submarine east of Greenland with depth charges. On 17 October the US destroyer Kearny, operating as an escort for the British, attacked a German submarine with depth charges, and on 6 November US armed forces seized the German ship Odenwald in violation of international law, took it to an American harbor, and imprisoned its crew.

I will overlook as meaningless the insulting attacks and rude statements by this so-called President against me personally. That he calls me a gangster is particularly meaningless, since this term did not originate in Europe, where such characters are uncommon, but in America. And aside from that, I simply cannot feel insulted by Mr. Roosevelt because I regard him, like his predecessor Woodrow Wilson, as mentally unsound [geisteskrank].

We know that this man, with his Jewish supporters, has operated against Japan in the same way. I don't need to go into that here. The same methods were used in this case as well. This man first incites

to war, and then he lies about its causes and makes baseless allegations. In an offensive way, he wraps himself in a cloak of Christian hypocrisy, while at the same time slowly but very steadily leading humanity into war. And finally, as an old Freemason, he calls upon God as his witness that his actions are honorable.

His shameless misrepresentations of truth and violations of law are unparalleled in history. I am sure that all of you have regarded it as an act of deliverance that a country [Japan] has finally acted to protest against all this in the very way that this man had actually hoped for, and which should not surprise him now [the Pearl Harbor attack of 7 December 1941]. After years of negotiating with this deceiver, the Japanese government finally had its fill of being treated in such a humiliating way. All of us, the German people and, I believe, all other decent people around the world as well, regard this with deep appreciation.

We know the power behind Roosevelt. It is the same eternal Jew that believes that his hour has come to impose the same fate on us that we have all seen and experienced with horror in Soviet Russia. We have gotten to know the Jewish paradise on earth first hand. Millions of German soldiers have personally seen the land where this international Jewry has destroyed and annihilated people and property. Perhaps the President of the United States does not understand this. If so, that only speaks for his intellectual narrow-mindedness.

But we know that their entire effort is aimed at this goal: Even if we were not allied with Japan, we would still realize that the Jews and their Franklin Roosevelt intend to destroy one country after another. The German Reich of today has nothing in common with the Germany of the past. For our part, we will now do what this provocateur has been trying to achieve for years. And not just because we are allied with Japan, but rather because Germany and Italy with their present leaderships have the insight and strength to realize that in this historic period the existence or non-existence of nations is being determined, perhaps for all time. What this other world has in store for us is clear. They were able to bring the democratic Germany of the past [1918-1933] to starvation, and they seek to destroy the National Socialist Germany of today.

When Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt declare that they want to build a new social order later on, that's about the same as a barber with a bald head recommending a tonic guaranteed to make hair grow. These gentlemen, who live in the most socially backward countries, should worry about their own unemployed people rather than incite war. They have enough misery and poverty in their own countries to keep themselves busy insuring a just distribution of food there. As far as the German nation is concerned, it doesn't need charity from either Mr. Churchill, Mr. Roosevelt or [British foreign

secretary] Mr. Eden, but it does demand its rights. And it will do what it must to insure its right to life, even if a thousand Churchills and Roosevelts conspire together to prevent it.

Our nation has a history of almost 2,000 years. Never in this long period has it been so united and determined as it is today, and thanks to the National Socialist movement it will always be that way. At the same time, Germany has perhaps never been as clear-sighted and seldom as conscious of honor. Accordingly, today I had the passports returned to the American charge d'affaires, and he was informed of the following:

President Roosevelt's steadily expanding policy has been aimed at an unlimited world dictatorship. In pursuing this goal, the United States and Britain have used every means to deny the German, Italian and Japanese nations the prerequisites for their vital natural existence. For this reason, the governments of Britain and the United States of America have opposed every effort to create a new and better order in the world, for both the present and the future.

Since the beginning of the war [in September 1939], the American President Roosevelt has steadily committed ever more serious crimes against international law. Along with illegal attacks against ships and other property of German and Italian citizens, there have been threats and even arbitrary deprivations of personal freedom by internment and such. The increasingly hostile attacks by the American President Roosevelt have reached the point that he has ordered the American navy to immediately attack, fire upon and sink all German and Italian ships, in complete violation of international law. American officials have even boasted about destroying German submarines in this criminal manner. American cruisers have attacked and captured German and Italian merchant ships, and their peaceful crews were taken away to imprisonment. In addition, President Roosevelt's plan to attack Germany and Italy with military forces in Europe by 1943 at the latest was made public in the United States [by the *Chicago Tribune* and several other papers on 4 Dec. 1941], and the American government made no effort to deny it.

Despite the years of intolerable provocations by President Roosevelt, Germany and Italy sincerely and very patiently tried to prevent the expansion of this war and to maintain relations with the United States. But as a result of his campaign, these efforts have failed.

Faithful to the provisions of the Tripartite Pact of 27 September 1940, German and Italy have consequently now finally been forced to join together on the side of Japan in the struggle for the defense and preservation of the freedom and independence of our nations and empires against the United States of America and Britain.

The three powers have accordingly concluded the following agreement, which was signed today in Berlin:

[Agreement text:]

With an unshakable determination not to lay down arms until the common war against the United States of America and Britain has been fought to a successful conclusion, the German, Italian and Japanese governments have agreed to the following:

Article 1. Germany, Italy and Japan will together conduct the war which has been forced upon them by the United States of America and Britain with all the means at their command to a victorious conclusion.

Article 2. Germany, Italy and Japan pledge not to conclude an armistice or make peace with either the United States of America or Britain unless by complete mutual agreement.

Article 3. Germany, Italy and Japan will also work very closely together after a victorious conclusion of the war for the purpose of bringing about a just new order in accord with the Tripartite Pact concluded by them on 27 September 1940.

Article 4. This agreement is effective immediately upon signing and is valid for the same period as the Tripartite Pact of 27 September 1940. The high contracting parties shall inform each other in due time before the expiration of this term of validity of their plans for cooperation as laid out in Article 3 of this agreement.

[End of Agreement text]

Deputies! Men of the German Reichstag!

Ever since my peace proposal of July 1940 was rejected, we have clearly realized that this struggle must be fought through to the end. We National Socialists are not at all surprised that the Anglo-American, Jewish and capitalist world is united together with Bolshevism. In our country we have always found them in the same community. Alone we successfully fought against them here in Germany, and after 14 years of struggle for power we were finally able to annihilate our enemies.

When I decided 23 years ago to enter political life in order to lead the nation up from ruin, I was a nameless, unknown soldier. Many of you here know just how difficult those first years of that struggle really were. The way from a small movement of seven men to the taking of power on 30 January 1933 as the responsible government is so miraculous that only the blessing of Providence could have made it possible. Today I stand at the head of the mightiest army in the world, the most powerful air force and a proud navy. Behind and around me is a sacred community—the [National Socialist] Party, with which I have become great and which has become great through me.

Our opponents today are the same familiar enemies of more than 20 years. But the path before us cannot be compared with the road we have already taken. Today the German people fully realizes that this is a decisive hour for our existence. Millions of soldiers are faithfully doing their duty under the most difficult conditions. Millions of German farmers and workers, and German women and girls, are in the factories and offices, in the fields and farm lands, working hard to feed our homeland and supply weapons to the front. Allied with us are strong nations which have suffered the same misery and face the same enemies.

The American President and his plutocratic clique have called us the "have not" nations. That is correct! But the "have nots" also want to live, and they will certainly make sure that what little they have to live on is not stolen from them by the "haves."

You, my Party comrades, know of my relentless determination to carry out to a successful conclusion any struggle which has already begun. You know of my determination in such a struggle to do everything necessary to break all resistance that must be broken. In my first speech [of this war] on 1 September 1939, I pledged that neither force of arms nor time would defeat Germany. I want to assure my opponents that while neither force of arms nor time will defeat us, in addition no internal uncertainty will weaken us in the fulfillment of our duty.

When we think of the sacrifice and effort of our soldiers, then every sacrifice of [those here in] the homeland is completely insignificant and unimportant. And when we consider the number of all those in past generations who gave their lives for the survival and greatness of the German nation, then we are really conscious of the magnitude of the duty which is ours.

But whoever tries to shirk this duty has no right to be regarded as a fellow German. Just as we were pitilessly hard in the struggle for power, so also will we be just as ruthless in the struggle for the survival of our nation. During a time in which thousands of our best men, the fathers and sons of our people, have given their lives, anyone in the homeland who betrays the sacrifice on the front will forfeit his life. Regardless of the pretext with which an attempt is made to disrupt the German front, undermine the will to resist of our people, weaken the authority of the regime, or sabotage the achievements of the homeland, the guilty person will die. But with this difference: The soldier at the front who makes this sacrifice will be held in the greatest honor, whereas the person who debases this sacrifice of honor will die in disgrace.

Our opponents should not deceive themselves. In the 2,000 years of recorded German history, our people have never been more determined and united than today. The Lord of the universe has been so generous to us in recent years that we bow in gratitude

before a Providence which has permitted us to be members of such a great nation. We thank Him, that along with those in earlier and coming generations of the German nation, our deeds of honor may also be recorded in the eternal book of German history!

Germany's Formal Declaration of War Against the United States

About two hours before Hitler began his speech to the Reichstag, Germany formally declared war against the United States when Reich Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop delivered a diplomatic note to the American Charge d'Affaires in Berlin, Leland B. Morris.

At almost the same time, the German Charge d'Affaires in Washington, Hans Thomsen, presented a copy of this note to the Chief of the European Division of the Department of State, Ray Atherton. Here is the text of the note:

The government of the United States of America, having violated in the most flagrant manner and in ever increasing measure all rules of neutrality in favor of the adversaries of Germany and having continually been guilty of the most severe provocations toward Germany ever since the outbreak of the European war, brought on by the British declaration of war against Germany on 3 September 1939, has finally resorted to open military acts of aggression.

On 11 September 1941, the President of the United States of America publicly declared that he had ordered the American Navy and Air Force to shoot on sight any German war vessel. In his speech of 27 October 1941, he once more expressly affirmed that this order was in force.

Acting under this order, American war vessels have systematically attacked German naval forces since early September 1941. Thus, American destroyers, as for instance, the Greer, the Kearny and the Reuben James, have opened fire on German submarines according to plan. The American Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Knox, himself confirmed that the American destroyers attacked German submarines.

Furthermore, the naval forces of the United States of America, under order of their government and contrary to international law, have treated and seized German merchant ships on the high seas as enemy ships.

The German government therefore establishes the following facts:

Although Germany on her part has strictly adhered to the rules of international law in her relations with the United States of America during every period of the present war, the government of the United States of America from initial violations of neutrality has

finally proceeded to open acts of war against Germany. It has thereby virtually created a state of war.

The government of the Reich consequently breaks off diplomatic relations with the United States of America and declares that in these circumstances brought about by President Roosevelt, Germany too, as from today, considers herself as being in a state of war with the United States of America.

Suggested further reading:

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[David Hoggan's *The Forced War* will be available in English early next year (publication date February 18, 1989).]

The Zündel Trials (1985 and 1988)

ROBERT FAURISSON

On May 13, 1988, Ernst Zündel was sentenced by Judge Ronald Thomas of the District Court of Ontario, in Toronto, to nine months in prison for having distributed a Revisionist booklet that is now 14 years old: *Did Six Million Really Die?*

Ernst Zündel lives in Toronto where, up until a few years ago, he worked as a graphic artist and advertising man. He is now 49 years old. A native of Germany, he has kept his German citizenship. His life has known serious upsets from the day when, in about 1981, he began to distribute *Did Six Million Really Die?*, a Revisionist booklet by Richard Harwood. The booklet was first published in 1974 in Great Britain where, a year later, it was the focus of a lengthy controversy in the literary journal *Books and Bookmen*. At the instigation of the Jewish community of South Africa, it was later banned in that country.

In Canada, during an earlier trial in 1985, Zündel had been sentenced to 15 months in prison. That sentence was thrown out in 1987. A new trial began on January 18, 1988. I participated in the preparations for it and in the unfolding of those judicial proceedings. I devoted thousands of hours to the defense of Ernst Zündel.

François Duprat: A Precursor

In 1967, François Duprat published an article on "The Mystery of the Gas Chambers" (*Défense de l'Occident*, June 1967, pp. 30-33). He later became interested in the Harwood booklet and became actively involved in its distribution. On March 18, 1978, he was killed by assassins armed with weapons too complex not to belong to an

intelligence service. Responsibility for the assassination was claimed by a "Remembrance Commando" and by a "Jewish Revolutionary Group" (*Le Monde*, March 23, 1978, p. 7). Patrice Chairoff had published Duprat's home address in the *Dossier Néo-Nazisme*. He justified the assassination in the pages of *Le Monde* (April 26, 1978, p. 9) by citing the victim's Revisionism: "François Duprat is responsible. There are some responsibilities that kill." In *Le Droit de vivre*, the publication of the LICRA (International League Against Racism and Anti-Semitism), Jean Pierre-Bloch expressed an ambiguous position: he criticized the crime but, at the same time, he let it be understood that he had no pity for those who, inspired by the victim, would start out on the Revisionist path (*Le Monde*, May 7-8, 1978).

Pierre Viansson-Ponté

Eight months before Duprat's assassination, journalist Pierre Viansson-Ponté had launched a virulent attack against the Harwood pamphlet. His chronicle was entitled: "Le Mensonge" (The Lie), (*Le Monde*, July 17-18, 1978, p. 13). It was reprinted with an approving commentary in *Le Droit de vivre*. Six months after the assassination, Viansson-Ponté took up the attack once more in "Le Mensonge" (suite) (The Lie-Continued) (*Le Monde*, September 3-4, 1978, p. 9). He passed over the assassination of Duprat in silence, made public the names and home towns of three Revisionist readers, and called for legal repression against Revisionism.

Sabina Citron Versus Ernst Zündel

In 1984, Sabina Citron, head of the Holocaust Remembrance Association, stirred up violent demonstrations against Ernst Zündel in Canada. An attack was made on Zündel's home. The Canadian postal service, treating Revisionism the way it treats pornography, refused him all service and all right to receive mail. Zündel only recovered his postal rights after a year of judicial procedures. In the meantime, his business has failed. At the instigation of Sabina Citron, the Attorney General of Ontario filed a complaint against Zündel for publishing a "false statement, tale or news." The charge was based on the following reasoning: the defendant had abused his right to freedom of expression; by distributing the Harwood pamphlet, he was spreading information that he knew was false; in fact, he could not fail to be aware that the "genocide of the Jews" and the "gas chambers" were an established fact. Zündel was also charged with publishing an allegedly "false" letter, which he had written himself.

The First Trial (1985)

The first trial lasted seven weeks. The jury found Zündel not guilty regarding the letter he had himself written but guilty of distributing

the Harwood booklet. He was sentenced by Judge Hugh Locke to 15 months in prison. The German consulate in Toronto confiscated his passport and the West German government prepared a deportation action against him. In Germany itself, West German authorities had already carried out a series of large-scale police raids on the houses of all his German correspondents. In 1987, the United States forbade him entry to its territory. But in spite of all that, Zündel had won a media victory: day after day, for seven weeks, the entire English-speaking Canadian media covered the trial, with its spectacular revelations. The public learned that the Revisionists had first class documentation and arguments, while the Exterminationists were in desperate straits.

Their Expert: Raul Hilberg

The prosecution expert in the first trial was Raul Hilberg, an American professor of Jewish descent and author of the standard reference work, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (1961), which Paul Rassinier discussed in *Le Drame des Juifs européens* (The Drama of the European Jews). Hilberg began his testimony by explaining, without interruption, his theory about the extermination of the Jews. He was then cross-examined by Zündel's lawyer, Douglas Christie, who was assisted by Keltie Zubko and myself. Right from the start it was clear that Hilberg, who was the world's leading authority on the Holocaust, had never examined a single concentration camp, not even Auschwitz. He had still not examined any camp in 1985 when he announced the imminent appearance of a new edition of his main work in three volumes, revised, corrected and augmented. Although he did visit Auschwitz in 1979 for a single day as part of a ceremonial appearance, he did not bother to examine either the buildings or the archives. In his entire life he has never seen a "gas chamber," either in its original condition or in ruins. (For a historian, even ruins can tell tales). On the stand he was forced to admit that there had never been a plan, a central organization, a budget or supervision for what he called the policy of the extermination of the Jews. He also had to admit that since 1945 the Allies have never carried out an expert study of "the weapon of the crime," that is to say of a homicidal gas chamber. No autopsy report has established that even one inmate was ever killed by poison gas.

Hilberg said that Hitler gave orders for the extermination of the Jews, and that Himmler gave an order to halt the extermination on November 25, 1944 (such detail!). But Hilberg could not produce these orders. The defense asked him if he still maintained the existence of the Hitler orders in the new edition of his book. He dared to answer yes. He thereby lied and even committed perjury. In the new edition of his work (with a preface dated September 1984),

Hilberg systematically deleted any mention of an order by Hitler. (In this regard, see the review by Christopher Browning, "The Revised Hilberg," *Simon Wiesenthal Center Annual*, 1986, p. 294). When he was asked by the defense to explain how the Germans had been able to carry out an undertaking as enormous as the extermination of millions of Jews without any kind of plan, without any central agency, without any blueprint or budget, Hilberg replied that in the various Nazi agencies there had been "an incredible meeting of minds, a consensus mind-reading by a far-flung bureaucracy."

Witness Arnold Friedman

The prosecution counted on the testimony of "survivors." These "survivors" were chosen with care. They were supposed to testify that they had seen, with their own eyes, preparations for and the carrying out of homicidal gassings. Since the war, in a series of trials like those at Nuremberg (1945-46), Jerusalem (1961), or Frankfurt (1963-65), such witnesses have never been lacking. However, as I have often noted, no lawyer for the defense had ever had the courage or the competence necessary to cross-examine these witnesses on the gassings themselves.

For the first time, in Toronto in 1985, one lawyer, Douglas Christie, dared to ask for explanations. He did it with the help of topographical maps and building plans as well as scholarly documentation on both the properties of the gases supposedly used and also on the capacities for cremation, whether carried out in crematory ovens or on pyres. Not one of these witnesses stood the test, and especially not Arnold Friedman. Despairing of his case, he ended by confessing that he had indeed been at Auschwitz-Birkenau (where he never had to work except once, unloading potatoes), but that, as regards gassings, he had relied on what others had told him.

Witness Rudolf Vrba

Witness Rudolf Vrba was internationally known. A Slovak Jew, imprisoned at Auschwitz and at Birkenau, he said that he had escaped from the camp in April 1944 with Fred Wetzler. After getting back to Slovakia, he dictated a report about Auschwitz and Birkenau, and on their crematories and "gas chambers."

With help from Jewish organizations in Slovakia, Hungary and Switzerland, his report reached Washington, where it served as the basis for the U.S. Government's famous "War Refugee Board Report," published in November 1944. Since then every Allied organization charged with the prosecution of "war crimes" and every Allied prosecutor in a trial of "war criminals" has had available this official version of the history of those camps.

Vrba later became a British citizen and published his

autobiography under the title of *I Cannot Forgive*. This book, published in 1964, was actually written by Alan Bestic, who, in his preface, testified to the “considerable care [by Rudolf Vrba] for each detail” and to the “meticulous and almost fanatic respect he revealed for accuracy.” On November 30, 1964, Vrba testified at the Frankfurt Auschwitz trial. Then he settled in Canada and became a Canadian citizen. He has been featured in various films about Auschwitz, particularly *Shoah* by Claude Lanzmann. Everything went well for him until the day at the Zündel trial in 1985 when he was cross-examined mercilessly. He was then shown to be an impostor. It was revealed that he had completely made up the number and location of the “gas chambers” and the crematories in his famous 1944 report. His 1964 book opened with a purported January 1943 visit by Himmler to Birkenau to inaugurate a new crematorium with “gas chamber.” Actually, the last visit by Himmler to Auschwitz took place in July of 1942, and in January 1943 the first of the new crematories was still far from finished.

Thanks, apparently, to some special gift of memory (that he called “special mnemonic principles” or “special mnemonical method”) and to a real talent for being everywhere at once, Vrba had calculated that in the space of 25 months (April 1942 to April 1944) the Germans had “gassed” 1,765,000 Jews at Birkenau alone, including 150,000 Jews from France. But in 1978, Serge Klarsfeld, in his *Memorial to the Deportation of the Jews from France*, had been forced to conclude that, for the entire length of the war, the Germans had deported a total of 75,721 Jews from France to all their concentration camps. The gravest aspect of this is that the figure of 1,765,000 Jews “gassed” at Birkenau had also been used in a document (L-022) at the main Nuremberg trial. Attacked on all sides by Zündel’s lawyer, the impostor had no other recourse than to invoke, in Latin, the “*licentia poetarum*,” or “poetic license,” in other words, the right to engage in fiction. His book has just been published in France (1987); this edition is presented as a book by “Rudolf Vrba with Alan Bestic.” It no longer includes the enthusiastic preface by Alan Bestic, and the short introduction by Emile Copfermann notes that “with the approval of Rudolf Vrba the two appendices from the English edition have been removed.” Nothing is said about the fact that those two appendices had also caused Vrba serious problems in 1985 at the Toronto trial.

The Second Zündel Trial (1988)

In January 1987, a five-judge appeals court decided to throw out the 1985 verdict against Ernst Zündel for some very basic reasons: Judge Hugh Locke had not allowed the defense any influence in the jury selection process and the jury had been misled by the judge on the very meaning of the trial. As for me, I have attended many trials

in my life, including some carried out in France during the period of the "Purge" at the end and after World War II. Never have I encountered a judge so partial, autocratic and violent as Judge Hugh Locke. Anglo-Saxon law offers many more guarantees than French law but it only takes one man to pervert the best of systems. Judge Locke was such a man.

The second trial began on January 18, 1988, under the direction of Judge Ronald Thomas, who is a friend, it seems, of Judge Locke. Judge Thomas was often angry and was frankly hostile to the defense, but he had more finesse than his predecessor. The ruling by the five-judge appeal court also inhibited him somewhat. Judge Hugh Locke had imposed numerous restrictions on free expression by the witnesses and experts for the defense. For example, he forbade me to use any of the photos I had taken at Auschwitz. I had no right to use arguments of a chemical, cartographical, or architectural nature (even though I had been the first person in the world to publish the plans for the Auschwitz and Birkenau crematories). I was not allowed to talk about either the American gas chambers or the aerial reconnaissance photos of Auschwitz and Birkenau. Even the testimony of the eminent chemist William Lindsey was cut short. Judge Ronald Thomas did allow the defense more freedom, but at the outset of the trial, he made a decision, at the request of the prosecution, that would tie the hands of the jury.

Judge Thomas's Judicial Notice

In Anglo-Saxon law, everything must be proved except for certain absolutely indisputable evidence ("The capital of Great Britain is London," "day follows night". . .) The judge can take "judicial notice" of that kind of evidence at the request of one or the other of the contending parties.

Prosecuting Attorney John Pearson asked the judge to take judicial notice of the Holocaust. That term then has to be defined. It is likely that, had it not been for the intervention of the defense, the judge could have defined the Holocaust as it might have been defined in 1945-46. At that time, the "genocide of the Jews" (the word "Holocaust" was not used) could have been defined as "the ordered and planned destruction of six million Jews, in particular by the use of gas chambers."

The problem for the prosecution was that the defense advised the judge that, since 1945-46, there have been profound changes in the understanding of Exterminationist historians about the extermination of the Jews. First of all, they no longer talk about an extermination but about an attempted extermination. They have also finally admitted that "in spite of the most scholarly research" (Raymond Aron, Sorbonne Convention, 2 July 1982), no one has found any trace of an order to exterminate the Jews. More recently,

there has been a dispute between the “intentionalists” and the “functionalists.” Both agree that they have no proof of any intent to exterminate, but “intentionalist” historians nevertheless believe that one must assume the existence of that intent, while “functionalist” historians believe that the extermination was the result of individual initiatives, localized and anarchic: in a sense, the activity created the organization! Finally, the figure of six million was declared to be “symbolic” and there have been many disagreements about the “problem of the gas chambers.”

Obviously surprised by this flood of information, Judge Ronald Thomas decided to be prudent and, after a delay for reflection, decided on the following definition: the Holocaust, he said, was “the extermination and/or mass-murder of Jews” by National Socialism. His definition is remarkable for more than one reason. We no longer find any trace of an extermination order, or a plan, or “gas chambers,” or six million Jews or even millions of Jews. This definition is so void of all substance that it no longer corresponds to anything real. One cannot understand the meaning of “mass-murder of Jews.” (The judge carefully avoided saying “of the Jews”.) This strange definition is itself a sign of the progress achieved by Historical Revisionism since 1945.

Raul Hilberg Refuses to Appear Again

One misfortune awaited Prosecutor John Pearson: Raul Hilberg, in spite of repeated requests, refused to appear again. The defense, having heard rumors of an exchange of correspondence between Pearson and Hilberg, demanded and got the publication of the letters they exchanged and in particular of a “confidential” letter by Hilberg which did not hide the fact that he had some bitter memories of his cross-examination in 1985. He feared being questioned again by Douglas Christie on the same points. To quote the exact words of his confidential letter, Hilberg wrote that he feared “every attempt to entrap me by pointing out any seeming contradiction, however trivial the subject might be, between my earlier testimony and an answer that I might give in 1988.” In fact as I have already mentioned, Hilberg had committed perjury and he may have feared being charged with that crime.

Christopher Browning, Prosecution Witness

In place of Hilberg there came his friend Christopher Browning, an American professor who specializes in the Holocaust. Admitted as an expert witness (and paid for several days at the rate of \$150 per hour by the Canadian taxpayer), Browning tried to prove that the Harwood pamphlet was a tissue of lies and that the attempt to exterminate the Jews was a scientifically established fact. He had

cause to regret the experience. During cross-examination, the defense used his own arguments to destroy him. In the course of those days, people saw the tall and naive professor, who had strutted while he stood testifying, seated, shrunken in size, behind the witness stand like a schoolboy caught in a mistake. With a faint and submissive voice, he ended up acknowledging that the trial had definitely taught him something about historical research.

Following the example of Raul Hilberg, Browning had not examined any concentration camps. He had not visited any facility with "gas chambers." He had never thought of asking for an expert study of the "weapon of the crime." In his writings he had made much of homicidal "gas vans," but he was not able to refer to any authentic photograph, any plan, any technical study, or any expert study. He was not aware that German words like "Gaswagen," "Spezialwagen," "Entlausungswagen" (delousing van) could have perfectly innocent meanings. His technical understanding was nil. He had never examined the wartime aerial reconnaissance photos of Auschwitz. He was unaware of all the tortures undergone by Germans, such as Rudolf Höss, who had spoken of gassings. He knew nothing of the doubts expressed about some of Himmler's speeches or about the Goebbels diary.

A great follower of the trials of war criminals, Browning had only questioned the prosecutors, never the defense lawyers. His ignorance of the transcript of the Nuremberg trial was disconcerting. He had not even read what Hans Frank, former Governor General of Poland, had said before the Nuremberg tribunal about his "diary" and about "the extermination of the Jews." That was inexcusable! As a matter of fact, Browning claimed to have found irrefutable proof of the existence of a policy of exterminating the Jews in the Frank diary. He had discovered one incriminating sentence. He did not know that Frank had given the Tribunal an explanation of that kind of sentence, chosen beforehand from the hundreds of thousands of sentences in a personnel and administrative journal of 11,500 pages. Furthermore, Frank had spontaneously turned over his "diary" to the Americans when they came to arrest him. The sincerity of the former Governor General is so obvious to anyone who reads his deposition that Christopher Browning, invited to hear the content, did not raise the least objection. One last humiliation awaited him.

For the sake of his thesis, he invoked a passage from the well-known "protocol" of the Wannsee conference (20 January 1942). He had made his own translation of the passage, a translation that was seriously in error. At that point, his thesis collapsed. Finally, his own personal explanation of a "policy of the extermination of the Jews" was the same as Hilberg's. Everything was explained by the "nod" of Adolf Hitler. In other words, the Führer of the German people did

not need to give any written or even spoken order for the extermination of the Jews. It was enough for him to give a "nod" at the beginning of the operation and, for the rest, a series of "signals." And that was understood!

Charles Biedermann

The other expert called by the prosecution (who had taken the stand before Browning) was Charles Biedermann, a Swiss citizen, a delegate of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and, most importantly, the director of the International Tracing Service (ITS) in Arolsen, West Germany. The ITS has an unbelievable wealth of information about the fate of individual victims of National Socialism and, in particular, of former concentration camp inmates. I believe that it is at Arolsen that one could determine the real number of Jews who died during the war.

The prosecution did not benefit from this expert's testimony. On the contrary, the defense scored numerous points on cross-examination. Biedermann recognized that the ICRC had never found any proof of the existence of homicidal gas chambers in the German camps. The visit by one of its delegates to Auschwitz in September 1944 had done no more than conclude the existence of a rumor on that subject. To his embarrassment, the expert was obliged to admit that he was wrong in attributing to the National Socialists the expression "extermination camps." He had not noticed that this was a term coined by the Allies.

Biedermann said that he was not familiar with the ICRC reports on the atrocities undergone by the Germans just before and just after the end of the war. In particular, he knew nothing about the terrible treatment of many German prisoners. It would seem that the ICRC had nothing about the massive deportations of German minorities from the east, nothing on the horrors of the total collapse of Germany at the very end of the war, nothing about summary executions and, in particular, the massacre by rifle, machine gun, shovels and pickaxes, of 520 German soldiers and officers who had surrendered to the Americans at Dachau on April 29, 1945 (even though Victor Maurer, ICRC delegate, was apparently there).

The International Tracing Service included among those "persecuted" by the Nazis even indisputably criminal prisoners in the concentration camps. He relied on the information supplied by a Communist organization, the "Auschwitz State Museum." Beginning in 1978, in order to prevent all Revisionist research, the International Tracing Service closed its doors to historians and researchers, except for those bearing a special authorization from one of the ten governments (including that of Israel) which oversee the activity of the International Tracing Service. Henceforth the Tracing Service was forbidden to calculate and publish, as it had

done until then, statistical evaluations of the number of dead in the various camps. The annual activity reports could no longer be made available to the public, except for their first third, which had been of no interest to researchers.

Biedermann confirmed a news story that had filtered out in 1964 at the Frankfurt trial: at the time of liberation of Auschwitz, the Soviets and the Poles had discovered the death register of that complex of 39 camps and sub-camps. The register consisted of 38 or 39 volumes. The Soviets keep 36 or 37 of those volumes in Moscow while the Poles keep two or three other volumes at the "Auschwitz State Museum," a copy of which they have furnished to the International Tracing Service in Arolsen. But neither the Soviets nor the Poles nor the International Tracing Service authorize research in these volumes. Biedermann did not even want to reveal the number of dead counted in the two or three volumes of which the ITS has a copy. It is clear that, if the content of the death register of Auschwitz were made public, it would be the end of the myth of the millions of deaths in the camp.

No "Survivor" Witnesses for the Prosecution

The judge asked the prosecutor if he would call any "survivors" to the witness stand. The prosecutor answered no. The experience of 1985 had been too embarrassing. The cross examination had been devastating. It is regrettable that at the trial of Klaus Barbie in France in 1987 and at the trial of John Demjanjuk in Israel in 1987-1988, no defense lawyer has followed Douglas Christie's example in the first Zündel trial (1985): Christie had shown that by carefully questioning witnesses about the gassing process itself, one could destroy the very foundation of the "extermination camp" myth.

The Witnesses and Experts for the Defense

Most of the witnesses and experts for the defense were as precise and concrete as people like Hilberg or Browning had been imprecise and metaphysical. The Swede Ditleb Felderer showed about 380 slides of Auschwitz and of the other camps in Poland. The American, Mark Weber, whose knowledge of the documents is impressive, engaged in clarifications of several aspects of the Holocaust, in particular the Einsatzgruppen.* The German Tjudar Rudolph dealt with the Lodz ghetto and visits by the ICRC delegates at the end of 1941 to Auschwitz, Majdanek and other camps.

*Weber also clarified the meaning of the term "Final Solution" (emigration or deportation, but never extermination of Jews): the testimony of Judge Konrad Morgen; the tortures of Rudolf Höss and Oswald Pohl; the true history of Revisionism; and the concessions made year after year by the Exterminationists to the Revisionist viewpoint.

Thies Christophersen had been in charge of an agricultural research enterprise in the Auschwitz region in 1944. He visited the Birkenau camp several times to requisition personnel there and never noticed the horrors usually described. On the witness stand he repeated point by point what he had written about the camp, starting in 1973 with a 19-page report (*Kritik*, Nr. 23, pp. 14-32).

The Austrian-born Canadian Maria Van Herwaarden was interned at Birkenau starting in 1942. She saw nothing, either close up or from a distance, that resembled mass murder, although she confirmed that many of the inmates had died of typhus. The American Bradley Smith, a member of a "Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust," spoke about his experience in more than 100 question-and-answer interviews on American radio and television on the Holocaust issue.

The Austrian Emil Lachout commented on the famous "Müller Document," which, since December 1987, has thrown the Austrian authorities into disarray. The document, dated October 1, 1948, revealed that even then, Allied commissions of inquiry had already rejected the stories of homicidal "gassings" in a whole series of camps, including Dachau, Ravensbrück, Struthof (Natzweiler), Stutthof (Danzig), Sachsenhausen, and Mauthausen (Austria). The document specifically confirms that confessions of Germans had been extorted by torture and that testimonies by former inmates were false.

Dr. Russell Barton recounted his horrified discovery of the camp at Bergen-Belsen at the time of liberation. Until that moment he had believed in a deliberate program of extermination. Then he noted the fact that, in an apocalyptic Germany, the piles of corpses and the walking skeletons were the result of the frightful conditions of an overcrowded camp, ravaged by epidemics, and almost entirely deprived of medicine, food, and water because of Allied bombings.

The German Udo Walendy outlined the many forgeries he had discovered, in wartime atrocity photographs and other documents, either altered or forged by a team headed by a British propagandist called Sefton Delmer. J.G. Burg, a Jew who lives in Munich, told of his experiences in the war and confirmed that there had never been any policy for the extermination of the Jews by the Nazis.

Academics like the Chinese professor Dr. K.T. Fann, a Marxist, and Dr. Gary Botting, who lost his teaching position at Red Deer College (Alberta) as a result of testifying at the Zündel trial in 1985, testified that the Harwood booklet was essentially a work of opinion, and hence not subject to legal prohibition. Jürgen Neumann, a close associate and friend of Zündel, testified as to Zündel's "state of mind" when the booklet first was published. Ernst Neilsen testified on the obstacles he encountered at the University of Toronto to open research on the Holocaust. Ivan Lagacé, director of the crematory at

Calgary, demonstrated the practical impossibility of the numbers alleged by Hilberg to have been cremated at Auschwitz.

For my part, I appeared as an expert witness for nearly six days. I concentrated particularly on my investigations of the American gas chambers. I recalled that Zyklon B is essentially hydrocyanic acid and that it is with this gas that certain American penitentiaries execute those who have been condemned to death.

In 1945 the Allies should have asked specialists on American gas chambers to examine the buildings, at Auschwitz and elsewhere, which were supposed to have been used to gas millions of people. Since 1977, I have had the following idea: when one deals with a vast historical problem like that of the reality or the legend of the Holocaust, one must strive to get to the core of the problem. In this case the central problem is Auschwitz and the core of that problem is a space of 275 square meters: the 65 square meters of the "gas chamber" of crematorium I at Auschwitz and, at Birkenau, the 210 square meters of the "gas chamber" of crematorium II. In 1988, my idea remained the same: let us have expert studies of those 275 square meters and we will have an answer to the vast problem of the Holocaust! I showed the jury my photos of the gas chamber at the Maryland State Penitentiary in Baltimore as well as my plans for the Auschwitz gas chambers and I underlined the physical and chemical impossibilities of the latter ones.

A Sensational Turn of Events: The Leuchter Report

Ernst Zündel, in possession of the correspondence I had exchanged in 1977-78 with the six American penitentiaries outfitted with gas chambers, gave attorney Barbara Kulaszka the job of getting in touch with the chief wardens of those penitentiaries in order to see if one of them would agree to appear in court to explain how a real gas chamber operates. Bill Armontrout, chief warden of the penitentiary at Jefferson City (Missouri), agreed to testify and in doing so pointed out that no one in the USA was more knowledgeable about the functioning of gas chambers than Fred A. Leuchter, an engineer from Boston. I went to visit Leuchter on February 3 and 4, 1988. I found that he had never asked himself any questions about the "gas chambers" in the German camps. He had simply believed in their existence. After I began to show him my files, he became aware of the chemical and physical impossibility of the German "gassings" and he agreed to examine our documents in Toronto.

After that, at Zündel's expense, he left for Poland with a secretary (his wife), a draftsman, a video-cameraman and an interpreter. He came back and drew up a 192-page report (including appendices). He also brought back 32 samples taken, on the one hand, from the crematories of Auschwitz and Birkenau at the site of the homicidal "gassings" and, on the other hand, in a disinfection gas chamber at

Birkenau. His conclusion was simple: there had never been any homicidal gassings at Auschwitz, Birkenau, or Majdanek.

On April 20 and 21, 1988, Fred Leuchter appeared on the witness stand in the Toronto courtroom. He told the story of his investigation and presented his conclusions. I am convinced that during those two days I was an eyewitness to the death of the gas chamber myth, a myth which, in my opinion, had entered its death throes at the Sorbonne colloquium on "Nazi Germany and the Extermination of the Jews" (June 29 to July 2, 1982), where the organizers themselves began to grasp that there was no proof of the existence of the gas chambers.

In the Toronto courtroom emotions were intense, in particular among the friends of Sabina Citron. Ernst Zündel's friends were also moved, but for a different reason: they were witnessing the veil of the great swindle being torn away. As for me, I felt both relief and melancholy: relief because a thesis that I had defended for so many years was at last fully confirmed, and melancholy because I had fathered the idea in the first place. I had even, with the clumsiness of a man of letters, presented physical, chemical, topographical and architectural arguments which I now saw summed up by a scientist who was astonishingly precise and thorough.

Would people one day remember the skepticism I had encountered, even from other Revisionists? Just before Fred Leuchter, Bill Armontrout had been on the witness stand, where he confirmed, in every detail, what I had said to the jury about the extreme difficulties of a homicidal gassing (not to be confused with a suicidal or accidental gassing). Ken Wilson, a specialist in aerial photographs, had shown that the homicidal "gas chambers" of Auschwitz and Birkenau did not have gas evacuation chimneys, which would have been indispensable. He also showed that I had been right in accusing Serge Klarsfeld and Jean-Claude Pressac of falsifying the map of Birkenau in the *Auschwitz Album* (Seuil Publishers, 1983, p. 42). Those authors, in order to make the reader believe that groups of Jewish women and children surprised by the photographer between crematories II and III could not go any farther and were thus going to end up in the "gas chambers" and those crematories, had simply eliminated from the map the path which, in reality, led up to the "Zentralsauna," a large shower facility (located beyond the zone of the crematories), where those women and children were actually going.

James Roth, director of a laboratory in Massachusetts, then testified on the analysis of the 32 samples, the origin of which he was unaware of: all the samples taken in the homicidal "gas chambers" contained a quantity of cyanide which was either unmeasurable or infinitesimal, while the sample from the disinfection gas chamber, taken for comparison's sake, contained an enormous amount of

cyanide (the infinitesimal quantity detected in the former case can be explained by the fact that the supposed homicidal gas chambers were in fact morgues for preserving bodies; such morgues could have been occasionally disinfected with Zyklon B).

David Irving

The British historian David Irving enjoys great prestige. Zündel thought of asking him to testify, but there was a problem: Irving was only partly a Revisionist. The thesis that he defended, for example, in *Hitler's War* (New York, The Viking Press, 1977) can be summed up as follows: Hitler never gave an order for the extermination of the Jews; at least up to the end of 1943 he was kept in ignorance of that extermination; only Himmler and a group of about 70 or so persons were aware of it; in October 1944 Himmler, who wanted to get into the good graces of the Allies, gave an order to cease the extermination of the Jews.

I had met Irving in Los Angeles in September of 1983 at the annual convention of the Institute for Historical Review, where I challenged him by asking several questions about proof to support his thesis. Then I published an article entitled "A Challenge to David Irving" in *The Journal of Historical Review* (Winter 1984, pp. 289-305) and Spring 1985, p. 8 and 122). I tried to convince this brilliant historian that logically he could no longer be satisfied with a semi-Revisionist position. To begin with, I challenged him to produce Himmler's order to stop the extermination, an order which never actually existed. Later on, I learned from various sources that Irving was undergoing a change that moved him in the direction of Revisionism.

In 1988, Zündel became convinced that the British historian was only waiting for a decisive event to take a final step in our direction. After arriving in Toronto, David Irving discovered in rapid succession the Leuchter report and an impressive number of documents that Zündel, his friends and I had accumulated over the course of several years. The last reservations or the last misunderstandings melted away in the course of a meeting. He agreed to testify on the stand. In the opinion of those who were present at the two trials (1985 and 1988), no single testimony, except that of Fred Leuchter, caused such a sensation. For more than three days, David Irving, engaging in a sort of public confession, took back all that he had said about the extermination of the Jews and without reservation adopted the Revisionist position. With courage and honesty, he showed how an historian can be brought to revise profoundly his views on the history of the Second World War.

The Zündel Story

Ernst Zündel had promised that his trial would be "the trial of the Nuremberg Trial" or "the Stalingrad of the Exterminationists." The unfolding of those two long trials proved him right, even though the jury, "instructed" by the judge to consider the Holocaust as an established fact "which no reasonable person can doubt," finally found him guilty. Zündel has already won. It remains for him to make it known to Canada and to the entire world. The media blackout of the 1988 trial was almost complete. Jewish organizations campaigned vigorously for such a blackout, and even went so far as to say that they did not want an impartial account of the trial. They did not want any account of it at all. The paradox is that the only publication which reported relatively honestly about the trial was *The Canadian Jewish News*.

Ernst Zündel and the Leuchter report have left a profound mark on history; both will be remembered for many years to come.

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THE

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Typhus and the Jews

BY FRIEDRICH PAUL BERG

In my article about the German delousing chambers in the Spring 1985 issue of this journal, I included a brief discussion of the large, well-designed gas chambers which were used to fumigate entire railroad trains, one or more railroad cars at a time, with Zyklon-B. Those chambers would have been ideal for the mass-extirmination of people if the Germans had ever intended to commit mass-extirmination of Jews or anyone else.

At the end of this introductory discussion I have included two articles from the German technical literature which discuss these remarkable gas chambers in some detail. Those articles are only two among many that can be found in the German literature of that period.

Delousing Tunnels

The history of large gas chambers (more than 200 cubic meters in volume) goes back to at least the early 1920's, when tunnels were used by the British to fumigate railroad trains in Russia and Poland, when the British had a military presence there during the chaotic post World War I period. The standard procedure then was to fumigate an entire railroad train at one time within a sealed tunnel with hydrocyanic acid (also referred to simply as cyanide or cyanide gas). Zyklon-B had not yet been invented and so the cyanide had to be introduced into the tunnels either from gas-filled tanks or else generated within the tunnels by the dropping of cyanide salt into barrels filled with sulfuric acid (the so-called "barrel method").

The British experience with typhus in Poland and Russia during that period was described many years later in the Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine as follows:¹

Administrative Measures of Control of Widespread Epidemics

Though the measures taken are not likely to be applicable to Great Britain it may be of interest to outline the broader administrative steps we took when dealing with widespread epidemics of typhus fever.

The personnel of a number of units was established, including doctors, nurses, and subordinate medical auxiliaries. All were young and all were protected by the use of special clothing. Arrangements were made for the regular disinfection of the garments and for bathing the personnel. The stores required included portable baths and showers, fuel for heating water, soap, hair clippers and scissors, nail brushes, towels, etc., in addition to as good rations as it was possible to obtain. Units were sent into the various regions and were administered centrally in Poland from Warsaw, in Russia from Moscow and Kuibyshev, and, two years ago, in China from Chungking and Sian.

The next step was to put a cordon round healthy areas, with the aid of the military and barbed wire, to prevent the ingress of infected refugees. This was in many cases done locally, though eventually a cordon had to be established right across Europe, from North Poland to Rumania. Refugees were only allowed to enter this "clean" zone at certain points established on the roads and railways. Patrols watched the open country and brought stragglers into the disinfecting points. At each such point were arrangements for bathing and disinfection, and all persons passing the cordon were thoroughly "de-loused" with their belongings. The size of the work may be gathered from the fact that at one center alone—Baranowice, on the Polish-Russian frontier in 1921—we were for a long time disinfecting each day 10,000 refugees returning to Poland from Russia. The method of disinfection varied according to the country and the apparatus available. In Poland, steam and cyanide were both used, the latter being employed on an extensive scale on the frontiers. At Baranowice, where the refugees arrived chiefly by train, a tunnel was built, into which hydrocyanic gas could be introduced. On the arrival of each train, all the passengers were given a blanket and told to strip, leaving their garments and all their belongings on the train. Each person was then bathed in hot water with soft soap and paraffin, while the train was backed into the tunnel, the engine uncoupled, and cyanide gas liberated in the tunnel. When the bathing of the refugees was completed, the train was pulled out of the tunnel by means of a rope attached to a locomotive and was allowed to air. In due course the passengers dressed, gave up their blankets, and continued on their journey. In Mesopotamia, we used a locomotive with waggons attached, into which steam, first saturated and superheated, could be passed. The train included accommodation for personnel and thus constituted a unit which could be moved to any point where typhus broke out.

In Russia, we utilized the Russian baths, with which every village is equipped. These are log huts in which fires are made under heaps of stones, which are thus heated to a high temperature. Buckets of water are thrown on the stones, the water immediately evaporating into clouds of steam. The population was first bathed and de-loused in the bath, and then the amount of heat and steam were increased so as to deal with the bedding and clothing. Subsequently, no further water was thrown on the stones, and the heat of the hut was allowed to dry out the material.

For furs, which are very readily infested with lice and which do not lend themselves to the ordinary methods of disinfestation, crude naphthalene was used. A large box or chest was constructed at the entrance to the house and half-filled with crude naphthalene. Into this all furs and outer garments were dropped on entry to the house and left there until the following morning. I should mention that in winter in a cold country it is, of course, sufficient to hang one's garments in the open for the night for every louse to be destroyed. Whether the nits survive or not depends on the degree of cold, but there is in any case no evidence that these can transmit the disease.

In China, where padded garments have to a great extent superseded furs, brick ovens were used . . .

In spite of the difficulties, the delousing of entire railroad trains was absolutely essential to prevent the spread of typhus from infested areas to non-infested areas. Railroads could otherwise carry typhus-infected lice throughout all of Europe within a few days. Not only the railroad trains themselves but even the railroad stations were important sources of contagious disease, particularly typhus, because it was there that people would spend hours and even days in close contact, often huddled together—an ideal environment for the spreading of lice from “lousy” persons to otherwise clean persons. By contrast, busses, trucks and automobiles were still relatively unimportant for public transportation.

The invention of Zyklon-B in 1923 was a major step forward because delousing methods employing this product could handle furs and leather goods without damage as easily as they could handle all other types of clothing. By the late 1930's (see Appendix A), the delousing of railroads had been greatly improved with specially-constructed delousing tunnels or gas chambers. These facilities were subsequently improved even further with blowers and ductwork to circulate air and gas, and with space heaters to raise interior temperatures above the boiling point of hydrocyanic acid (78.6°F).² Heating was especially necessary during winter—precisely the time of the year when typhus was generally most severe and when delousing was most needed—in order to be sure that all of the hydrocyanic acid from Zyklon-B would evaporate and fill the chamber interiors.

DEGESCH as an Information Source for a Technology of Mass-Murder

The technology which was employed for fumigating entire railroad trains was hardly a secret. On the contrary, before the war and throughout most of the war, the DEGESCH company had placed large advertisements for its products and technical expertise in many technical journals which were distributed throughout the entire world. Many of these advertisements clearly showed large gas chambers for fumigating railroad trains and trucks with Zyklon-B.

German concentration camps at the end of World War II. For people who are unfamiliar with the horrors of war, which includes most of us fortunately, those photographs are more than sufficient proof of a genocidal policy on the part of the German regime. Even for many veterans from the Western Allied armies who may have spent years reading the generally available literature, those photographs constitute convincing evidence of genocide. The claims of revisionists that the bodies were the result of catastrophic epidemics of typhus, typhoid, tuberculosis, dysentery, etc., are readily scoffed at as the foolish ravings of Nazi apologists. After all, how could disease alone have possibly caused such misery as one sees in those photographs? The bitter reality is that the photographs tell only a small part of the horrors of modern warfare.

How many Americans have any idea that for every Union soldier who died during the American Civil War from combat, including those who died from wounds and injuries, there were approximately two Union soldiers who died from disease? Despite all that has been written and said in a hundred years about the Civil War and shown on film, it would be surprising if one American in a hundred has any idea as to the relative size of these numbers even though the Civil War was fought on American soil and is a major part of America's history.

Out of a total of 359,528 Union deaths from all causes, 110,070 were killed and mortally wounded but 224,586 died from disease.⁶ Of the deaths from disease, 44,000 were from "diarrhea and dysentery, acute and chronic" and 34,883 were from "typhoid, typho-malarial, and continued fevers."⁷ By contrast, the total number of deaths arising from combat at the Battle of Gettysburg for the Union army is only 3,155 and for the Confederate army is only 3,903.⁸

Conditions in the Confederate armies were probably worse generally than those for the Union army but the statistics were apparently destroyed in a fire in Richmond.⁹ As to civilian casualties from disease during the Civil War, especially in the South where most of the fighting occurred—no one seems to know.

In a well-written and moving book entitled *Civil War Medicine*, the author Stewart Brooks wrote:

Surprising perhaps to the layman but not to the student of history, disease was the great killer of the war. As one soldier wrote, "These Big Battles is not as Bad as the fever." Of the Federal dead, roughly three out of five died of disease, and of the Confederates, perhaps two out of three. During the first year, a third of the Union army was on sick call, and probably an even higher figure obtained South. Intestinal infections, such as typhoid and "chronic diarrhea," and "inflammation of the lungs" headed the list. Indeed, diarrhea and dysentery became more vicious as the fighting progressed.¹⁰

A major cause of the high incidence of disease was the failure to take hygiene and sanitation seriously. The prison camps were, of course, terrible but apparently the camps where regular soldiers, i.e. not prisoners, spent months in the field were not much better. Brooks gives the following description of conditions in the camps generally:

In the beginning, and to an unhealthy extent throughout the war, the typical inductee on arriving in camp felt as free as a bird and lived like one. Few recruits bothered to use the slit-trench latrines (and those who did usually forgot to shovel dirt over the feces) and most urinated just outside the tent—and after sundown, in the street. Garbage was everywhere, rats abounded, and dead cats and dogs turned up in the strangest places. The emanations of slaughtered cattle and kitchen offal together with the noxious effluvia from the seething latrines and infested tents produced an olfactory sensation which has yet to be duplicated in the Western Hemisphere. As for water—and seldom was there enough—any source would do in the early camps. Frequently, it was so muddy and fetid the men held their noses when they drank the stuff. In many instances, the heavy rains washed fecal material directly into the supply with disastrous consequences. However, in time, water came to be regarded generally as a source of disease and attempts were made to secure wholesome supplies. The better outfits even progressed to the point of boiling befouled water—visibly befouled of course.

The United States Sanitary Commission was not long in recognizing these deplorable conditions as a threat to the Cause and dedicated itself to their eradication. By placing the matter squarely before the public and military, it paved the way for the institution of corrective measures relating to sanitation and hygiene. The Commission insisted that the bulk of sickness stemmed from filthy army installations and in no uncertain terms held the regimental brass responsible. Above all, it carried through with its proposals and admonitions via publications and workers and inspectors in the field. Nothing of such force was operative among the Southern armies, nevertheless some improvement was to be noted when conditions permitted. Although the camps tended to improve, it is open to question whether the same can be said of personal hygiene. The shortage of water and soap notwithstanding, this was mainly a case of poor education, carelessness, ignorance or, perhaps more to the point, the rural ways of the time. Among the officers, who usually represented the aristocracy, the rate of sickness ran, one-half that of the enlisted men. Again, the sickness rate for the Western theater—among the men of the frontier—tended to run double that of the Eastern.

The salutary effects of good sanitation and hygiene are severely compromised in the face of poor nutrition, and bad food was the rule.¹¹

It is hardly a surprise that Americans know even less about a foreign war, albeit one in which America had a major role, but where Americans were generally far removed from the areas of greatest misery except at the very end.

Those who moralize about the piles of dead at Bergen-Belsen and Dachau should consider Andersonville, where 7,712 men died in six months out of an average of only 19,453 held. The Northern prison camps were also terrible. The "average number" of Confederates held in prisons by the North is 40,815 of whom 18,784 died.¹² Only 252 Confederates held in Northern prisons died from wounds whereas 5,965 died from diarrhea and dysentery.¹³

For the Mexican War (1846-48), the ratio of fatalities from disease to fatalities from wounds is even worse. 1,549 were killed or died from their wounds; 10,951 died of disease.¹⁴

During the Crimean War (1854-56), 12,604 men in the French army died from wounds whereas 59,815 died from sickness. For the English, 4,602 died from wounds whereas 17,225 died from sickness. By contrast, although 35,671 Russians died from wounds, only 37,454 died from sickness.¹⁵

Unfortunately, when war has ended, the misery of disease and its full extent is quickly forgotten. Medals for diarrhea and fever will not inspire new generations of young men to risk their lives for their country.

Diarrhea and dysentery, as well as typhoid, are all spread through contaminated water. Revisionists have generally not been aware of the importance of water contamination except for typhoid. In reality, all three of these diseases are extremely dangerous, especially in wartime when large numbers of people often live in camps with primitive sanitation and water supplies. During peacetime, one can afford the luxury of burial in sealed caskets or perhaps even the kind of watertight "body bags" that were used in the Vietnam War. However, in World War II this was a luxury which the Germans could not afford as a rule, even for their own people. As a preventive measure, the cremation of the dead was entirely appropriate to protect against all three of these deadly diseases.

In addition, elaborate water purification measures were employed at Birkenau, for example, where one can still see nine large water treatment tanks within 200 yards of Kremas 2 and 3. The life-saving purpose of these tanks is deliberately misrepresented by the Auschwitz Museum authorities today by a nearby placard stating that these facilities were "intended to produce driving gas from human excrements." The seriousness of any such intent on the part of the Nazis is refuted by the absence of roofs over these tanks either today or during the war as well as by the elaborate internal structures for filtering and the settling of solids within the tanks.

The bodies of men who have died or are near death from diarrhea or dysentery do not look any different if they were in a German concentration camp or in a Civil War prison camp or were part of a disease-ridden army under Grant or Lee or Napoleon. They are not a

pleasant sight. There are, unfortunately, relatively few pictures of sick soldiers from before World War II but they are available if one searches, even for the Civil War, and they are every bit as awful as anything from Bergen-Belsen.

Typhus

Typhus during the Civil War was apparently not the great problem that it has been historically in Europe.

To get some idea as to the historical importance of typhus, one should read Prinzing's *Epidemics Resulting from Wars*¹⁶ or some of the French or German works of the last century about Napoleon's Russian campaign.

One discussion which is particularly meaningful for this analysis is by Dr. Wilhelm Pfannenstiel, who accompanied Kurt Gerstein to Belzec and Treblinka in August of 1942. Pfannenstiel was Director of the Institute for Hygiene at the University of Marburg an der Lahn and a major (*Obersturmbannführer*) in the SS. According to the "Statement of Kurt Gerstein," Pfannenstiel made a speech while in Treblinka in which he said the staff had performed "a great duty, a duty so useful and necessary" and "Looking at the bodies of these Jews one understands the greatness of your good work!"

That Pfannenstiel made a speech complementing the staff at Treblinka is hardly surprising. However, the meaning and content of his speech in Treblinka was probably quite similar, to the speech he gave only a year and a half later in Bremen on January 10, 1944 from which the following is an excerpt.¹

The accounts which we have about the spread of pestilence as a result of the Napoleonic wars are shocking:

Because of the massive movements of troops through Germany, because of the quartering of the troops in houses of the civilian population and because of the economic consequences of the continental blockade, the groundwork after 1800 was especially well-prepared for the spread of epidemics. Russian troop masses brought what was at the time called "war-typhoid"—which included paratyphoid, dysentery and similar diseases, but above all typhus—to Eastern Germany. The French contaminated not only Western Germany but all of Western Europe including Spain with "war-typhoid." Even in Sweden there were terrible epidemics. Only England remained untouched by the epidemics because of her position as an island.

The catastrophe which befell the army of Napoleon, which had originally numbered 500,000 men, was completely sealed with pestilence. During the initial advance, in one battle, four-fifths of the men became casualties from disease. In Moscow, which was rich in provisions, the soldiers recovered again. But then, after the burning of Moscow when the 80,000 men of the French army had to return over the infested military roads, they were almost totally wiped out from dysentery, typhoid and typhus. In Smolensk, the number of troops who had to remain behind from typhoid and dysentery rose to 15,000. In Wilna of 30,000 captured French troops, 25,000 had succumbed to

disease. Among the civilian population in Wilna at that time, 55,000 fatalities were reported in half a year.

The massing of troops before Leipzig brought new heavy outbreaks of epidemic. A report from Reils to Freiherr vom Stein describes the terrible conditions which arose primarily from the lack of medical care and military hospitals:

Leipzig, October 1813. Your Excellency has assigned me to submit an account about my findings about the military hospitals for the Allied armies on this side of the Elbe . . . I found approximately 20,000 wounded and sick warriors of all nations in Leipzig. The wildest imagination could not invent so lurid a picture of misery as I found in the reality before me . . . The wounded were lying either in gloomy dens in which amphibians would not have found enough oxygen or in schools with windows which had no glass and in high ceiling churches in which the chill in the air increased proportionally as the foulness diminished . . .

In those places they lie in layers just like so many tons of herring, all still in the bloody garments in which they had been carried from the heat of battle. Of the 20,000 wounded not a single one has a shirt, bedsheet, blanket, cover, straw sack or bedstead . . . Wounded who can not raise themselves to an upright position must discharge feces and urine under themselves and putrefy in their own excrement. For those who can get up, open tubs were available but these overflow on all sides because they are not carried outdoors. In Petri Street there was one such tub next to another which was used to deliver the midday soup. This neighborliness between food and human wastes must certainly produce such nausea that it can only have been overcome by the fiercest hunger. The most hideous example of this occurred at the clothing market. The loading platform was covered with a row of such overflowing tubs whose stagnant contents were slowly oozing over the steps. It was impossible to bring oneself through this cascade of slops, and force one's way to the entrance from the streetside . . .

I close my account with the most horrible scene which drove chills through my limbs and shattered my spirit. On the open field of the public school, I found a mountain consisting of garbage and the corpses of my compatriots. There they lay, naked and being eaten by dogs and rats as if they had been lawbreakers and homicidal arsonists.

I appeal to your excellency's humanity and to your love of my king and his people—help our brave ones, help soon, for every wasted minute is an act of murder.

We do not wish to deny that in this war on the enemy's side, for instance, in that hell which we inflicted upon the Poles in the pocket of Kutno, conditions in the Polish emergency hospitals were not very much different.

In all wars until the middle of the 19th century, casualties from disease were on the average six times as high as those inflicted by weapons. It was only in the War of 1870/71 that, for the first time in world history, the number of fatalities from disease was smaller. It was only half the total number killed. In the world war of 1914/18 the fatalities from disease were only one-tenth the number killed by weapons.

The recently deceased tropical hygiene specialist Muehlens comments: "If there were any victors in this war, then it was the

doctors and hygienists and those who faithfully assisted them. They saved thousands upon thousands through efforts from disease and death from epidemics."

During the First World War the German army and above all the German people remained almost totally protected from larger epidemics. The reason for this astounding fact is to be found above all in the fact that even before the war, thanks primarily to the scientific work of mainly German researchers, especially Robert Koch (whose 100th birthday we already celebrated on December 11, 1943) and his students, who discovered and brought to public attention the most important disease carriers, their means of transmission and the possible ways to combat them. During the campaign it developed, thanks to the scientific work which was conducted in the field examination stations as well as in the epidemiological branch, an additional series of discoveries was made in the area of causative agents of diseases and their modes. So it was that Paul Uhlenhuth, the recipient of the first Behring Prize, discovered the carrier which occurs with jaundice, namely the often fatal Weil disease (a waterborne spirochete which is infected through rat feces and carried to humans in the hot summer months.) The Volhynian disease again gave us trouble in southern France where it afflicted soldiers who had been bathing in rivers even though they had been warned by the civilian population that to bathe there in the hot season would make them sick. Also it was established once and for all that humans were infected by the classical typhus as well as the Volhynian or five-day fever only through the feces of infested clothes lice. Consequently an urgent need was recognized to construct appropriate delousing facilities to work as a filter and effectively prevent the spreading of this war disease into the territory of the Reich. While studying typhus, many a scientist—for instance, the Marburg student of Emil von Behring, Paul Roemer—came to his death. The recognition that European relapsing fever which is also transmitted by lice and which can be treated with Salvarsan, which is also effective against syphilis, and which saved the lives of thousands of Turkish soldiers in the Dardanelles campaign who were treated by our present tropical hygienist in the military medical academy, surgeon general Prof. Dr. Rodenwaldt.

During World War I, a number of germs were discovered in the feces as well as the soil which (if transmitted into open wounds) would cause gasodemia and other equally serious wound infections. Without any doubt, war has here furthered bacteriological research as well. The new discoveries were of utmost importance for the armies.

However, there still were epidemics and illnesses which one could not master. Foremost among them was the bacillus dysentery which must be regarded as the "primary war epidemic of the world war." This disease increased rather than decreased and retained its high mortality rate. Even amoebic dysentery caused considerable casualties which were so great among the English at Gallipoli that they contributed to the abandonment of this Churchill-inspired campaign.

Typhus and dysentery are the diseases which give us the most trouble in this war in addition to the venereal diseases and malaria.

During peace time, we did not have to fear the outbreak of major epidemics. But, the moment we crossed the borders with our armies, we entered areas in which (as for example in Poland) there was little trace of a prepared peacetime practice of defensive hygiene. It was only there that the first contact with the disease pathogens was found. And with the increase in the number of people who remained healthy but who carried the germs, the introduction of diseases into the Reich was assured.

Therefore, above anything else we must prevent any contact with foreign disease material through hygienic and prophylactic measures. Above all else, we must inoculate our soldiers and all medical personnel as widely as possible against all likely disease germs so that as far as possible, no casualties from illness will occur. How many millions of lives of recently wounded soldiers have been saved through prophylactic serum inoculation against tetanus cannot be measured. Today we even have vaccines which (for example, upon conscription into the Wehrmacht) could probably give lifelong immunity against tetanus. Also, in the development of vaccines against typhus and against dysentery this war has once again brought great progress. Vaccines against typhus from lice intestines, from chicken eggs, from rabbit lungs and from mice lungs are produced in gigantic quantities in large, newly constructed institutes, for example, in Cracow and Lemberg (Lvov). The inoculated cannot be protected completely against contracting the disease but they are protected against death from the typhus. The other kinds of typhus which are occasionally observed in the south of Greece, such as the so-called "murine" typhus which is carried by the feces of rats including their other parasites, or the so-called "tick typhus" from the brown dog tick are, despite the high fever, far less harmful to people than the "classical" louseborne typhus. The vaccinations against the classic typhus have been effective against the rare rat typhus but not against the tick typhus. Here one can protect oneself best by prohibiting troops in tick fever infested areas from keeping dogs, which can be carriers of other tropical diseases as well.

German hygienic science is also in the process of developing effective vaccines against dysentery. To control dysentery it is of the utmost importance to make human waste products harmless and to not give flies any opportunity to carry dysentery bacillus from feces to food. This is an especially important consideration in the construction of latrines. The East African campaign taught us in this regard about the very useful smoke latrines, the present war about the drill hole latrines which makes the transfer of disease from feces practically impossible.¹⁷

Germany at War's End—the Wild West and the Hordes of Genghis Khan

Although great progress had been made in military medicine as well as medicine in general between the American Civil War and World War II, what use was all that amidst the chaos which reigned on the territory of the loser, particularly in Eastern Europe, near the

end of the war? Should anyone be surprised that after years of intense bombardment of civilian targets, to the extent that journalists agreed that Germany's cities looked like the face of the moon, the conditions to which people had been reduced were comparable to those from which the world had supposedly advanced in only eighty years?

Perhaps the best discussion of conditions at the end of World War II in Germany is by John E. Gordon, M.D., Ph.D., Professor of Preventive Medicine and Epidemiology at the Harvard University School of Public Health. I hesitate to give so many details about an author, but it is probably necessary to establish the fact that the excerpts which follow are not from someone who can be easily branded as another pro-German revisionist. The passages which follow were published in 1948 by the American Association for the Advancement of Science:

(5) Foreigners in the Rhineland . . .

The whole area seethed with foreign peoples, conscript laborers moving this way and that and in all directions, hoping to reach their homes, in search of food, seeking shelter. Most of the typhus was within this group and they carried the disease with them. They moved along the highways and in country lanes—now a dozen Roumanians pulling a cart loaded with their remaining belongings; here a little band of Frenchmen working their way toward France, there some Netherlands, or perhaps Belgians; and everywhere, the varied nationalities of the East—Ukrainians, Poles, Czechs, Russians. They moved mostly on foot, halted, then gathered in great camps of sometimes 15,000 or more, extemporized, of primitive sanitation, crowded, and with all too little sense of order or cleanliness.

These were the people where typhus predominated, more than a half million of them in the Rhineland, wearied with the war, undernourished, poorly clothed and long inured to sanitary underprivilege and low level hygiene. Add to this shifting population the hundreds of released political prisoners, often heavily infected with typhus but happily far fewer in numbers; the German refugees, first moving ahead of our troops and then sifting back to their homes through the American lines. Rarely if ever has a situation existed so conducive to the spread of typhus.

Typhus fever in a stable population is bad enough. It has demonstrated its potentialities in both war and peace. The Rhineland in those days of March, 1945, could scarcely be believed by those who saw it—it is beyond the appreciation of those who did not. It was Wild West, the hordes of Genghis Khan, the Klondike gold rush, and Napoleon's retreat from Moscow all rolled up into one. Such was the typhus problem in the Rhineland.

The Epidemiologic Situation

The great assault of the Rhine River got under way on March 24, the British 21st Army Group and the U. S. Ninth Army to the north, the First and Third Armies in the center, and somewhat later the U. S.

Seventh Army and the First French Army to the South. All found typhus fever; the British scarcely any, the Ninth some, the First and Third a great deal, while in the south the U. S. Seventh and the First French Armies again encountered relatively little.

The first really serious condition appeared when Buchenwald concentration camp was occupied by the Third Army on April 12th. The British soon uncovered Belsen camp, with still more typhus and misery. Then followed in order Dachau, Flossenbürg and finally Mauthausen, all with hundreds of cases of typhus fever and sometimes thousands.

These concentration camps with their political prisoners and their typhus fever would have been problem enough. Added to the situation were millions of conscript laborers suddenly released from employment and from camps that were many times typhus infested. They scattered throughout the country. Many were gathered in large improvised camps. They spread typhus widely . . .

Germany in the spring months of April and May was an astounding sight, a mixture of humanity travelling this way and that, homeless, often hungry and carrying typhus with them.

Special Epidemiological Problems

The outbreaks in concentration camps and prisons made up the great bulk of typhus infection encountered in Germany. Each presented an individual epidemiologic problem. That of Dachau is illustrative. The Dachau camp, located in Bavaria about 5 kilometers north of Munich, was one of the largest and certainly one of the most notorious of the Nazi installations housing political prisoners. It was liberated by units of the U. S. Seventh Army on May 1, 1945.

An estimated 35,000-40,000 prisoners were found in the camp, living under conditions bad even for a German camp of this kind and worse than any other that came into American hands. Extreme filthiness, louse infestation and overcrowding prevailed throughout the camp buildings. Several car-loads of human bodies were found packed in box cars in the railroad yards adjacent to the camp, the vestiges of a shipment of prisoners from camps farther north who were transferred to Dachau in the late days of the war to escape the advancing United States troops.

The number of patients with typhus fever at the time the camp was first occupied will never be known. Days passed before a census of patients could be accomplished. Several hundreds were found in the prison hospital, but their number was small compared with the patients who continued to live with their comrades in the camp barracks, bedridden and unattended, lying in bunks 4 tiers high with 2 and sometimes 3 men to a narrow shelf-like bed; the sick and the well; crowded beyond all description; reeking with filth and neglect—and everywhere the smell of death.

During the first few days little more could be done with the limited staff that was available than make the rounds of the barracks, pulling out the dead and the dying . . .

Available records failed to demonstrate how many of the 4,032 patients of the Dachau epidemic were actually ill with typhus at the

time the camp came under American jurisdiction, how many developed the disease within the succeeding 14-day incubation period, . . . Even the appreciable figures cited fail to include all who contracted typhus fever in Dachau concentration camp. Freed from the sort of existence they had been living, it was no wonder that those strong enough should attempt to escape. Many did, and scattered widely through the nearby country, especially to the region south of Munich. Some were actually in the clinical stages of typhus fever and many were incubating the disease. They were later found with typhus fever in other areas.

The camp was promptly quarantined. Hospitals were moved in to augment the small prison hospital. Case finding teams initiated control work through survey of the surrounding area for former inmates developing typhus after leaving. The dusting of prisoners with DDT powder was started May 3, 1945, and completed May 8.

Summary and Conclusions

Conditions in Western Europe in many respects favored a much greater spread of typhus fever than actually occurred. Germany was in chaos. The destruction of whole cities and the path left by advancing armies produced a disruption of living conditions contributing to the spread of the disease. Sanitation was low grade, public utilities were seriously disrupted, food supply and food distribution were poor, housing was inadequate and order and discipline were everywhere lacking. Still more important, a shifting of populations was occurring such as few countries and few times have experienced.

Native Germans, dislodged from their homes and often moving long distances to escape the enemy, were finding their way back to their native lands. The roads, the countryside, were full of released German prisoners of war who lacked transportation and were their to their homes on foot . . .

Two important factors served to limit the extent of the outbreak. The most significant was the time of the year that allied troops entered Germany. Had this been December instead of March, as would have happened except for disrupted military plans, the problem would have been much more serious. Von Rundstedt's Battle of the Bulge, although of serious import militarily, had the favorable aspect of postponing contact with typhus until the spring months.

Spring brought a lower potential of louse infestation, it permitted life outdoors instead of crowding within existing habitations, and the movement of displaced persons and refugees was facilitated, with consequent greater dispersal. Dispersal of course, had advantages and disadvantages. It tended to disseminate infection broadly—it limited concentrated outbreaks.

Early repatriation of all Russian nationals, both prisoners of war and conscripted labor, was undertaken in May and completed in June. A large part of available American transport was turned to this end, with the result that thousands of Russians were repatriated every day. They were the population groups with the heaviest incidence of typhus.

Under any interpretation of governing circumstances, much credit must be given to the efficiency of recently developed methods of

typhus control. The value of delousing through dusting with DDT, and the usefulness of typhus vaccine were tried and tested on a scale greater than ever before and under conditions epidemiologically more conducive to extensive and continued spread of the disease. The results attained in the Naples epidemic were confirmed and extended.

No single factor contributed more to the satisfactory end of the outbreak than that never in the course of the epidemic were the fundamental supplies of DDT powder and vaccine lacking. Occasional difficulties arose in local distribution, but the supply system was such and the stock piles so great that they were promptly remedied.

The middle of July saw Western Europe return to a satisfactory situation of low grade typhus endemicity.¹⁸

Because of their overwhelming air power, the Western Allies had been able to wreak enormous havoc upon Germany, particularly her cities, long before any ground troops had been engaged near those cities. Cities which had taken a thousand years to build were destroyed in a few hours long before a single Allied tank or infantryman appeared.

In a recent best-selling book by the first man to break the sound barrier, entitled *Yeager: An Autobiography*, the author described how in the Fall of 1944 his fighter group was . . .

. . . assigned an area fifty miles by fifty miles and ordered to strafe anything that moved . . . We weren't asked how we felt zapping people. It was a miserable, dirty mission, but we all took off on time and did it . . . We were ordered to commit an atrocity, pure and simple, but the brass who approved this action probably felt justified because wartime Germany wasn't easily divided between "innocent civilians" and its military machine. The farmer tilling his potato field might have been feeding German troops."¹⁹

This was, incidentally, at a time when there was no reasonable doubt about the eventual outcome of the war nor any danger to the United States. The farmer tilling his potato field might have also been feeding concentration camp inmates or prisoners of war—how could one possibly tell the difference? How can Americans condemn Germans for not giving enough food to prisoners when they themselves were deliberately killing farmers growing potatoes in their fields?

One can well imagine that during the last months of the war—when entire German cities were destroyed almost daily—many German medical or supply personnel, who would have otherwise gone to perform assigned duties at concentration camps, simply felt that Germany's enemies could fend for themselves. How can anyone realistically blame them? How can anyone imagine that they would risk their lives under almost constant air attack to get to the camps, there to face death from disease and, sooner or later, the vindictiveness of the inmates and the liberators who had a major

part, at the very least, in bringing about the atrocious conditions in the first place?

By the winter and early spring of 1945 in Germany, tens of millions of people were fleeing west into an area so small that, even in the best of times, enough food could not be produced to sustain the normal population. Casualties were in the millions. The fact that Germans facing extinction neglected the health and nutrition of many of their most bitter enemies in concentration camps should not be surprising.

Typhus in Eastern Europe

Typhus in recent centuries has afflicted primarily the countries of Eastern Europe during wartime, especially during cold weather when soldiers and civilians are least inclined to give up the warmth of their clothes to bathe or clean their clothes. The misery that arises from such personal behavior is, of course, compounded by the social upheaval and movement of large masses of people that war tends to bring with it.

The misery is probably unimaginable to a Western European or an American. Some idea may be derived, however, from the following text from the same British doctor who described the makeshift delousing tunnels:

Predisposing Conditions

Louse-borne typhus fever is an acute infectious disease lasting from twelve to sixteen days and characterized by a continued temperature, a generalized maculopapular rash which may become haemorrhagic, severe toxæmia, and marked nervous manifestations. The disease is carried by lice and spreads with extreme rapidity especially through a badly nourished population. Thus in Russia during the period 1919 to 1922 the estimated number of cases was 10,000,000, with 3,000,000 deaths, in a population of 120,000,000. These are stupendous figures. Their scale can be realized to some extent by recalling that in the much-described typhus epidemic in London in 1856 only 1,062 cases were recorded as treated in the London Fever Hospital out of a population of 3,000,000 whereas in Russia in the year 1921 alone there were 4,000,000 cases in a population of 120,000,000. These figures can, of course, only be approximate, as many cases diagnosed as typhus were in reality instances of relapsing fever; on the other hand a vast number of cases of typhus were never admitted to hospital and so remained unrecorded. Of the cases admitted to hospital very many were never notified by the Russian medical officers owing to pressure of work. So uncertain were the statements that when we went into a new district to survey the amount of typhus present we found it more useful to base our estimate on the number of women with recently shaved heads seen in the streets, than to rely upon notification figures. All cases on admission to hospital for typhus were closely shaved and consequently it was possible to sit in a cafe and determine the proportion of women with closely cropped heads to the general

population and so to estimate roughly the amount of typhus in the region.

Epidemic typhus fever, is, classically, associated with famine and overcrowding, but there is a third factor which, to my mind, is perhaps of even greater importance, namely, widespread movements of military or civilian populations bringing non-immunes into a district where the disease is endemic or carrying the disease into a typhus-free region. A third possibility is that such movements may introduce into an endemic region either a new strain of the disease or one of enhanced virulence. The first mode of infection I saw well demonstrated in the epidemic in North China two years ago which was due to the introduction of masses of non-immunes with the Army into areas where the disease was endemic. The second method occurred on the return of Polish prisoners of war to Poland from Siberia in 1919-1922. These men, women and children had been heavily infected with typhus in Russia, and passed into Poland at the rate of tens of thousands a day, going to regions in which the disease either was already endemic or did not exist previously; in both cases widespread epidemics resulted.

Apart from mass movements of the kinds instanced above, a striking feature of epidemics is the amount of local movements of the population that they initiate. Once typhus is really established in a district, fear of contracting the disease, combined with terror of the appearance and acts of delirious patients, is soon widespread. Transport of food and fuel quickly breaks down, starvation threatens, the sick are abandoned, often in the roads, the houses are deserted and the terrified population flees from the infected area into a neighboring village or another part of the town as the case may be, carrying the disease with them. Too often the hospital staffs may flee with the others.²⁰

But there is still more horrors. During the early 1920's in Russia, for example cannibalism had become widespread. Mothers were murdering and eating their children, adults were murdering and eating their parents. 26 people who had resorted to cannibalism and 7 others who had sold human flesh were identified by one Russian doctor alone on the basis of his own personal observations. In the town of Samara, the entire mental hospital was set aside for people who had committed cannibalism. The German doctor who reported such incidents in 1923 wrote that such acts were not unusual and attributed the practice to the psychological deterioration of people suffering from protracted hunger and disease. One mother, for example, had gone into a rage as her murdered child was taken away from her and had cried out that it was her child, she had borne it, and that no one had the right to eat it except for her. Interestingly enough, the German doctor thought it significant that the people who had committed such acts were all native Russians from the lower social strata and that "there were no German colonists, no Jews and no members of any other nationality among them."²¹

Typhus Vaccine

One interesting fact which Pfannenstiel discussed in the text quoted earlier was that in 1944, the Germans still did not have a totally effective anti-typhus vaccine but only a vaccine which "protected against death from the typhus"—in other words, they only had a vaccine which reduced the severity of typhus when a vaccinated person contracted the disease. American troops were repeatedly inoculated against typhus which suggests that the American vaccine was not totally effective either. The major line of defense against typhus, for the Americans as well as for the Germans, was thorough and repeated delousing.

The SS personnel records for Dr. Josef Mengele show that he contracted typhus while at Auschwitz even though he, as a doctor, would certainly have been given preferred access to any available vaccine. There were probably some bad experiences with the German anti-typhus vaccine which is illustrated by the fact that even after the war at Belsen where a German Army medical team had been put to work caring for the sick at the "human laundry," at least one German doctor had refused to let himself be vaccinated by the British against typhus and had apparently told the German nurses not to take the vaccine either. About a month later, 32 of the 48 German nurses were in bed with typhus.²²

The German wartime medical literature abounds with articles about German research into the development of anti-typhus vaccines and treatment. No doubt, there were many experiments upon concentration inmates in this regard which did provide some basis for some atrocity stories after the war. The principal beneficiaries of this research, however, were the inmates themselves, since it was they who were in the greatest danger from typhus.

Typhus and the Jews

The German wartime medical literature makes it quite clear that many Germans in positions of authority regarded the Jews as a major source of typhus infestation in Poland. Of course, because this literature is highly critical of Jews as a group and was written by Germans living under National Socialism, many readers will simply dismiss it as anti-Semitic propaganda. In any event, regardless of the motivations of the German authors, confirmation of many of their observations can be found in credible non-German sources.

In a lengthy article published by the Royal Society of Medicine, E. W. Goodall, one of the most highly regarded British epidemiologists, described his experiences in Poland in the Summer of 1919:

The city of Warsaw had at the time of the epidemic a population of about 700,000 persons. I understood that this figure did not include any of the German troops, but represented the civil, Polish, population only. The epidemic started in the Jewish quarter of the city, and at first

spread chiefly amongst the Jews. According to Dr. Trenkner the same thing happened at Lodz, of which city he was medical officer before he was appointed to Warsaw in 1917, and in many other places in Poland. Dr. Janiszewski confirms this statement. In the Warsaw epidemic, 73 per cent. of the cases occurred amongst the Jews, and 23 per cent. of these in one particular part of the Jewish quarter where the population was most dense. In the other quarters the number of cases was in proportion to the number of Jews amongst the inhabitants. The Jews form 30 per cent. of the population of Warsaw. Roughly, the number of cases in the different districts was in proportion to the density of population, and the density is highest in the parts of the city inhabited by Jews.

Since the epidemic of 1917-18 typhus has become more widely diffused through Warsaw, but the 1919 epidemic, if it can be called such, was comparatively slight. Lately (1919) the Christians have been attacked in larger numbers than the Jews. The attack-rate of the 1917-18 epidemic was between 3 per cent. and 4 per cent., and the fatality was about 9 per cent. It is a curious fact that the fatality amongst the Jews was half that of the Christians, 7 per cent. as against 14 per cent. Dr. Trenkner accounted for this difference by the greater care and attention the Jews bestowed upon their sick. They also called in medical advice earlier than did the Christians, so that their patients came under treatment sooner.

As regards age-incidence I was supplied with the following figures relating to 5,747 consecutive cases occurring at the end of 1917:

Age	Cases	Deaths	[% of] Fatalities
0-10	908	7	0.7
-20	2,407	29	1.2
-30	1,035	43	4.1
-40	717	71	10.0
-50	513	86	16.7
-60	112	59	52.6
-70	50	19	38.0
-80	5	3	60.0
Total	5,747	317	5.5

It is evident that these figures relate to a period of the epidemic when the fatality [rate] was below the mean . . .

Zawiercie

. . . At the time of this epidemic the population of Zawiercie was about 44,000, so that the attack-rate was about 3 per cent. From official figures which were given to me it appears that the Jews formed 19 per cent. of the population. According to Dr. Ryder the Christians were attacked in a larger proportion than the Jews, as shown in the following table, which deals with about three-quarters of the epidemic and with the first six months of 1919: . . .

The Jews were said to be less cleanly than the Christians, and from what I saw of them I should say that this was true. But there were reasons for thinking that there was more concealment of cases

amongst the Jews; the authorities had had some trouble in getting certain of the Jewish medical attendants to notify . . .

Causes of the Prevalence of Typhus

It is not difficult to account for the wide prevalence of typhus in Poland since the beginning of the war on general grounds. Constant warfare, the movements of troops, the influx of refugees from the districts which were the actual scenes of fighting, the return of prisoners of war, especially since the armistice, in both directions across the country, the lack of soap and clothing and of medical and surgical necessities in the country districts and in many of the towns the difficulty of obtaining sufficient water, would be factors conducing to the prevalence and dissemination of lice, that is to say of typhus, in a country where the disease had been endemic before the war. Medical men and nurses have been very scarce, and there has been a deficiency of food for the poorer classes, especially in the East and South-east. The figures I gave at the commencement of this paper showed that typhus had been especially prevalent since the armistice. There is no doubt that when the Germans and Austrians established themselves in Poland in 1915, they both, and especially the former, used their utmost endeavours to keep infectious diseases under control, not from any love they bore to the Poles, but with the object of keeping their armies free from sickness. There can also be little doubt that to a certain extent, however of their efforts there was the large epidemic in Warsaw in 1917-18. Dr. Trenkner attributed the epidemic chiefly to the action of the Jews. Much smuggling, especially of food, went on from outside into the city. The smugglers, who were chiefly Jews, hid and slept together in little groups in sheds and barns. Members of the groups became infected with typhus and carried the disease into the city. Dr. Trenkner on various occasions traced fresh cases to group infection in this way. Overcrowding and want of cleanliness did the rest. In Zawiercie the action by the Germans seems to have had more effect, and there was not any great prevalence of disease before they left. In that part of Poland which I visited—viz., the county of Bendzin, typhus had become especially rampant since the armistice, as was exemplified in the Zawiercie epidemic. Directly the Germans left there was an unrestrained movement of population to and fro between the town and surrounding country; released and escaped prisoners of war began to return, especially from the East; and refugees flocked to the West from the devastated Eastern districts . . . The Germans had been severely thorough in their sanitary measures. They set up de-lousing stations and forced the inhabitants to be de-loused at the point of the bayonet. When they left compulsion ceased and personal cleanliness diminished.

Adverse, however, as the circumstances have been in Poland, during and since the war, it must not be supposed that the authorities have not attempted to deal with the epidemic. As far back as April, 1918, that is to say, six months before the Germans quitted Warsaw, Dr. Trenkner made a great effort to cleanse the houses and their inhabitants in the worst and most crowded parts of the city, a proceeding to which the Germans offered no objections, as of course

such a measure was conducive to keeping their army free from infection. But the task was a very difficult one as the people were by no means anxious to help the authorities. If the inhabitants of a certain square for instance got wind that their houses were going to be visited by the sanitary squad, they cleared out and locked their rooms up. However, this obstacle was overcome by making unexpected visits very early in the morning, taking the passports away from the inhabitants, who were sent off to the de-lousing station, with the instruction that they would not receive their passports back again until they produced the certificate that they had been deloused. Meanwhile, their homes were disinfected and cleaned . . .²³

The percentages given above for the incidence of typhus among Jews are actually quite close, almost identical in some instances, to the figures given by Zimmermann a generation later. It is, therefore, more than likely that the German authors were accurate also.

A possible explanation for the high incidence of typhus among Jews may be their role as merchants of old clothing. For example, in Prinzing's classic work *Epidemics Resulting from Wars*, the author discusses the possible cause for the spread of bubonic plague and typhus in Eastern Europe during the Russo-Turkish War of 1769-72. After every trace of the pestilence had disappeared except for military hospitals, the reemergence of the plague later on was traced to the purchase by a Jew of a fur coat in a military hospital in Jassy.²⁴ Later again, in Transylvania during the same war, "Jewish pedlars, who purchased clothes, furs, and war-booty in the Russian camp, likewise helped to spread the disease."²⁵ At the end of Napoleon's Russian campaign, Prinzing tells us about the typhus epidemic in Vilna in 1812-13 which "In a short time spread throughout the city, not so much because the soldiers were quartered in private houses, as because the Jews got possession of the clothes of the dead. Of some 30,000 Jewish inhabitants, no less than 8,000 died."²⁶

Jewish Resistance and the Torture of Bathing

The intense resistance by the local population, by Poles as well as Jews, to the public health measures that responsible authorities intended for their welfare is also evident in a remarkable recent book, entitled *Typhus and Doughboys*, about the American military experience in post World War 1 Poland. The book is based largely upon the internal correspondence of the American Polish Typhus Relief Expedition from 1919 to 1921. The book deals at great length with the difficulties American troops encountered when they tried a variety of methods to induce people simply to bathe and have their clothes deloused either with steam or cyanide.

The difficulties were illustrated by the following passage about the efforts of one American officer in what appears from the context to have been a predominantly Jewish community.

The school children were next bathed and deloused, Gorman

observing that "if the older people were as enthusiastic as these children, typhus would no longer be a dread in Poland." Unfortunately, the older people were content to live in the unimaginable dirt and filth, one old woman having been heard to cry out, "death here in my hovel rather than the torture of bathing."²⁷

The book is quite valuable for its insights based upon an analysis of the actual correspondence of American officers. However, one should recognize that the book was written recently in an age when the foulest rubbish can be written about Poles, Germans, Austrians and even Americans with almost no hesitation at all but when criticism of Jews is inevitably accompanied with deep apologies. The following passage is informative nonetheless.²⁸

Dixon pointed out some difficulties with the Jews, revealing his own anti-Semitic bias. In the town of Busko, which he inspected, he reported "there is considerable Typhus in the town particularly among the Jews. They are afraid to go to the hospital and use all means to keep the disease among them hidden." They believed, in fact, "that at the hospital they would not be able to live according to their religion—that they would be required to eat what the others ate—that they could never eat with their hats on and that if one of them died there he could not be buried according to his religion. This belief is being overcome and the hospital now has ten Jews as patients." Dixon also induced local authorities in Busko to impose a fine of 500 ruble on anyone who hid or attempted to hide a case of typhus. But, he recorded, "it did not prove very effective as the Jews, who were afraid of the hospital bribed the police and kept their sick hidden."²⁸

Except for Dixon's charge that Jews bribed the police, there seems no reason to believe he was biased; he seems to be simply reporting what he saw.

The same intense resistance to the most minimal measures which any civilized society can impose for its own survival—the simple act of accurately reporting cases of a highly contagious disease—is evident in Lucy Dawidowicz's *The War Against The Jews* for 1939-42 for the Warsaw ghetto:

In the Warsaw ghetto alone, epidemic typhus was believed to have affected between 100,000 and 150,000 persons, though the official figures were barely over 15,000. The spread of disease was concealed from the Germans. Hospital cases of typhus were recorded as "elevated fever" or pneumonia. Mainly, the stricken were treated in their homes in a massive clandestine operation, covering up the presence of the disease from German inspection teams who periodically threatened to seal off the affected areas.²⁹

The intensity of the Jewish resistance to the simple act of bathing, for the 1920's at least, is illustrated in *Typhus and Doughboys* by the following passage about American efforts in the town of Wlodowa:

... further difficulties were in the form of considerable resistance among the population to bathe. The town's officials also vacillated,

whereupon the police had to be used to compel the people to do so. Soon the town officials devised a plan whereby those persons who had been bathed were provided with a ticket and only those who possessed one could buy bread and potatoes in the stores. However, this was rather ineffective as forged tickets soon appeared and also, as Gillespie [an American first lieutenant] contemptuously charged, "The Jews would get their tickets, alter the name on them and sell them to some other person." Theft was not unheard of, and the Poles hired to assist the operations proved the worst offenders. This necessitated daily searches by the police.³⁰

Another passage tells us just how often the people in a largely Jewish community took baths even under American administration.

It went without saying that none of the houses had any modern sanitary conveniences. All refuse was poured into the gutters at the front door, two latrines were provided by the town but were little used. Snidow [an American first lieutenant] noted that "in almost all of the house areas would be found after much search an open latrine which they jealously guarded from us by all kinds of disguises and camouflage as the product therefrom would be used after the harvest to put on their small patches in the outskirts of the town." Most of the drinking water was obtained from a sluggish creek at the edge of the town, which a mill dam rendered more sluggish and sometimes covered the yards of some of the houses, turning them into "reeking swamps." The people were inclined to wade in the creek, as were the cattle and geese. There were a few wells, "but all of them drained directly from the nearby latrines." Moreover, as Snidow recounted, "in the first preliminary council we were assured by the priest, the rabbi and mayor and later confirmed by two doctors that not a soul in the town had had a bath for over a year. This statement we considered conservative and I personally doubt if water had touched the persons of most of them since the departure of the Germans during whose occupation they were required to bathe at least once a week, when they could be caught." There was a good community bathhouse, but the people had "formed a horror of it" from being compelled to bathe there by the Germans, and would not use it.³¹

Confirmation of the general unsanitariness of the Polish Jews was even given by the Jewish Chairman of the Warsaw Judenrat, Adam Czerniakow. In his diary, which has been highly praised by Raul Hilberg among others, Czerniakow wrote for May 29, 1942:

I have been going through the streets with Brodt issuing reprimands or dispensing money awards to the janitors. Considering the level of civilization in this community, the ghetto cannot be kept clean. People, unfortunately, behave like pigs. Centuries of slovenliness bear their fruit. And this is compounded by the utter misery and dire poverty.³²

After World War II, General George S. Patton described Jews living under his military authority in southern Germany. Martin Blumenson the editor of *The Patton Papers* regarded these remarks

as indicative of a growing anti-Semitic attitude. For September 17, 1945—five months after the liberation of the last of the German concentration camps—Patton wrote:

We drove for about 45 minutes to a Jewish camp . . . established in what had been a German hospital. The buildings were therefore in a good state of repair when the Jews arrived but were in a bad state of repair when we arrived, because these Jewish DP's or at least a majority of them, have no sense of human relationships. They decline, where practicable, to use latrines, preferring to relieve themselves on the floor . . .

This happened to be the feast of Yom Kippur, so they were all collected in a large wooden building which they called a synagogue. It behooved General Eisenhower to make a speech to them. We entered the synagogue which was packed with the greatest stinking bunch of humanity I have ever seen. When we got about half way up, the head rabbi, who was dressed in a fur hat similar to that worn by Henry VIII of England and in a surplice heavily embroidered and very filthy, came down and met the General . . .

However, the smell was so terrible that I almost fainted and actually about three hours later lost my lunch as the result of remembering it!³

Clearly, on the basis of the preceeding passages, there was general agreement among German doctors, British doctors, Polish doctors, American military officers and even some Jews as to the frequent aversion to cleanliness of Jews in and from Poland. To some extent, the backwardness of the Polish Jews can be explained by poverty and persecution. But, whatever the cause, it is still difficult to comprehend the hysterical resistance to minimal standards of hygiene and civilized living when a modest amount of common sense should have told them that it was necessary for their own survival. An attachment to a traditional lifestyle going back centuries, if not millenia, may have been regarded as vital to their religious and ethnic identity.

In any event, it should be understood that Jews from Western countries were generally quite different in their personal habits. When these Jews were placed in camps with Polish Jews, they were as appalled as any other Westerners would have been. It does not seem fair to attribute the behavior of the Polish Jews to religion alone—but, religion may be important, nonetheless.

Regardless of the true extent of the Jewish contribution to the spread of typhus, it is certainly safe to say that the German authorities were absolutely sincere in their statements that the Polish Jews were a major contributing factor in the spreading of the disease. They had not only the evidence of their own doctors to support this view but that of British and Polish doctors as well. They can hardly be blamed for applying severe measures to the Jews in order to control the epidemic. The severe measures included restrictions on the movements of Jews and eventually to the

construction of a wall around the entire Warsaw ghetto. These measures during wartime were entirely reasonable to control the spread of typhus, and to prevent catastrophes like those which had already occurred in Poland and Russia during and after World War I.

One should realize also that although medicine had made great progress in the years between the world war, not much progress had been made with regard to typhus. There was still no truly effective vaccine or treatment. The means for detection of typhus had been improved but that in itself did not go very far in preventing catastrophic epidemics except to alert authorities to be more stringent in their delousing of people, or of contaminated areas or trains coming from or passing through those areas. The real breakthrough came only near the end of the war with the availability of enormous quantities of DDT from the Americans for delousing.

In any event, it is quite clear that the high incidence of typhus among Jews was not simply the result of persecution by the Germans, or of the confinement of Jews first in ghettos and then in concentration camps. One of the main objectives of the camps was to maintain strict enough control upon the inmates so that typhus would at least subside if not disappear altogether. During the last months of the war, however, when typhus reappeared with a vengeance, the Germans had no choice but to maintain as tight control as they possibly could upon the inmates, to keep any of them from escaping, even if they could do little to help them. When the British took Bergen-Belsen at the request of the SS, they were appalled at what they found and considered simply moving the inmates out of the camp into neighboring dwellings.³⁴ They quickly realized, however, that that would have only compounded the disaster.

Delousing as a Cover for Mass-Murder?

It is often claimed in the Holocaust literature that the Germans disguised their extermination facilities as delousing stations with showers and barbers and laundries in order to lull Jews into the gas chambers. From the material already quoted, it should be obvious that a more unlikely arrangement to lull Polish Jews into doing anything would be hard to imagine. The prospect of bathing could have only had the opposite effect. In addition to their fear of showers and bathing generally, it was inevitable that there would have also been many false rumors which could have only compounded the Jewish resistance.

Was the visit of a highly respected professor of hygiene, Professor Pfannenstiel, to Belzec and Treblinka only for the sake of putting on a convincing disguise? His visit makes no real sense unless the purpose of these camps was to do precisely what all other *Durchgangslager* or transit camps were intended to do, i.e., to

delouse and medically examine and possibly quarantine people who were being moved to a new location. Although specific details about Treblinka, Belzec and Sobibor may no longer be available, the planning and organization in general was not a secret. The planning and organization was thoroughly described in German wartime technical journals such as *Gesundheits-Ingenieur* and *Arbeitseinsatz und Arbeitslosenhilfe*.³⁵

Basically, each transit camp or *Durchgangslager* was divided into a "clean" zone and a "dirty" zone with a strictly enforced barrier between the two zones. A delousing station straddled the boundary between the two zones at some point. Each camp was arranged so that new arrivals could only enter the "dirty" zone. To get over to the "clean" zone, they had to pass through the delousing station. Inside the delousing station, each person had to remove all of their clothing and belongings which would then be fumigated with cyanide, or steamed, or else heated with hot air while they took a shower and underwent a thorough medical examination which might include X-rays to determine their state of health and whether or not they had any contagious diseases such as typhus and tuberculosis. If they failed to pass the exam, they might be sent back to wherever they had come from originally or they might simply be kept in a quarantine area for several weeks. If they passed, they would eventually be sent on, usually to another camp and put to work.

Some additional details for handling people riding the trains in Eastern Europe were given by a German doctor:

The large delousing facilities worked in the last years according to the following principle: The train arrives at the unclean side of the railroad station. All passengers then give their baggage on the unclean side to the baggage handlers. They are then led into the unclean changing rooms where specially constructed iron clothes hangers and linen sacks which can be boiled with valuables and flammable objects are available. After giving up the clothes hangers with their clothing, they each receive a control token. Now they go with their boots and the sack with valuables to a short medical examination, for the sorting out (selection) of persons sick with infection, and after receiving a handtowel and soap to the showers. Here even the boots are disinfected with 5% creosol soap solution. After showering, one receives a linen suit. In the dressing room of the clean side, they wait for the calling of their control token number and then the deloused clothing is put on again. Upon leaving the delousing facility one receives a certificate and can then, after picking up one's baggage on the clean side of the baggage area, get on to the train which is waiting on the clean side of the railroad station for continuation of the trip. The entire facility is so constructed that it is impossible to go directly from an arriving train into a departing train without passing through the delousing facility. In all rooms of the facility there are, of course, medical personnel who, among other things, see to it that all

flammable objects are taken out of the pockets and that all pieces of clothing and pockets are turned inside out before being hung on the hangers.³⁶

The drawings that one occasionally sees in the Holocaust literature of Treblinka, Belzec and Sobibor and which we are told were drawn from memory, usually by “survivors,” do bear some resemblance to the drawings in the German technical literature, especially with regard to the separation of dirty and clean zones and some kind of facility with gas chambers straddling the boundary between the two zones.

What has apparently happened over the years is that a certain amount of truth has filtered its way through the lies and nonsense. For example, when it was claimed that the Jews were killed at Treblinka with steam—at least until the Diesel method was supposedly developed—there was probably some truth to that story. The truth is that steam was used, but for delousing of clothing and not for murder. When the Germans referred to Treblinka, Belzec and Sobibor as *Durchgangslager*, it was precisely because those places actually were *Durchgangslager* in the sense in which the Germans always used that term; the *Durchgangslager* were places which people had to “pass through” on their journey to some other destination.

Were the trains for the deportation of Jews fumigated?

As bad as the hygienic and sanitary conditions were in the Jewish ghettos, conditions on the trains carrying Jews must have been even worse. We are assured of this by the “Holocaust literature” itself. That literature abounds with stories of misery and filth on crowded railroad cars, in many cases freight cars, which were indeed used to move many Jews to the East. On the return trips to the West, these same railroad cars would logically have been used to transport freight and people, German troops prisoners and Eastern European workers.

Is it conceivable that railroad cars used on one occasion to transport Jews in conditions that were even worse than those in the Jewish ghettos would be subsequently used to transport non-Jews back to the West *without* thorough delousing and cleaning? The answer must be—no! It would have been madness for the Germans not to delouse these trains. If there was ever a need to delouse a train, that need would surely have been greatest for trains that had carried Polish Jews. The mere fact that a train had come from the Warsaw ghetto where typhus had been rampant would, in itself, have been reason enough for a thorough delousing of the entire train afterwards, before using it for any other purpose.

The Budapest Fumigation Plant for Mass-Murder?

How then could the knowledge of the operation of those superbly

designed gas chambers, which used Zyklon-B as a matter of routine to delouse railroad trains, have been unknown to the very same Nazis who were supposedly exterminating the Jews?

Furthermore, once the existence and the locations of the railroad delousing tunnels would have been known to the mass-murderers, why would they have ever again bothered to use anything else for mass-murder?

The fact that neither the Budapest gas chamber nor any other railroad delousing tunnel, either in Hungary or anywhere else, has ever been implicated by any of the Holocaust “scholars” merely shows how twisted the Holocaust story really is. Surely, the SS would have seen the logic in using the gas chamber in Budapest to exterminate the Hungarian Jews, if extermination had ever been their intent, rather than transport these same Jews to Auschwitz in mid-1944 when Germany was desperately trying to move troops and supplies to the Normandy invasion area. Surely they would have used the Budapest gas chamber rather than trying to use “gas chambers” which were hardly more than ordinary cellars with small holes in the ceilings through which the Zyklon-B granules were supposedly dumped either onto the heads of intended victims or else down perforated sheet-metal false columns with internal spirals.

Those claims are absurd for technical reasons alone. However, they are also absurd because of the superb technology which they could have easily been employed to do the terrible deed properly. Surely, Adolf Eichmann and at least some of the people around him with their expertise in railroad transportation and scheduling would have known—the Final Solution of the Jewish Problem was, after all, largely a problem of transport even on the basis of what the Holocaust “scholars” write themselves.

Can anyone believe that the Nazi murderers shipped hundreds of thousands of Jews away from a gas chamber which was one of the most advanced large gas chambers in the entire world, designed specifically for Zyklon-B, to kill them instead in cellar rooms which had been designed as cold-storage mortuaries but subsequently disguised as showers?

Conclusions

Despite great progress in hygiene and sanitation in the last century and despite German efforts throughout most of the war to practice good hygiene and sanitation in the concentration camps, conditions by the end of the war had deteriorated horribly. The history of the American Civil War and other wars of the last century shows that conditions in the regular military camps of that era, not just prison camps, were appallingly similar.

Anyone seriously interested in possible applications of Zyklon-B would have certainly read the DEGESCH advertisements showing large gas chambers for the fumigation of railroads and trucks.

Surely, anyone reading the relevant technical literature about Zyklon-B would have also read the detailed discussions of the same gas chambers and how they were constructed with blowers and ductwork for circulation, specially coated interior walls as well as heaters to raise the interior temperatures above 78.6° F.

The very idea that the Germans would have constructed showers and delousing facilities in order to lull Polish Jews into gas chambers is ridiculous. Polish Jews were probably the least likely people in all of Europe, if not the world, to react calmly or peacefully to the prospect of bathing under any circumstances.

Polish Jews lived in highly unsanitary surroundings, in which typhus had, in fact, already reached epidemic proportions and from where typhus was more than likely to spread despite a strict quarantine imposed by the Germans. Polish Jews accounted for roughly 3/4 of all known cases of typhus for all of Poland not only during the early part of World War II but also during the years following World War I after German troops had left.

The Germans would have been especially meticulous in fumigating or delousing precisely those trains which were used after 1941 to move large numbers of Polish Jews to the East. On the basis of the "Holocaust" literature itself, even the Polish Jews regarded those trains as appallingly filthy. If there were ever a need to fumigate railroad trains, then it would have certainly been those trains. Regardless of the ultimate fate of the Jews at Treblinka or Belzec or Sobibor once they had stepped off the trains, the Germans would have certainly fumigated those trains afterwards before using them to carry German troops or prisoners or freight on the return trips to the West. To do less than that would have been totally inconsistent with numerous Jewish comments that the Germans were "obsessed" with cleanliness and fear of typhus.

German officials involved with the scheduling of railroads in Eastern Europe would have been well aware of the need to also schedule fumigations of railroad trains which had carried lice-infested cargo or people or which had simply passed through areas in which typhus was present such as the Warsaw ghetto area. Adolf Eichmann and many others involved with "The Final Solution of the Jewish Problem" would have been well aware of the need to delouse those trains. They would have certainly had the good sense to also recognize the obvious: that the gas chambers which were being used to fumigate empty trains with Zyklon-B could just as easily be used to fumigate trains filled with Jews. They would have certainly had the good sense to recognize that the same gas chambers used to fumigate empty trains after the Jews had stepped off could just as easily be used to fumigate trains before the Jews stepped off. What could have been simpler or more logical. What greater cover or deception could one imagine—and no fake showers or delousing

stations or transit camps either. For these reasons, and many others, the Holocaust story is absurd.

Notes

1. Melville D. Mackenzie, "Some Practical Considerations in the Control of Louse-borne Typhus Fever in Great Britain in the Light of Experience in Russia, Poland, Rumania and China," *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine*, Vol. 35 (London: 1942) p. 152 [p. 12 of: Section of Epidemiology and State Medicine].
2. In German technical jargon, the term *Begasungstunnel* (in English: "fumigation tunnel") was applied for many years to the fumigation plants even though these were not true tunnels—they were only open at one end. For example, in the article by Peters to which he refers in Appendix A—Peters, "Durchgasung von Eisenbahnwagen mit Bläusäure (Fumigation of Railroad Cars with Hydrocyanic Acid)," *Anzeiger für Schädlingkunde* Vol. 13, Heft 3. pp. 35-41—one can see two photos of the *Begasungstunnel* in El Paso, Texas as well as one of the *Begasungstunnel* in Sarajewo. The persistence of the term "tunnel" is an obvious link to the typhus control measures employed by the British, and probably others, during the post WW1 epidemics. It is also a clear suggestion of much larger chambers that could have been employed.
3. This particular journal was probably the one which any especially interested person would have been most likely to examine for detailed information about the actual application of Zyklon-B.
4. *Der praktische Desinfektor* (Berlin: Verlag Erich Deleiter, 1941), Heft 2, Inside cover.
5. F. P. Berg, "The German Delousing Chambers," *Journal for Historical Review*, (Torrance, CA: Institute for Historical Review, 1986), pp. 73-94.
6. Brooks, p. 126.
7. Paul Steiner, *Disease in the Civil War* (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1968), p. 10.
8. Brooks, p. 132.
9. Stewart Brooks, *Civil War Medicine* (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1966), p. 125.
10. Brooks, p. 6.
11. Brooks, p. 108-9.
12. Brooks, p. 126.
13. Friedrich Prinzing, *Epidemics Resulting from Wars* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1916), p. 181. Prinzing gives a slightly higher number 19,060 than Brooks for the total number of Confederate dead in Northern prisons even though both sets of figures are based upon *The Medical and Surgical History of the War of the Rebellion*, J.K. Barnes editor (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1870).

14. Fielding H. Garrison, *Notes on the History of Military Medicine* (Washington: Association of Military Surgeons, 1922), p. 170 quoted from Duncan, *Military Surgeon* (Washington: 1920 and 1921).
15. Garrison, pp. 171-2.
16. See Prinzing above.
17. Wilhelm Pfannenstiel, "Der moderne Krieg als Lehrmeister der Hygiene (The Modern War as a Master Teacher of Hygiene)," *Bremer Beiträge zur Naturwissenschaft*, Vol. 8 (Oldenbourg: Gerhard Stalling Verlag, 1944), Heft 2, pp. 7-13.
18. John E. Gordon, "Louse-borne Typhus Fever in the European Theater of Operations, U. S. Army, 1945," in *Rickettsial Diseases of Man* (Washington, DC: American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1948) pp. 21-7.
19. Chuck Yeager, *Yeager: An Autobiography* (New York: Bantam Books, 1985) pp. 79-80.
20. Mackenzie, pp. 144-5 [pp. 4-5 of: Section of Epidemiology and State Medicine].
21. Abel, "Von Hungersnot und Seuchen in Russland" ("Of Famine and Pestilence in Russia"), *Müchener Medizinische Wochenschrift*, Vol. 70 (April 20, 1923) Nr. 16, pp. 485-87.
22. William A. Davis, "Typhus at Belsen," *The American Journal of Hygiene*, Vol. 46 (July, 1947) p. 77 reprinted in: United States of America Typhus Commission, *Collected Reprints No. 14* (Washington, DC: War Department).
23. Edward W. Goodall, "Typhus Fever in Poland, 1916 to 1919," *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine*, Vol. 13 (1920) Section of Epidemiology and State Medicine, pp. 265-73. Goodall had been President of the Section of Epidemiology and State Medicine for the Society at the time of publication.
24. Prinzing, p. 86.
25. Prinzing, p. 88.
26. Prinzing, p. 118.
27. Alfred E. Cornebise, *Typhus and Doughboys* (Newark, Delaware: University of Delaware Press, 1982) p. 65.
28. Cornebise, p. 117.
29. Lucy S. Dawidowicz, *The War Against The Jews 1933-1945*, (New York: Bantam Books, 1975), p. 289.
30. Cornebise, p. 66.
31. Cornebise, p. 122.
32. A. Czerniakow, *The Warsaw Diary of Adam Czerniakow*, eds. Hilberg, Staron, Kermisz (New York: Stein and Day, 1968), p. 360.
33. Martin Blumenson, *The Patton Papers* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1974) pp. 753-4.
34. "Typhus Causes a Truce," *Journal of the American Medical Association* (May 19, 1945) p. 220. The JAMA story explained that the reason the Germans negotiated a transfer of the camp to the British was "because

typhus is rampant in the camp and it is vital that no prisoners be released until the infection is checked. The advancing British agreed to refrain from bombing or shelling the area of the camp, and the Germans agreed to leave behind an armed guard which would be allowed to return to their own lines a week after the British arrival." Numerous articles in *The Lancet* over the next few months gave more details. That the food shortage in Belsen was not deliberate but had only arisen in the last months of the war is explained by Dr. Russell Barton, "Belsen," *History of the Second World War*, Part 109 (Michael Cavendish Publications Ltd., 1966) pp. 3025-9.

35. See for example: Franz Puntigam, "Hygienische Gesichtspunkte bei der Auswahl des Platzes für ein zu errichtendes Durchgangslager mit Entlausungseinrichtungen für ausländische Arbeitskräfte (Hygienic Consideration in the Site Selection for a Transit Camp with Delousing Facilities for Foreign Workers)," *Arbeitseinsatz und Arbeitslosenhilfe* (Berlin: Feb.-Mar., 1942), Heft 3/6, pp. 27-8,— Hucho, "Die Durchgangslager für ausländische Arbeitskräfte" ("The Transit Camps for Foreign Workers"), *Arbeitseinsatz und Arbeitslosenhilfe* (Berlin: Nov.-Dec., 1943), Heft 21/24, pp. 124-7,— H. Kayser, "Ärztliche Erfahrungen bei der Planung, dem Bau und Betrieb von Durchgangslagern für ausländische Arbeitskräfte" ("Medical Experiences in the Planning, Construction and Operation of Transit Camps for Foreign Workers"), *Arbeitseinsatz und Arbeitslosenhilfe* (Berlin: Nov.-Dec., 1943) Heft 21/24, pp. 127-9. The most detailed discussion with many construction plans was given in: Franz Puntigam, "Die Durchgangslager der Arbeitseinsatzverwaltung als Einrichtungen der Gesundheitsvorsorge" ("The Transit Camps of the Labour Supply Administration as Facilities for Protecting the Public Health"), *Gesundheits-Ingenieur*, Vol. 67 (1944) Heft 2, pp. 47-56.
36. Heinrich Kruse, *Leitfaden für die Ausbildung in der Desinfektion und Schädlingsbekämpfung* (Göttingen: Verlag Muster-Schmidt, 1948, 4th printing), pp. 85-6. Although this particular printing was made after the war, it seems clear enough from the printing number and from the context that the events described occurred during the war.

APPENDIX A

A Modern Railroad-Disinfecting Plant

(*Eine moderne Eisenbahn-Entwesungsanlage*)

by Dr. G. Peters

Translated by F. P. Berg and E. Kniepkamp from:

Anzeiger für Schädlingskunde, Vol. 14

(Berlin: Verlagsbuchhandlung Paul Parey, 1938), Heft 8, pp. 98-9.

In Heft 3 of this journal from the previous year, we summarized the development over the years of methods for fumigating railroad trains with hydrocyanic acid. Within that discussion, several

fumigation tunnels were also mentioned, some of which are in operation in the Balkans and some in Central America. Finally, the application of vacuum plants (*Vakuumanlagen*) for this purpose was also discussed. In the meantime, another quite interesting, larger fumigation chamber for railroad cars which deserves a special discussion has been built and brought into operation in Budapest.

The facility which was proposed by the Hungarian State Railways and constructed in collaboration with the German Company for Pest Control, G.m.b.H. [DEGESCH], Frankfurt on the Main, is special because it is the first time that a fumigation chamber on the largest scale has been created and tested with a circulatory system. The circulatory arrangement (*Kreislaufführung*) for mixing air and gas is known to have great advantage[s]: on the one hand, the gas evolves [is driven out of the granules in the cans of Zyklon-B] more easily and, on the other hand, the gas is distributed faster.¹ We need not

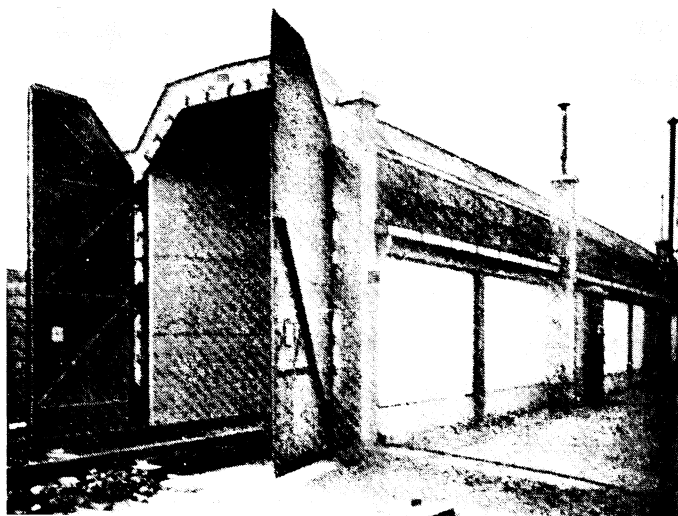


Figure 1: Railroad Fumigating Plant in Budapest (empty with doors open).

examine the construction of such circulatory plants in great detail—it is sufficient to point out that: circulatory gas-generating equipment (*Kreislaufvergasungsapparaturen*) allows one to easily and safely handle even the most poisonous substances; furthermore, by means of a repeated exchange of the entire air-gas mixture during the first hour of fumigation, the concentration of the air-gas mixture is ideally distributed so that the losses [of cyanide] due to adsorption are minimized; and finally, because of the special design of such chambers, they can be vented with the doors closed. In this way the

circulatory principle (*Kreislaufprinzip*) encompasses technical improvements which increase the likelihood of success of the fumigation procedure while, at the same time, significantly reducing the safety hazards. It was these advantages which apparently also motivated the Hungarian State Railways to make the first attempt at the construction of such a facility in Budapest. Already after several months of almost uninterrupted use of the chamber, the elegance and safety of this facility have been clearly recognized.

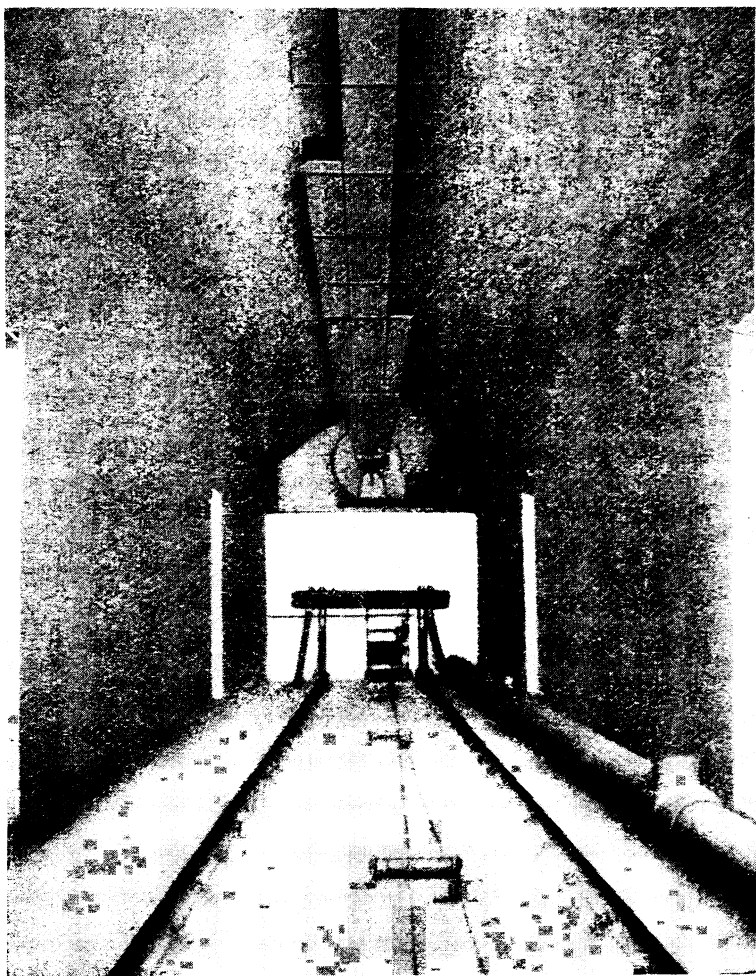


Figure 2: Interior view of the chamber with three openings in the supply ductwork (on the ceiling) and a return pipe (on the floor)—at the rear wall a powerful blower for mixing and venting.

The plant is used for fumigating railroad passenger coaches as well as for disinfecting freight cars. For the first type of application, one is concerned with bugs (*Wanzen*) and vermin whereas for the second type of application, one is especially concerned with the extermination of chicken mites (*Hühnermilben*). The transport of chickens in Hungary leads to a heavy accumulation of mites in the cars used for this purpose which are, as a result, frequently infested, not only within the railroad cars themselves but, also, on the exteriors of the railroad cars. It was precisely for this reason that one had to construct a fumigation tunnel; otherwise the fumigation of only the interiors of the railroad cars would simply not have eliminated these pests.

The accompanying photographs give some idea as to the exemplary manner in which the fumigation plant was actually constructed, structurally as well as technically. (Only the construction of the large doubled door with countless screw joints is unnecessarily cumbersome.) The gas-tightness of the steel-reinforced concrete chamber is so great that when the blowers are turned on inside the closed chamber, the pressure drops almost 200 mm H²O which is truly remarkable for a room with a volume of 350 cubic meters. The venting as well as the circulation of the air-gas mixture is achieved by a powerful medium-pressure blower which is sized large enough to permit 30 complete air-exchanges per hour. For this purpose, the supply and return ductwork are arranged diametrically, one above the other, (see **Figure 2**) with appropriate registers or louvers. For a single fumigation, two cans of Zyklon (see **Figure 3**) are sufficient. The cans are opened in the "apparatus room" inside special gasifiers which are built into a bypass (*Nebenschluss*) of the circulatory system so that in just a few minutes, all of the gas is drawn out of the cans so that the cans can be removed totally free of poison.

During the cold months of the year, the facility is heated by four furnaces so that the minimum temperature of 20-25° C. (68-78.2° F.) which is necessary for rapid penetration can be achieved quickly and maintained for weeks at a time. The furnaces were specially designed by the Hungarian Korompai, a member of the Board of Public Works (*Baurat*). They require no service or maintenance for days at a time and are unusually economical to operate.

The chamber operates almost without interruption and is at this time probably the most modern facility of this type.

APPENDIX B

Transportation Hygiene and Disinfestation **(Verkehrshygiene und Schädlingsbekämpfung)**

by Dr. Ludwig Gassner, Frankfurt on the Main
translated by F. P. Berg and E. Kniepkamp from:
Gesundheits-Ingenieur, Vol. 66 (1943) Heft 15, pp. 174-76.

One special area within the field of pest control for the control of carriers of disease pertains to the disinfestation of transportation vehicles. In this category, the most important above all else are the railroads. Practically all of the civilized nations in the world have dealt with the problem of disinfecting railroad cars, but generally only in a theoretical sense. As a rule, it is less often disinfection, in other words, the sterilization or killing of bacteria which is meant than the extermination of vermin for which, since it is primarily insects and their brood which is involved, the word "disinsection" was coined. Even in Russia, this question was discussed more than 20 years ago¹ and one arrived at the only correct conclusion that, on the basis of all experience up to that time, the disinfestation of railroad cars could only be done thoroughly if one used hydrocyanic acid.

Ever since World War I, this substance, which is gaseous at room temperature, was used as a standard issue preventive substance (flour moth control in large flour mills). Thanks to thorough preliminary studies and the receptiveness of the responsible German authorities one could no longer disregard this gas for use in the food industry. The prejudices and above all the great fear of the "devastating poison" disappeared. During this period (1916) the first hydrocyanic acid fumigation of a military-hospital train took place in Germany and in a rather makeshift manner which was replaced several years later by the German Zyklon method (absorbed liquid hydrocyanic acid) which reduced the danger for well-trained technicians to an absolute minimum.

It was and still is true that of all the methods for the killing of clothes lice, bugs and fleas with larvae, pupae and eggs—the goal is achieved most ideally with hydrocyanic acid gas.

For the practical implementation of such a disinfestation, various approaches to the problem come to mind:

1. Disinfestation in the open without a cover over a thoroughly sealed vehicle which one intends to reuse.
2. Disinfestation in the open with a tent cover over the vehicle.
3. Disinfestation in a gas chamber.

Within Germany proper there was very little reason for intensive pest and vermin control of railroad coaches and freight cars.² But the necessity for this was extremely great in several Balkan countries, Spain, Africa and South America where, incidentally, the German methods became predominant. The elimination of disease carriers in the coaches and sleeping compartments often goes hand-in-hand with the extermination of vermin that infest foodstuffs and provisions in freight cars. Of the three methods which have been mentioned, the method which is preferred almost exclusively employs fumigation chambers.

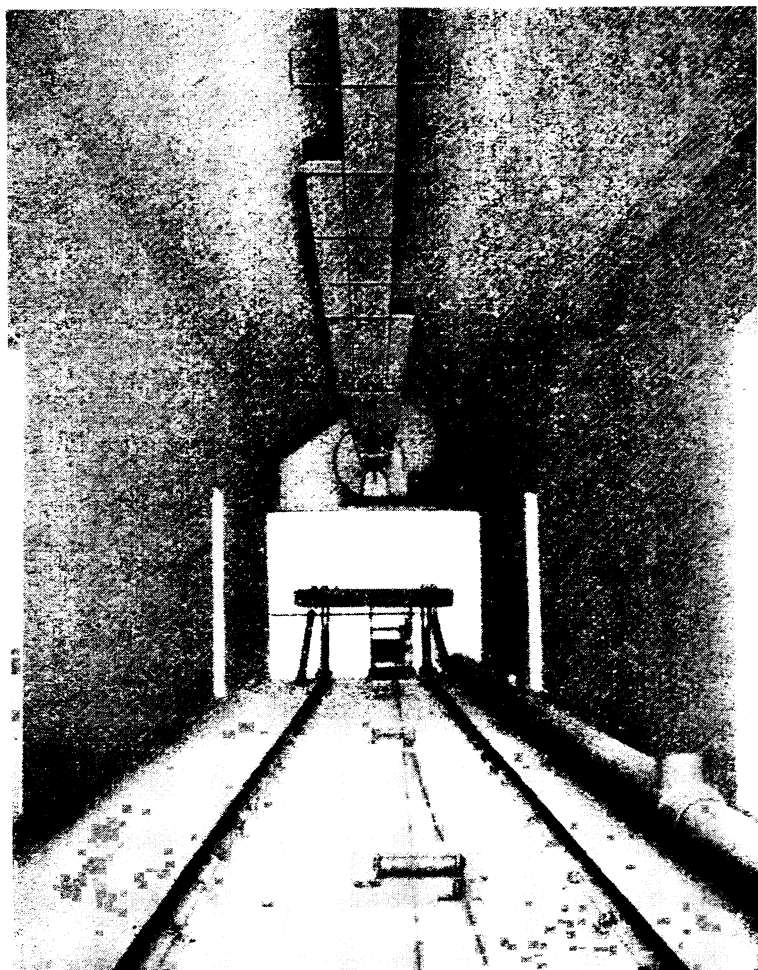


Figure 1: Facility in Budapest—Interior View

Probably the oldest published work on this subject was by Schumacher and is entitled "The Disinfection of Railroad Coaches in Repair Shops."³ In Europe such chambers exist in Potsdam, Cologne-Nippes, Posen, Zagreb, Budapest, Bucharest, Sarajevo, Skoplje. The most ideal arrangement is a circulatory system, which can handle even the most poisonous substance with ease and safety. There are also fumigation tunnels, as in Sarajevo for example, which can handle two railroad cars at a time. Of importance is the rapid and uniform distribution of the gas by means of circulation ducts or blowers, at least partly because the speed of the operation is the very key to its efficiency. Only relatively small amounts of the gas are necessary for this work. A Zyklon container with 500 grams of hydrocyanic acid is already sufficient to delouse a modern express passenger railroad car (approx. 200 cubic meters); larger containers are used in the fumigation tunnels where 500 to 1000 grams of hydrocyanic acid, depending upon the temperature, are used per 100 cubic meters of interior volume—the higher the temperature, the greater the effect of any given amount of the gas.⁴

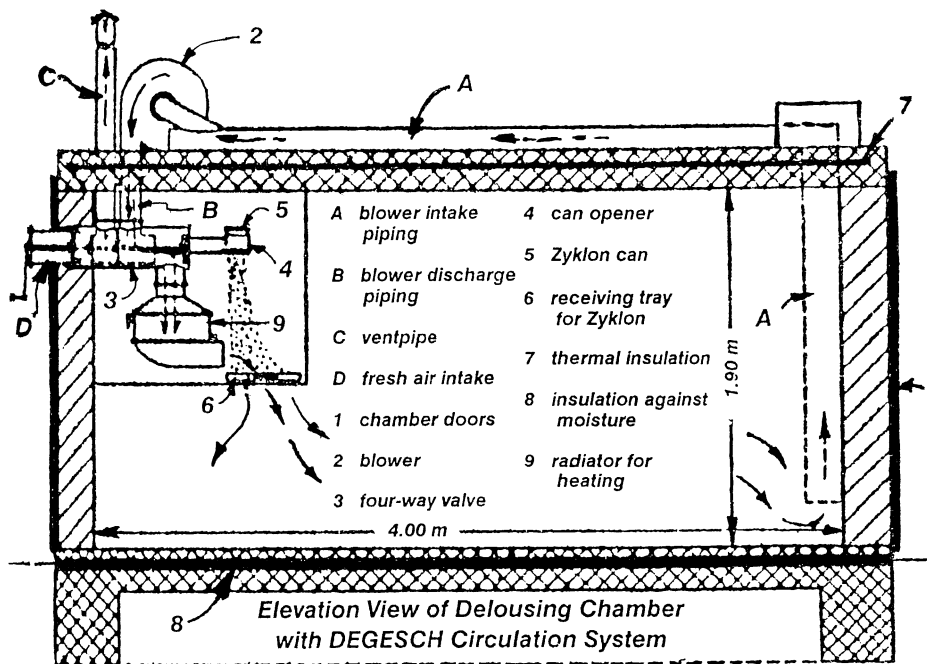


Figure 2: Schematic of a Circulatory Facility

Another hydrocyanic acid method which has recently been used here and there is the spreading of Calcid, a powdery cyanide of calcium (zyanwasserstoffsäurem Kalzium), which reacts with the moisture in the air and gives off quantities of hydrocyanic acid but which leaves traces behind whose removal is time-consuming. Because of the greater amounts of material which are needed to achieve an effective gas concentration, one must also expect longer fumigating periods (*längere Arbeitsbelastung*).

It should also be emphasized that the use of hydrocyanic acid gas, on passenger railroad cars for example, has absolutely no effect on upholstery, leather, fabrics, metals, paints and interior furnishings of any sort.

On June 23, 1942 the Reich Ministry of Transport issued an unpublished decree to plant managers and others which specifies the measures to prevent the spread of typhus (disinfection of passenger cars and freight cars). Only a small number of disinfection substances are mentioned.

In 1941 a decree was published regarding the removal of contagious substances from trains and ships engaged in the transport of livestock within the Generalgouvernement [those parts of German-occupied Poland that were not annexed]⁵ which specified precisely when and under what circumstances trains had to be immaculately cleaned and disinfected; and also, which chemicals could be used for this purpose. The chemicals which were permitted were primarily a mixture of cresol and sulfuric acid, caustic soda solution, concentrated watersoluble chloride of lime preparations or raw chloramin (*Rohchloramin*). It can be noted also that a single certifiable cleaning and disinfestation made within the German Reich, would be sufficient [to meet the regulation].

Dry heat together with vacuum (*Unterdruck*) has been used to disinfest railroad cars. This hot air process has, however, not proven itself successful in the long run; furthermore, it only works in stationary chambers, as long as sufficient fuel is available for heating.

For all practical purposes, the best method for the fumigation of small spaces on ships is probably with T-gas (ethyloxide).

No less important, but particularly during peace time, are the methods for exterminating rats on ships. It is well known that the rats which exist on every large ocean liner can spread the plague bacillus, the germ of this terrible disease, which lives on or in the rat flea. One used to try to kill off the ship rats with makeshift methods. In America one tried at first to use poison gas. Ever since the International Sanitary Convention which was ratified on June 21, 1926 in Paris by most countries of the world⁶ this despicable dangerous parasite has been fought in an organized fashion. Of course, one has tried to get rid of the rats, as already mentioned,

from ships arriving from countries which may be plague-infested. At this point, the method which comes to mind is the very practical Nocht-Giemsa process (producer gas) which was formerly used in the harbor of Hamburg. The fight against ship rats became a universal responsibility only with the implementation of the international treaty mentioned above which provided for uniform procedures for the control of contagious disease and, of special importance, even went so far as to specify the actual measures for controlling the spread of diseases that are a public menace because of international shipping.

In Germany one worked a great deal with sulfur dioxide (according to the Clayton Method or through the generation of SO_2 from carbon disulfide, Salforkose, and sulfur preparations, etc.), but this was steadily replaced by hydrocyanic acid over the years. The spreading of poisonous bait had only limited success on ocean-going vessels because the rodents within the cabins, galleys, and cargo bays were able to find more suitable food elsewhere. The "rat-proofing" system which was introduced sometime ago in the United States of America did not prove itself over the long run.

This method relied upon simple devices to prevent rats from climbing onto ships at dockside without considering the fact that these animals could also be brought on board with the cargo.

Regarding ship disinfection in general, hydrocyanic acid won hands down over the competition. Appropriate personnel for the intended tasks are the exterminators, health inspectors and fumigation companies. The certification of the fumigation results is the responsibility of the harbor authorities.

Aside from pest rats—laboratory experiments in Algiers have shown that a single rat may at times carry as many as 2500 fleas and each flea can be the host to 5000 pest bacilli⁷—one must also mention mice (Weilsche disease), lice (typhus), mosquitoes (malaria, yellow fever), and flies (typhoid, dysentery) as carriers of disease on ships.⁸ With the regular control of the most dangerous parasites, the rats, one is also controlling all other vermin on board as well; of course, this includes bed bugs, fleas and cockroaches.

Hydrocyanic acid gas kills all vermin including the brood and, because of its great ability to penetrate, is able to fill every space as well as all cracks and hiding places as no other gas available for pest control purposes and, as has already been mentioned, is harmless to furnishings and cargo because of its chemical inactivity.⁹ Even foodstuffs need to be removed only if they happen to be uncovered liquids. But, live animals and plants, photographic products, raw coffee and tea must all be removed from aboard ship. For years hydrocyanic acid has been applied in the form of Zyklon. The ship being fumigated must be cleared of all people except for the ship's watch and must be distinguished until the ship is released by means

of a special flag by day and by a particular light by night.

A few words are still necessary regarding rat elimination from decks with Calcid. On the basis of experience, rats are often present, for example, in the steampipe insulation, under the winches, in the potato bins, lifeboats and similar equipment. For the procedure to be successful, it is necessary to exterminate these as well. Whereas when one is working with Zyklon one simply spreads out the contents of a can upon pieces of paper, on deck one normally uses Calcid tablets [instead] which are ground into a fine powder in a pulverizer and blown onto the locations to be disinfected.

Regarding the hygienic treatment of ocean-going vessels in German harbors, there is a regulation from the Reich Minister of the Interior dated December 21, 1931¹⁰ in which the extermination of rats is regulated in Paragraph 12.

That the field of hygiene for transportation vehicles has been extended just recently to include airplanes is not really surprising since it has been established that dangerous disease carriers can even be carried by aircraft. The danger is especially great when the airplanes land in regions which are still today a constant source for disease.¹¹ In the International Sanitary Treaty for Air Travel of April 12, 1933 (The Hague) a series of preventive measures have been established for the removal of vermin and rats as well as for sanitary services in airports and the possible quarantine of travelers, the treatment of the sick and—under certain circumstances—the pest control of goods and mail. Foremost among the diseases which can be carried are: plague, cholera, yellow fever, typhus and smallpox. In the treaty just mentioned, the controlling substances are not specified. However, at the conference of the International Sanitary Office in Paris in May of 1937 a report from the Quarantine Commission for Air Travel discussed pyrethrum powder, hydrocyanic acid and other fumigating substances for killing mosquitoes on aircraft and also indicated the toxicity of these gases for humans.

In reality, it is very difficult to disinfect aircraft with gas even though it has been done in the past and will continue to be done again many more times. A fumigation of a covered aircraft (often practically impossible because of the often immense proportions of the wings) or an aircraft in a hangar is possible. However, it is necessary to protect the expensive, important, often oil-enclosed and not hermetically sealed instruments in the cockpit; oils can absorb gas—they can even combine chemically with them. *Aedes* and *anopheles*, the carriers of yellow fever and malaria, are most effectively destroyed with gas but these species of mosquitoes can also be exterminated with pyrethrum-based insecticides. In the United States one is less particular. Griffiths and Michel¹² recommend without any reservations the use of hydrocyanic acid

preparations and Carboxide, a mixture similar to the German Cartox which is made from ethyl oxide and carbon dioxide. In South Africa and even North America, airplanes were already treated without any hesitation with Zyklon with special care for the wing interior spaces which could not be sealed. Nonetheless, the use of highly toxic gas (by the natives) in transcontinental air traffic has not yet established itself; similarly, it has not been possible, at least for the time being, to implement the plan to build mosquito-free aircraft.

Before World War II Germany had no special reason to disinfest aircraft for hygienic reasons. However, many experiments had been initiated which could not be completed under the circumstances—otherwise, German discoveries would have certainly pioneered in this field once again.

It is hardly necessary to mention the de-mothing of automobiles (passenger vehicles) and the fumigation of trucks for the extermination of vermin that infest foodstuffs. Clothes moths, including their brood, as well as other vermin which infest foodstuffs and provisions can be easily neutralized with sulfur dioxide (difficult to remove), T-gas and, most of all, hydrocyanic acid. The methods are, as is apparent from the above, simple and safe; but, these measures play almost no role as far as hygiene is concerned. Delousing of passenger vehicles (carriages, streetcars, boats) is regulated by a decree from the Reich Minister of the Interior of February 13, 1941.¹³

In closing, it should be added that [supposedly] louse-infested railroad trains, airplanes, etc., are in reality often quite harmless because there simply may not even be a single louse present. As Rose¹⁴ explains, it is not the suspected means of transportation but quite often it is the louse-infested people themselves in close proximity to one another in overcrowded vehicles who are the true source of the lice. In other words, one should not overestimate the benefits to be derived from disinfesting a totally lifeless transport vehicle.

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11. H.W., "Flugzeugentwesung in Afrika (Aircraft Disinfestation in Africa)," *Der Praktische Disinfektor*, Vol. 30 (1938) Heft 6, pp. 189-90.
12. T.H.D. Griffiths, "Procédés efficaces pour la destruction des moustiques à bord des aéronefs," *Offices international d'Hygiène publique*, Vol. 27 (1935) Heft 3, pp. 550-53 and C. Michel, "Destruction des moustiques et autres insectes à bord des aéroplanes," *Office international d'Hygiène publique*, Vol. 27 (1935) Heft 3, pp. 553-57.
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14. G. Rose, "Fortschritte in der Bekämpfung der Kleiderlaus (Progress in the Control of the Clothes Louse)," *Reichs Gesundheits Blatt*, Vol. 18 (1943) Heft 5, pp. 53-7.

APPENDIX C

The Epidemiology of Typhus in the Generalgouvernement

by Assistant Physician Prof. Dr. E. Zimmermann
(deceased at the front)

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Zeitschrift für Hygiene und Infektionskrankheiten, Vol. 123
(Berlin: Springer Verlag, 1942), Heft 5, pp. 552-7.

Typhus has always reigned as an endemic disease in the Eastern and Southeastern provinces of the former Polish state. This was especially true for the provinces of Wilna, Nowogrodek and

Stanislawow. Here during severe outbreaks, about 5-10% and more of the population would fall ill annually whereas in the Western parts of Poland, the disease declined steadily over the years so that it was virtually unknown in the present Warthegau or else occurred only in isolated cases or clusters without any tendency to spread. During the last years before the present war, the pestilence had almost been eradicated within the central parts of the country, just as conditions in the Eastern parts were also improving. That the present wartime dislocations would again increase the frequency of typhus was to be expected since it had always been a typical plague of war, but the magnitude of the reoccurrence in 1940 was many times less than had been expected. If we adjust the number of previously reported cases [for all of Poland] in order to try to get numbers that only apply to the area of the present day Generalgouvernement—obviously, these values will be only rough approximations in order to be able to make comparisons with those for 1940—we get the following.

TABLE 1.

**Typhus occurrences per year in the
present-day Generalgouvernement.**

1919	44,000	1930	320
1920	34,000	1931	420
1921	10,000	1932	500
1922	8,500	1933	680
1923	2,200	1934	1,000
1924	1,500	1935	800
1925	800	1936	740
1926	700	1937	680
1927	600	1938	700
1928	500	1939	?
1929	400	1940	7,900

Obviously, the statistics cannot show all occurrences which took place because it can be assumed that, at the very least, the undiagnosed, mild cases were not reported. It is quite possible that the true morbidity rates are actually double or triple the values which have been reported.

It is well-known that previously during the world war [World War I], typhus had been widespread on the Eastern front and had caused sickness among our own troops. Then in 1919-1920, the Russian-Polish war came again with great troop movements, refugee treks, food shortages, great poverty and from 1921-1922, the Poles returned in great waves from plague-infested Russia. And so, it is not at all surprising that *Typhus exanthematicus* developed dramatically at that time. With the gradual consolidation of the

political situation, which resulted in an improvement in the general hygienic conditions, the pestilence subsided quickly and steadily until the general economic crisis of 1930-33 with its unemployment interrupted the favorable progress and brought with it another peak in typhus mortality in 1934. After that, conditions improved once again. Although many attempts have been made to try to relate the reduction of the epidemic to the anti-typhus inoculations given by Weigl after 1930, the contribution of these inoculations to the favorable development could only have been rather modest since the decline of the typhus had already begun earlier. According to Weigl, 67,893 persons had been vaccinated but these were predominantly doctors, sanitary personnel, civil servants, people close to patients and others who might be endangered by close contact.

It was inevitable that troop and refugee movements, in addition to economic difficulties arising from the developments in 1939, would lead to a reemergence of the epidemic but an ever-increasing number of cases in strength could only be expected at the beginning of 1940 since the usual course of the typhus epidemic would produce many cases. At any rate, since the morbidity rate did not increase more than usual in 1940 and since our troops were practically unaffected by the disease, a number of favorable factors were cited: on the one hand, ideological beliefs of our troops resulted in less fraternization with the Jewish population, i.e. the carriers of the epidemic, than during the world war. On the other hand, this war was over too quickly to allow the disease to establish itself and to spread. Additionally, this time the refugee treks came, in contrast to the years after the world war, not from a center of contagion (*Seuchenherd*), but from the West, from a region which was free of the pestilence.

Although it was in the nature of earlier population figures and epidemiological statistics in Poland that there are no exact numbers available, nonetheless the Jewish share [*(Anteil der Juden)* – emphasized as in the original] in the typhus phenomenon has obviously always been rather high. Normally it seems to have been about 70%-80%, but in 1940 the Jewish share in some communities was 95% or even more of all typhus cases. We personally had the opportunity to study an outbreak of the epidemic in greatest possible detail in one town with approximately 30,000 inhabitants of whom about 11,000 were Jews. Of the 303 cases of the illness, 295 were among Jews, i.e., 97% among Jews and only 3% among Poles. For our further investigations it was important that we examined the significance of age of the people in the homes affected by typhus. A total of 3,464 Jewish persons, living more or less without any non-Jewish intermingling, were evaluated statistically.

The mortality of the disease in all these years seems to be surprisingly low. For the years following the world war, the rate was

7%-9% with the exception of 13.4% for 1920. Thereafter, the mortality rate decreased to 5.2% in 1938 and in 1940 to 5.6%. However, many mild cases may not have been reported so that the hazards of the illness might, in fact, be even less.

If it seemed as if Jews were especially resistant to typhus, that picture changed as soon as age was taken into consideration (Table 2, Column a). More than half of all the cases of illness which were observed by us were of persons less than 20 years of age, and one quarter of the total number of cases occurred among persons between 16 and 20 years of age. It should not be necessary to explain any further that the usually favorable course of the disease for this age group lessened the mortality rate in general. Contrary to the widespread opinion that Jews are less susceptible to typhus, the mortality rate of approximately of 5% for the 16 to 20 year old group and 25-30% for middle-aged adults (Table 2, column C) is absolutely normal. This fact appears favorable only because the typhus of 1940 affected primarily children and adolescents. Perhaps this had also been the case in former years with the exception of 1920 and its higher death rate.

TABLE 2.
Morbidity and Mortality of Typhus in 1940

Age Group	(a) Age Combination of the ill in %	(b) % of ill in age groups	Mortality
1-5	5.6	6.4	0
6-10	12.4	11.3	0
11-15	15.7	10.4	0
16-20	25.7	20.9	5.2
21-25	8.6	8.2	11.5
26-30	3.6	3.5	18.2
31-35	5.4	5.7	
36-40	6.6	8.3	35
41-45	5.6	8.9	30
46-50	5.4	8.3	31
51-55	2	4.2	33
56-60	2	5.84	
61-65	1.4	4.0	

The high percentage of adolescents among the ill suggests and immunity of adults which might have been acquired during the

epidemic years following the world war which protected them now even though typhus usually produces only limited immunity. This influence can only be examined more closely if we calculate the percentages of the affected within their respective age groups. To begin with, we can make the following estimate. The Jewish population over 20 which might have become immune after the heavy epidemics following the world war could not be more than 1.2 million in the Generalgouvernement. Assuming that 250,000 Jews had become ill at that time, then one can estimate very roughly that 25-30% of those who are 20 years old today would be immune while all the others in this age group and practically all adolescents in 1940 would have been susceptible. Our age calculations (Table 2, Column B) gave indeed few differentials which could have been appraised as partial immunity of the 20-year olds. The percentage of the 16-20 year olds is conspicuously high because 77 out of 369 from the age group fell ill, while the 15 year olds might either have an inborn immunity or the illness developed abortive, which is typical at this age, and remained undiscovered. It is, however, a fact that in the beginning of 1940 enough people susceptible for the epidemic were available to spread the ground for epidemics during the next year.

In the area for which we were responsible—about a quarter of the Generalgouvernement—according to statistics and reports from doctors, typhus had occurred only sporadically before the year 1940. This was also evident from the fact that the younger people among them were not personally acquainted with the clinical facts of *Typhus exanthematicus*. Only a few towns showed an unexplained slight increase of morbidity during 1938 and 1939, while only only half a dozen cases showed up in towns with 10,000 to 20,000 inhabitants.

Thus, the winter of 1939/40 started at first with only a very limited number of cases. Only in 1940 did isolated cases occur at the same time or quickly following each other, mostly in small towns, in many cases in villages which had until now been untouched by the pestilence and which were far removed from each other. Of course, a carrier of typhus-infected lice who might have caused the outbreak during his wanderings was suspected, but this explanation remained unsatisfactory for all practical purposes. Very often the villages affected were 100 to 200 kilometers apart and it seemed unlikely that at a time of unusually severe cold with masses of snow that a person might have gone wandering over such great distances. It seemed much more likely that several virus carriers were wandering around who had sought shelter because of the weather conditions and had left the infection behind. Beggars and tramps have traditionally been the most important carriers. But it also has to be remembered for the first cases of an epidemic that a virus can remain alive in the lice excrements on clothing for a long time and

that the re-use of winter clothing might result in new infections. Experiments conducted by Weigl showed that the virus is capable of infecting for several months.

After only a few individual cases had occurred in January and the beginning of February, the interconnection of which was unclear, the further course of the pestilence could be observed accurately. Sometimes the illness disappeared by itself, even without special protective measures being taken. In other cases, there were cases within the vicinity or greater outbreaks, these only in towns and often it could be verified how the typhus had been carried from one community to another. Very often, but not always, beggars and vagabonds were involved, but the principle cause was the lively Jewish wandering which still prevailed at that time. The elders of the Jewish communities were supposed to care for these wanderers, but this care often failed, since Jewish solidarity was definitely not always as dependable in crisis as it should have been (*Notfest*), to include practical measures of disease prevention. Arrivals were very often considered and treated as unwanted guests in the communities. They were quickly urged to go away again with a small contribution and thereby promoted the wanderings. In other cases they were housed in mass quarters which quite frequently developed into terrible epidemic hotbeds. In extreme cases only 3-4 square meters of floor space and even less were made available per person.

Smaller communities with less than 7000 inhabitants and the flat countryside were generally at first hardly affected by the epidemic. Only in April and May, when under the influence of counter-measures and other factors, the *Typhus exanthematicus* started to subside in the cities, several small farming communities were affected, even if the occurrences were limited to isolated cases. Here too, it was mostly Jews who became ill, but the Polish share was greater than in the cities. With regard to the unpleasant result that the typhus spread to the countryside and therefore evaded the measures used to combat the epidemic, this was caused to a significant degree by the fact that many Jews had succeeded in breaking out of the quarantine zones in the cities. Very often the inhabitants of a community could give very exact information as to who had brought the disease. Not infrequently, however, it was the Polish farmer who brought a typhus infection upon himself when he, as was customary, without comprehending the precariousness of his acts, took a wandering Jew along on his vehicle for a ride for part of journey.

As the month of May came to an end, the illnesses in the cities decreased markedly but the countryside was still very much affected. Numerically the high point had passed but the danger that farming communities would be dangerous endemic centers of

contagion was not eliminated. Contrary to expectations and without any apparent reason, the number of affected persons declined suddenly in the second half of June in the countryside. Since for a long time already, about 20-25 small towns had been identified in which new cases were reported, the number suddenly fell back to 5 or 6. Shortly before there had been an increase in the summer temperatures and perhaps the increased formation of perspiration diminished the multiplication of lice and consequently the virus. This development was of course consistent with the usual decline for the disease during the summer months but the simultaneous decline over a wide area was striking, nevertheless, on the whole, the course of the epidemic was more or less typical because the late winter and early spring months had, just as during many other typhus outbreaks, brought the peak of the illnesses.

The subsequent course of the epidemic for the rest of the year 1940 was typical also. The summer months showed only isolated cases and it was only the month of November which slowly brought once again the winter rise of the pestilence.

Summary

(1) The epidemiological circumstances of typhus in the Generalgouvernement in the year 1940 were examined thoroughly.

(2) The results showed that the highest number of cases occurred within the age groups of 16-20, and that the percentage of Jews affected by typhus was on the average 70-80%, in some communities even 95-97%.

(3) The mortality rate generally grew with increasing age. It was no less for Jews than for non-Jews.

BEHIND THE BALFOUR DECLARATION

THE ORIGINS OF TODAY'S MIDEAST CRISIS — Robert John

THE BALFOUR DECLARATION: IT HELPED DRAG AMERICA INTO WORLD WAR I . . . WILL IT LEAD US INTO WORLD WAR III? . . .

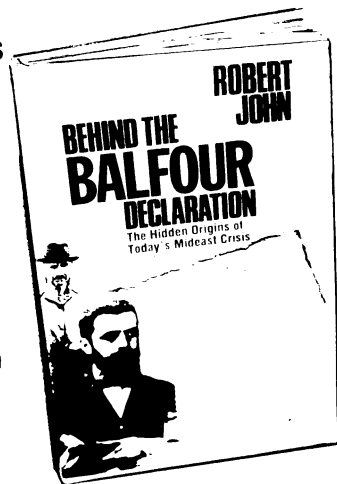
Few documents have had as shadowy a past—or as ominous a future—as the wartime pledge of the government of His Britannic Majesty George V to the Jewish financier of the famous House of Rothschild. By it the British Empire—the greatest the world has ever seen—broke its prior promise to the Arabs, to court a mightier power by far, which even then exercised a golden sway over private policy and public opinion around the world. In the name of the Jewish people, international Zionism won a foothold in Palestine.

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Book Reviews

FEUERZEICHEN: DIE "REICHSKRISTALLNACHT": ANSTIFTER UND BRANDSTIFTER – OPFER UND NUTZNIESSER (Fire Signal: The "Reich Crystal Night": Instigators and Arsonists – Victims and Profiteers) by Ingrid Weckert. Tübingen: Grabert-Verlag, 1981, Hb., 301 pages, \$15, ISBN 3-87847-052-5.

Reviewed by Charles E. Weber

A half century ago, on the night of 9-10 November 1938, destructive riots against Jews, their stores and synagogues broke out in many German cities. The windows of many Jewish stores were broken and as a result this night is often designated ironically as "Reichskristallnacht" (National Crystal Night), referring to the glittering broken glass. The year 1938 was an eventful year in Europe. In April Austria had been incorporated into the Reich (*der Anschluss*) amidst great general rejoicing of the populace. On 29 September, Great Britain, France and Italy recognized the justification of the German desire to incorporate the areas in the periphery of Bohemia (Sudetenland) into the Reich. These areas were inhabited almost exclusively by ethnic Germans who resented oppression by the Slavic majority in Czechoslovakia. As a result of this recognition, the Munich Agreement, the Sudetenland was ceded by Czechoslovakia to Germany.

Miss Weckert's book raises many questions about the tragic, portentous events of 9 November 1938, to which she does not claim to know all of the answers with absolute certainty, even if she effectively disputes a number of widely held, erroneous opinions about these events. Who were the real instigators of the riots? What were their real motives? Who was behind the assassination of Ernst vom Rath, a German diplomat in Paris, on the morning of 7 November 1938? What were the objectives of the people who must have supported the young Jewish assassin, Herschel Grynszpan? What happened to him after the assassination? What was the extent of property damage caused by riots and what were the results of physical attacks on Jews? How did such German leaders as Hitler, Goebbels and Göring react to the riots and to what extent, if any, were they themselves instigators of the riots? What had been the policies of the German government with regard to the small but wealthy and influential Jewish minority in Germany before the riots (i.e., during 1933-1938)? How did the riots change these policies? To what extent did the objectives of the National Socialists and of the

Zionists coincide? To what extent did Zionists and National Socialist Germany collaborate in achieving these objectives on the basis of formal agreements? How did the policies of the German and Polish governments clash? What characteristics of the relation of Jews to their host populations could have contributed to causing the riots?

The book is introduced by a statement (pp. 7-14) by Wilfred von Ofen, who was on Goebbels' staff during the last two years of the war. He asserts that there is no credible evidence that Goebbels was the instigator of the riots and points out that during the Spanish Civil War, in which he served, hundreds of Christian churches were burned or desecrated by the Communists. Furthermore, von Ofen cites a conversation between Goebbels and the president of the Berlin police, Count Helldorf, which was overheard by Friedrich Christian, Prince of Schaumburg-Lippe, in which Goebbels angrily characterized the riots as "idiocy" and grist for propaganda mills hostile to Germany.

Weckert begins her text (p. 15) with the statement that her investigation has primarily resulted in a posing of questions, some of which can never be answered with absolute certainty in view of the lack of available documentary evidence.

On 15 October 1938 the Polish government, which was hostile to Jews and wanted them to emigrate from Poland, announced its intention to invalidate the passports of the many Jews from Poland residing in Germany (!) if such passports were not presented to Polish authorities. In effect, the Polish government thus wanted to prevent these Jews from returning to Poland and to make them a permanent burden on the Reich. As a result, the Jewish policies of the German and Polish governments clashed, since they both wanted Jews to emigrate. Herschel Grynszpan, whose parents were transported to the Polish border as a result of the passport crisis, went to the German embassy in Paris and shot a German official, Ernst vom Rath, on 7 November, 1938. His victim died of wounds on 9 November. Grynszpan was arrested by the Parisian police but, strangely, survived the war after postponements of trials.

Now (pp. 37 ff.) Weckert turns back to the Jewish "declaration of war" against Germany announced in the London *Daily Express* of March 1933, involving a boycott of German goods, a painful measure, since Germany had to (and still must) export or starve. Leading Jews outside of Germany, such as Samuel Untermyer, then joined the incitement against Germany, even long before the Nuremberg laws of 1935. Many Jews in Germany itself reacted in astonishment and with discomfort at such incitement against Germany and asked that Jews outside of Germany cease the incitement. The Germans undertook a mild countermeasure, a one-day boycott of Jewish businesses on Saturday (!), 1 April 1933. Jabotinsky, a leading Zionist born in Russia, joined forces with

Untermeyer to continue ruthlessly the boycott of German goods. In 1936 a Jew, David Frankfurter, murdered a prominent National Socialist in Switzerland, Wilhelm Gustloff (pp. 69-71). This crime had some rather striking similarities to the murder of Ernst vom Rath in 1938 and also seems to have been supported by an organization, the identity of which cannot be definitely established, but could very well be presumed to have been the LICA (Ligue internationale contre l'antisémitisme) in Paris. The influential *Völkischer Beobachter* of 8 November, 1938 called attention to the similarities of the crimes committed by Frankfurter and Grynspan. In conjunction with the account of the murder of Wilhelm Gustloff, it might have been pointed out that Gustloff was such an important man that a large passenger ship was named for him in 1937, which was sunk in 1945 with a huge loss of life.

Much of this book seems almost like a fictional murder mystery, but of course far, far more is involved here. The question of the responsibility for the "Reichskristallnacht" is of great importance for the political, economic and psychological well-being, not only of the German nation, but of all Aryan nations because this question has to do with their unity and cooperation.

Weckert attempts to establish this responsibility, as far as that is presently possible, by various approaches, the most important of which are:

1. Examination of available information as to what German leaders (Hitler, Göring, Goebbels, Himmler, Heydrich, et al.) were doing and where they were on the night of 9 November 1938.

2. Ascertaining their attitudes toward the riots after they took place.

3. Examination of what various persons and groups (notably the Zionists) had to gain or lose by the riots and their economic effects (cui bono?).

4. Examination of the evidence and testimony from trials and investigations conducted by the National Socialist government itself shortly after the riots.

5. Examination of the evidence and testimony brought out by postwar trials conducted by Allied authorities and German courts.

6. Pointing out mistakes in logic and interpretation of evidence made by various historians and propagandists hostile to National Socialism as well as the conflicting nature of their writings.

7. Investigation of the authenticity of various key documents and the reliability of various witnesses.

8. Relating the history of the status of Jews in Germany during 1933-1938 to the events of 9-10 November, 1938.

The ninth of November 1938 was the day on which prominent National Socialists gathered in Munich to celebrate the fifteenth

anniversary of the march on the Feldherrnhalle in 1923, but during the course of the day mysterious strangers had appeared in towns in Hesse to urge violence against Jewish property (pp. 77 ff., 125-126). An SA Standartenführer in Marburg refused to destroy the synagogue there.

Weckert pokes fun at the conflicting accounts of various historians, especially with regard to the role of Reinhard Heydrich (1904-1942; head of the Sicherheitspolizei, murdered in 1942 when he was Deputy Reichsprotektor of Bohemia and Moravia). Her discussions of the inconsistencies and absurdities of various historians' accounts of Heydrich's role, or lack of it, in the riots are written with irony and even a bit of humor (pp. 89-96). She continues in her next section (pp.96-103) with a refutation of the writings and methods of various historians, but particularly those of Hermann Graml, whose book on the "Reichskristallnacht" appeared in 1958 and is also discussed by Weckert in many parts of her book.

One of the most important questions with which the book deals is the actual extent of property damage and the number of killings resultant from the riots (pp. 127-143, 181-188, 207). The data from various (allegedly!) German sources alone is conflicting and dependent on such questions as to what constituted a synagogue and how many were later destroyed by Allied bombings. If there were 177 synagogues destroyed and there had been 1420, that would be approximately 12% destroyed (p. 135). One report mentions 844 destroyed shops and department stores, another report mentions 7,500. Even if the latter figure were correct, it would represent 7½% of the total. One report mentions 36 killings, another 91.

Of 28 Sturmabteilung (SA) Gruppen, only three are reported to have participated in destructive actions (p.174). If 7,000 demonstrators were involved, that would be only 1/100 of 1% of the German population of that time.

The author, who studied Hebrew and later lived in Israel for quite some time, devotes a section (pp. 209-216) to the relation of Jews to their host populations. She points out the ancient religious factors causing hostility toward Jews and Jews' distancing themselves from their host populations with the resultant rise of Zionism, which, in turn, was in agreement with National Socialist efforts to help Jews to emigrate. Even today laws pertaining to citizenship in Israel have a strong similarity to the much maligned Nuremberg Laws of 1935. It seems to me that Weckert should also have mentioned two powerful sources of hostility toward Jews after 1917, the role attributed to Jews in the brutality of the Communist revolution and the earlier years of Soviet government and the perception that Jews enriched themselves by the hyperinflations in many European countries in the early 1920s.

The author's conclusions are summarized on pp. 251-273:

Actually, there is no absolute certainty as to the responsibility for the "Reichskristallnacht." She argues effectively that there can be little doubt about the complicity of the LICA in the murder of vom Rath and points out the enigmatic survival of the young Jew who murdered him. The question of who paid the great costs of Grynspan's poor parents' emigration to Palestine also suggests the complicity of a financially powerful organization. There was apparently a need felt by some Zionists, such as Jabotinsky, for a murder of a prominent German official by a Jew and vom Rath just happened to be the victim. If the objective of the murder had been to precipitate a pogrom in Germany, there were a number of historical antecedents, such as the murder of Tsar Alexander II in 1881. (The reaction of the Russian government to this crime, we might note in passing, stimulated a huge migration of Jews to the United States.)

If the riots against Jews in Germany had been instigated by the National Socialist government itself, such an action would have been met with so little approval on the part of the German population as a whole that it would have caused a decline in popular support of the National Socialist Party, as its leading figures knew very well. Not only Zionists, but also other groups inside and outside of Germany looked on any trouble for National Socialism as being to their advantage. Hitler himself ordered a cessation of the violence against Jews, as is clearly shown by the teletyped message from Hitler's office reproduced on page 117. Himmler ordered the SS and German police to be responsible for protecting Jews.

One result of the riots was an intensified effort to assist Jews to emigrate by economic aid and affording them the opportunity of transferring their assets abroad. A major factor frustrating this effort was the lack of willingness of other countries to accept Jewish immigrants, as the Evian Conference had shown in the summer of 1938 (p. 227). In the summer of 1940 Heydrich, who had been made head of the Reichszentrale für die jüdische Auswanderung in 1939, wrote to Ribbentrop and acknowledged that an emigration of Jews (the real meaning of the term *Endlösung*, the "final solution") had been brought largely to a standstill and that a territorial resettlement would have to serve as a substitute measure to clear the Reich of Jews. Even the record of the Wannsee Conference of 20 January, 1942 confirms this. Many Germans witnessed the glass on the sidewalks on the morning of 10 November, 1938 and the exaggeration of the events of the previous night have been a powerful tool for instilling a feeling of guilt in the German population after the war, even though there is no proof that leading figures of the National Socialist government were the instigators.

Pages 283-301 contain notes and an extensive bibliography.

There are a number of minor errors in the book which might have been eliminated by a more thorough proofreading. On page 77, line

6, the word *Vortag* would make sense after *am*. Evian is in France, not Switzerland (p. 227).

Ingrid Weckert's *Feuerzeichen* is a lucid work obviously based on years of energetic research. It is of primary significance for understanding correctly and in a proper perspective not only the details of the events of 9 November 1938, as far as that is presently possible; it also contains a wealth of incisively presented background material and analysis of the results of those events, which contributed to touching off an avalanche of suffering, far more on the part of Aryans than of Jews themselves. *Feuerzeichen* effectively refutes much careless, malicious or mendacious nonsense that has been written and spoken about the "Reichskristallnacht." It deserves to be translated into English.

[*Feuerzeichen* may be ordered from IHR, 1822½ Newport Blvd., Suite 191, Costa Mesa, CA 92627.]

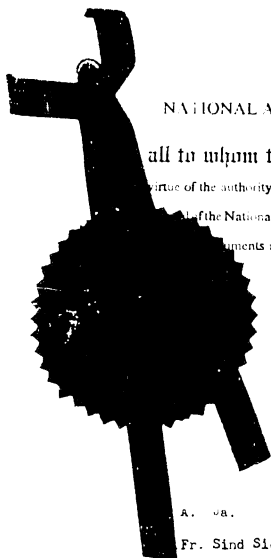
HISTORICAL NEWS AND COMMENT

New Documents Raise New Doubts as to Simon Wiesenthal's War Years

The Institute for Historical Review has recently received copies of a transcript of a sworn interrogation of Simon Wiesenthal, which was conducted in 1948. The copies, certified as "true and correct," were obtained from the National Archives in Washington, D.C. To our knowledge this transcript has never been published or cited, in whole or in part. The interrogation contains statements by Simon Wiesenthal which may shed new light on his activities during the Second World War. A comparison of these statements with certain other sworn statements of Wiesenthal and with his account of the period 1939-1945 in his memoirs reveals a number of discrepancies which raise new doubts about Wiesenthal's credibility as to his activities during the war.

Simon Wiesenthal is the world's most famous "Nazi"-hunter. His claim to have brought Adolf Eichmann and more than a thousand other Third-Reich "war criminals" to justice has become the stuff of popular myth, familiar to tens of millions through his own writings as well as through fictionalized treatments of his career in bestselling thrillers and film and television hits. Wiesenthal's activities and example, more than those of any other man, have kept alive and institutionalized the international drive to track down and punish Germans and others alleged to have persecuted Jews during the Second World War. Few men of the postwar era have been honored as frequently as has Wiesenthal: a list of his decorations, medals, orders, and honorary degrees, including a special gold medal awarded by the U.S. Congress and presented him by a teary-eyed President Jimmy Carter, would fill two pages in this journal.

Fundamental to Simon Wiesenthal's moral authority as a "Nazi"-hunter, and serving also as the basis for his expertise on the crimes and criminals of Axis Europe, has been the story of his experiences at the hands of the Germans during the war. According to Wiesenthal's public account of his war years, as told in his *The Murderers Among Us*, and repeated in countless speeches and interviews, he endured almost continual suffering as a German



NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION

all to whom these presents shall come. Greeting:

By virtue of the authority vested in me by the Archivist of the United States, I certify on his behalf,

that the attached reproduction(s) is a true and correct copy of the documents in his custody.

SIGNATURE <i>John N. Williamson</i>	
NAME JO ANN WILLIAMSON	DATE 3/1/88
TITLE Chief, NNMR	
NAME AND ADDRESS OF DEPOSITORY The National Archives Washington, D.C. 20409	

NAT FORM APR 85 1407-R

A. uA.

Fr. Sind Sie bereit die Sachen unter Eid zu sagen?

A. Ja.

5.Fr. Dann moechte ich Sie vereidigen. Stehen Sie bitte auf und sprechen Sie mir nach: Ich schwöre bei Gott dem Allmaechtigen und Allwissenden, dass ich die reine Wahrheit sagen, nichts verschweigen und nichts hinzufuegen werde, so wahr mir Gott helfe.

A. Ich schwöre bei Gott dem Allmaechtigen und Allwissenden, dass ich die reine Wahrheit sagen, nichts verschweigen und nichts hinzufuegen werde, so wahr mir Gott helfe.

5.Fr. Danke. Bitt wollen Sie uns einmal in kurzen Zuegen Ihren Lebenslauf schildern

A. Am 31.Dezember 1908 in Buczac, ehemaliges Polen geboren.

6.Fr. Jetzt Russland?

A. Ja. Volksschule in Wien besucht und Gymnasium in Buczac, dann die Technische Hochschule in Prag/Tschechoslowakei im Jahre 1932 diplomiert. Bis 1939 in Polen als Dipl.Ing.Architekt tätig, zwischen 1939-1941 sowjetischer Haupt-

Page 1 of the transcript of Simon Wiesenthal's interrogation of May 27, 1948 (the heading is covered by the certification and seal of the National Archives).

prisoner from July 1941 to May 1945, when he was liberated by American troops at Mauthausen. His time as a concentration camp inmate and "slave" laborer, his numerous narrow escapes from execution by his captors, and his witness to countless crimes and atrocities carried out against other Jews stamp him not merely as a survivor but as an accuser and avenger.

While doubts and even accusations have been raised in the past as to Wiesenthal's conduct during the war years, there has so far been no hard evidence made public in support of allegations, frequently raised, that Wiesenthal "collaborated" with the Germans. Nor, to our knowledge, has an exhaustive comparison of Wiesenthal's separate statements on his wartime experiences been undertaken.

New Evidence

Last spring IHR was able to obtain a certified copy of a transcript of an interrogation which took place on two consecutive days, May 27 and May 28, 1948.¹ The interrogator was Curt Ponger; the man Ponger was questioning, Simon Wiesenthal. The interrogation is described as having been brought about by (*auf Veranlassung von*) a Mr. Niederman, and was recorded stenographically by M. Fritsche. There is no indication of the place where the interrogation took place.

The transcript of that portion of the interrogation which took place on May 27, between 11 and 12 o'clock, runs to nine-and-a-half, double-spaced, typewritten, 8½ x 11-inch pages. That of the following day, which was conducted between 11:30 and 12 o'clock (both times are presumably A.M., although this is not explicitly stated) covers nearly seven pages identical in size and format to the transcript of the first day's interrogation.

The May 27 transcript consists of twenty-eight questions and answers, that of May 28, twenty questions and answers. Answer No. 4 of the first day's interrogation is this statement by Simon Wiesenthal: "I swear by the Almighty and All-knowing God that I will say the absolute truth, conceal nothing and add nothing, so help me God" (*"Ich schwore bei Gott dem Allmaechtigen und Allwissenden, dass ich die reine Wahrheit sagen, nichts verschweigen und nichts hinzufuegen werde, so wahr mir Gott helfe"*).

Discrepancies

Among the sworn statements made by Simon Wiesenthal during this investigation are:

—that he was employed as a "Soviet chief engineer in Lvov [in German: Lemberg; in Polish: Lwów; in Ukrainian: Lviv] and Odessa" during the Soviet occupation of September 1939-June 1941;

—that he served as first a lieutenant and then a major in a Soviet

partisan unit following his escape from German custody in October 1943;

—that he was about to be executed by the Germans as a partisan leader but was able to save his life by joining a group of Jews in German custody.

These sworn statements conflict with Simon Wiesenthal's account of his wartime years presented in *The Murderers Among Us*, his published memoirs, and with certain other sworn statements Wiesenthal has made regarding his war years. The above discrepancies, and a number of others evident when Wiesenthal's several accounts of his activities between September 1939 and May 1945 are compared, raise grave doubts as to the "Nazi"-hunter's credibility, and prompt a further question: What did Simon Wiesenthal actually do during the Second World War?

Three Stories Compared

In the following pages we have attempted a preliminary comparison of three different reports, each of which is an authoritative statement by Simon Wiesenthal. The reports are:

- the 1948 interrogation of Wiesenthal described above;
- a sworn statement which Wiesenthal submitted to the West German government when applying for reparations in 1954;²
- and the account of his wartime years which appears in *The Murderers Among Us: The Simon Wiesenthal Memoirs*, published in English in 1967.³

It should be stated at the outset that the aim in comparing these statements is not to attempt to impeach Wiesenthal's credibility by fastening on unimportant differences in detail, or by stressing omissions which may be understandable in view of the differing length and purpose of these documents. Nor is it implied that any of Simon Wiesenthal's statements, even when corresponding in the several documents, is to be taken at face value.

The Period September 1939-June 1941

During this period Simon Wiesenthal claims to have been a resident of Lvov, the metropolis of Galicia, which had been part of post-World-War-I Poland until, in consequence of the partition of Poland agreed on by Germany and the USSR in August 1939, it was occupied by the Soviets the following month.

According to *The Murderers Among Us*, Wiesenthal, as a "bourgeois" Jew (with his own architectural practice), ran the danger of being arrested by the NKVD, the Soviet secret police. We learn that both his stepfather and his stepbrother were arrested: the stepfather later died in jail and the stepbrother was eventually shot

by the Soviets. The account of Wiesenthal's time under Soviet rule continues:

The Russians issued many "bourgeois" Jews so-called Paragraph 11 passports, which made them underprivileged, second-class citizens, not permitted to live in larger cities or within a hundred kilometers of any border. They lost good jobs and had their bank accounts confiscated. Proving himself a resourceful man under pressure, Wiesenthal bribed an NKVD commissar and obtained regular passports for himself, his wife, and his mother. A few months later, all Jews with "Paragraph 11" passports were deported to Siberia, where many died. The Wiesenthals managed to stay in Lwow, 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

Wiesenthal gives a rather different statement as to his position under the Soviet regime in his 1948 interrogation. There he sums up his activities during the Soviet occupation in these words: ". . . between 1939-1941 Soviet chief engineer working in Lvov and Odessa" (" . . . zwischen 1939-1941 sowjetischer Hauptingenieur in Lemberg und Odessa").⁵

These two contrasting statements suggest several questions. Is the evident discrepancy to be accounted for by Wiesenthal's desire to present himself in his memoirs, published during the "Cold War," as primarily a victim of the Soviet regime, who narrowly escaped the fate of his stepfamily? Has he lied about "the badly paid job as a mechanic in a factory that produced bedsprings"? If it is true that Wiesenthal avoided deportation to Siberia for himself, his wife, and his mother by bribing an NKVD commissar, how much more might this "bourgeois" Jew have had to pay to obtain a position as a "Soviet chief engineer"? Or, finally, are we to understand that Wiesenthal's "collaboration" with the Soviet invaders was occasioned by a mutual sympathy between the Jewish "bourgeois" and the Communist invaders?

Escape from Lvov to the Partisans (?), October 1943

On June 22, 1941 the Germans and their allies invaded the Soviet Union; eight days later the first Germans entered Lvov. Just before they left, the Soviet authorities had massacred several thousand political opponents in the city's prisons. Most of the victims were Ukrainian nationalists, and the discovery of the slaughter unleashed a pogrom of epic proportions against the Jews of Lvov, who were hated by many of the city's Poles and Ukrainians for their Soviet sympathies and for their enthusiastic cooperation with the NKVD.⁶

Simon Wiesenthal came into the hands of the Germans in early July 1941, by his telling. The three statements compared in this article mention at least two different arrests, one by Ukrainian auxiliary police, after which Wiesenthal claims to have narrowly

-1-

Interrogation-Nr. 2820 Restricted Classification
 Removed Per
 Executive Order 10501

V e r n e h m u n g

des Herrn Ing. Simon WIESENTHAL,
 am 27. Mai 1948, von 11 bis 12 Uhr,
 durch Mr. Curt P O N G E R ,
 auf Veranlassung von Mr. NIEDERMAN.
 Stenografin: M. Fritsche.

1. Fr. Wie ist Ihr voller Name?

A. Simon WIESENTHAL.

2. Fr. Sind Sie bereit uns Auskunft zu ueber Ihre Erlebnisse zu geben?

A. Ja.

3. Fr. Sind Sie bereit die Sachen unter Eid zu sagen?

A. Ja.

4. Fr. Dann moechte ich Sie vereidigen. Stehen Sie bitte auf und sprechen Sie mir nach: Ich schwore bei Gott dem Allmaechtigen und Allwissenden, dass ich die reine Wahrheit sagen, nichts verschweigen und nichts hinzufuegen werde, so wahr mir Gott helfe.

A. Ich schwore bei Gott dem Allmaechtigen und Allwissenden, dass ich die reine Wahrheit sagen, nichts verschweigen und nichts hinzufuegen werde, so wahr mir Gott helfe.

5. Fr. Danke. Bitt wollen Sie uns einmal in kurzen Zuegen Ihren Lebenslauf schildern.

A. Am 31. Dezember 1908 in Buczacz, ehemaliges Polen geboren.

6. Fr. Jetzt Russland?

A. Ja. Volksschule in Wien besucht und Gymnasium in Buczacz, dann die Technische Hochschule in Prag/Tschechoslowakei im Jahre 1932 diplomiert. Bis 1939 in Polen als Dipl. Ing. Architekt taetig, zwischen 1939-1941 sowjetischer Haupt-

escaped death; the other by soldiers of the Wehrmacht, who rounded up Wieselthaler and other Jews for hard labor at the railway yard. Here is not the place to analyze the conflicting accounts or to evaluate their credibility; nor to examine in depth Wieselthaler's stories as to his activities from July 1941 to October 1943, during which time he claims to have worked, first as a sign-painter, then as a draftsman, at the Ostbahn Ausbesserungswerk (Eastern Railroad Repair Works—OAW). For the purposes of this study it is enough to state that in his memoirs, Wieselthaler claims to have been in close cooperation with the Polish underground while at the OAW, and to have supplied them with detailed maps showing the vulnerable points of the Lvov railway junction.⁷ He further alleges that he became so friendly with a sympathetic National Socialist superior, Oberinspektor Adolf Kohlrautz, that Kohlrautz permitted Wieselthaler to conceal two pistols in his (Kohlrautz's) desk.⁸

According to the shortest account of his escape and recapture, Wieselthaler's 1954 sworn application for reparations:

On October 17, 1943, immediately before the imminent liquidation of the Lvov camp, I fled from the camp and hid myself in a barn at acquaintances in the vicinity of Lvov. On January 13, 1944, on the occasion of a close search of this locality by the SD and Gestapo, I was discovered and committed to the Lacki Gestapo prison in Lvov.

(Am 17. Oktober 1943, unmittelbar vor der bevorstehenden Liquidierung des Lagers Lemberg flüchtete ich vom Lager und hielt mich in einer Scheune bei Bekannten in der Nähe von Lemberg versteckt. Am 13. Jänner 1944 anlässlich der Durchkämmung dieser Ortschaft durch SD und Gestapo wurde ich entdeckt und in das Gestapogefängnis Lacki in Lemberg eingeliefert.)⁹

That there is little chance of a casual mistake in the dates is shown by an affidavit which immediately follows the reparations application:

I hereby affirm in lieu of oath that I was interned in the Lvov forced labor camp from October 20, 1941 until my escape on October 17, 1943.

I further affirm that—after I was caught—I was in custody on January 13, 1944 until March 19, 1944 in the Gestapo prison in Lvov on Lacki Street.

(Ich versichere hiermit an Eides statt, daß ich im Zwangsarbeitslager Lemberg vom 20. Oktober 1941 bis zu meiner Flucht am 17. Oktober 1943 inhaftiert war.

Weiters versichere ich, daß ich—nachdem ich aufgegriffen wurde—am 13. Jänner 1944 bis zum 19. März 1944 im Gestapogefängnis in Lemberg auf der Lacki-Straße in Haft war.)¹⁰

In each of the other two Wieselthaler statements under analysis, the "Nazi"-hunter claims to have escaped from German custody in Lvov on October 2, 1943. The date of his recapture is given in both these

statements as June 13, 1944, exactly five months later than the date claimed in Wiesenthal's reparations application. Other than this agreement as to dates, Wiesenthal's 1948 interrogation and his memoirs differ in virtually every particular.

According to Wiesenthal's memoirs, in late September 1943 Wiesenthal and the other Jews working at the OAW were ordered to be sent under guard nightly to the Lvov (Lemberg) concentration camp. Sensing his impending doom, Wiesenthal prepared his escape. The obliging Kohlrantz, "who often permitted him to go to town to buy drafting supplies," arranged for Wiesenthal to be accompanied by a "stupid-looking Ukrainian" policeman on a shopping expedition with Arthur Scheiman, another Jewish inmate. Naturally Kohlrantz permitted Wiesenthal to retrieve the two pistols he had hidden in the "good Nazi"'s desk.

After giving their escort the slip, Wiesenthal and Scheiman repaired to the Lvov apartment of a friend in the "Polish underground" (precisely which political affiliation is left unstated). After some days of concealment there and in Scheiman's house in the country, Wiesenthal and Scheiman found shelter in an apartment of other "friends," where the two hid out under the floorboards until their recapture. Wiesenthal possessed not only arms but a diary and "a list of SS guards and their crimes that he'd compiled, believing that one day it might be useful." On the evening of June 13, 1944 Wiesenthal was discovered under the floor, in possession of his pistol, diary, and list of SS men by two Polish plainclothes detectives and an SS man. Thus Wiesenthal's story as presented in *The Murderers Among Us*.¹¹

On May 27, 1948 Wiesenthal told Curt Ponger under sworn oath that: "On October 2, 1943 [having] fled from Janovska [or Lemberg] concentration camp, I [joined?] a partisan group which operated in the Tarnopol-Kamenopodolsk area" ("Am 2. Oktober 1943 vom K.L. Janovska geflüchtet, habe ich mich an eine Partisanengruppe, welche in den Raum Tarnopol-Kamenopodolsk operiert hat").¹²

During the next day's interrogation session, Wiesenthal went into much more detail. Aside from facing Ukrainian police formations and the Ukrainian-manned SS "Galicia" division, Wiesenthal's unit fought mostly against partisans from the UPA, or Ukrainian Insurgent Army, the military arm of the Ukrainian nationalist movement. According to Wiesenthal, as the Germans fell back and the front moved nearer at the start of 1944, the situation in his sector grew so chaotic that Soviet aircraft sometimes bombed his unit by mistake. With four or five different partisan groups at large in the same territory, "In January 1944 there was such confusion that one didn't know who was for him and who was against him. Whoever so much as stuck his head out of the woods would be shot at" ("Es war im Januar 1944 so ein Durcheinander, dass man nicht wusste, wer

mit wem und wer gegen wen war. Wer nur seinen Kopf aus dem Wald streckte, auf den wurde geschossen").¹³

After informing his interrogator that his partisan unit paid local farmers in dollars for provisions, Wiesenthal was asked: "Where did you get the dollars?" ("Woher bekamen Sie die Dollar?"). He answered as follows:

The Russian partisans had dollars, usually 100-dollar bills. We buried at least 70-80 thousand dollars. In any event the Russian liaison man with us always had enough dollars available . . .

(Die russischen Partisanen haben Dollar gehabt, meistens 100-Dollarstuecke. Wir haben mindestens 70-80 Tausend Dollarnoten vergraben. Jedenfalls der russische Verbindungsmann, der mit uns war, hat immer genug Dollar zur Verfuegung gehabt . . .)¹⁴

Asked about the rank he held, Wiesenthal answered this way:

I had a high rank, I was immediately made a lieutenant on the basis of my intellect, then was promoted to major, and finally the commander said "If you come through this alive, then you're a lieutenant colonel." I helped very much in building bunkers and fortification lines. We had fabulous bunker constructions. My rank was not so much as a strategic expert as a technical expert.

(Ich hatte einen hohen Rang. Ich kam direkt dorthin auf Grund des Intelligenzgrades als Leutnant, dann wurde ich zum Major befoerdert und zum Schluss sagte der Kommandierende, "wenn du die Sache ueberlebst, dann bist du Ober[st]leutnant." Ich habe sehr viel mitgeholfen beim Bau der Bunker und Befestigungslinien. Wir haben grossartige Bunkerkonstruktionen gehabt. Mein Grad war nicht soviel als strategischer Fachmann wie als technischer Fachmann.)¹⁵

Although Wiesenthal never states explicitly the affiliation of his partisan unit, it seems clear from his remarks that it was part of the Armia Ludowa (People's Army), the Soviet-organized and -manned "Polish" guerrilla force. After his unit was surrounded in February, and forced to split up and escape through the German lines, Wiesenthal describes being hidden by friends in Lvov as follows:

We knew addresses, KIGNI --- was the liaison man between AK and us. The sharp differences between AK and AL didn't exist yet. AK was nationalist and antisemitic and AL was not antisemitic. AK thus took in Jews in Lemberg, since the pressure of the Germans in Lvov was much stronger than in any other district.

(Wir wussten Adressen, KIGNI - - - war der Verbindungsmann zwischen AK und uns. Die krassen Unterschiede zwischen AK und AL war noch nicht. AK war national und antisemitisch und AL war nicht antisemitisch. AK hat in Lemberg deshalb Juden aufgenommen, weil der Druck der Deutschen in Lemberg viel staerker war wie in irgendeinem anderen Gebiet.)¹⁶

From the context, and in view of Wiesenthal's earlier statements concerning his unit, as to "the Russian partisans" and "the Russian

liaison man," "us" in the above passage would seem to refer to the AL, the military arm of the Communist regime the Soviets were to install in Poland at the end of the war.

Whatever the precise identity of the partisan group Wiesenthal claims to have served in, the question remains: Which, if any, of Wiesenthal's accounts of what he was doing between October 1943 and June (or is it January) 1944 is to be believed?

In the Hands of the Gestapo(?)

As has been mentioned, Wiesenthal claims in his memoirs to have been recaptured in an apartment in Lvov, with a pistol, a diary, and a list of SS men and their crimes, by two Polish detectives and an SS man on June 13, 1944. This version contrasts markedly with Wiesenthal's affirmation in 1954 that his recapture took place in a barn near Lemberg, where he claims to have been discovered by the Gestapo and the SD (Sicherheitsdienst, the security service of the German National Socialist Workers' Party) on January 13, 1944 (see above).

That Wiesenthal's sworn 1948 account of his recapture differs, once more, from his other stories will by now probably not surprise the reader. To be sure, his 1948 version exhibits similarities to that in *The Murderers Among Us*: he is captured, armed, hiding under the floor in an apartment in Lvov on June 13, 1944. According to his 1948 interrogation, however, Wiesenthal had on him not a diary and a list of SS misdeeds, but "different notes," "certain notes regarding the entire partisan area of operations" ("verschiedene Aufzeichnungen," "gewisse Aufzeichnungen ueber das gesamte Partisanengebiet").¹⁷

Both in 1948 and when composing his memoirs, Wiesenthal was quite conscious that the fate of an escaped Jew who had fallen into the hands of the Germans in 1944 armed with a pistol and either a list of SS war criminals or detailed notes on partisan activity would be regarded as rather precarious. In the memoirs, Wiesenthal is taken to a police outpost on Smolki Square, where he has his first bit of good fortune, for unbeknownst to the SS man, a venal Polish policeman relieves him of his pistol: "If a German had found the gun, he would have shot Wiesenthal at once."

Then:

From Smolki Square, Wiesenthal was taken back to the concentration camp. Only a few Jews had survived: tailors, shoemakers, plumbers—artisans the SS still needed for a while. Wiesenthal knew that after reading his diary and his list of SS torturers with specific details, the Gestapo would have enough evidence to hang him ten times.¹⁸

According to both his memoirs and his 1948 interrogation, Wiesenthal staved off a quick execution by slashing his wrists. Even

then, according to his 1948 version, it was his notes on partisan operations which saved him:

. . . I owe it especially to this circumstance that I wasn't killed immediately like so many Jews, since the notes appeared to be very valuable and therefore I entered the hospital after my suicide attempt. It was very rare that a Jew was admitted to a prison hospital.

(. . . diesem Umstand verdanke ich speziell, dass ich nicht gleich wie soviele Juden umgelegt wurde, denn die Aufzeichnungen schienen sehr wertvoll zu sein und darum kam ich in ein Gefaengnisspital, nach dem von mir veruebten Selbstmordversuch. Das war ein sehr seltener Fall, dass ein Jude in ein Gefaengnisspital kam.)¹⁹

In *The Murderers Among Us* Wiesenthal's suicide attempt is prompted by the appearance of SS Oberscharführer Oskar Waltke, "perhaps the most feared man in Lvov." Waltke, against whom Wiesenthal testified at his 1962 trial in Germany, is described in the following chilling terms:

Waltke, a cold, mechanical sadist, was in charge of the Gestapo's Jewish Affairs Section in Lwow. His speciality was to make Jews with false Polish papers confess they were Jews. He tortured his victims until they made the admission and then he sent them to be shot. He also tortured many Gentiles until they admitted to being Jews just to get it over with. Waltke's name had been on Wiesenthal's private list, which Waltke must have studied with great interest. Wiesenthal knew that Waltke wouldn't simply have him shot. He would first submit him to his very special treatment. As Wiesenthal was led into the dark courtyard where the truck from the Gestapo prison stood waiting, he took out a small razor blade that he'd kept concealed in his cuff for such a moment.

"Get in, *Kindchen*, quick!" Waltke said.

With two fast movements, Wiesenthal cut both wrists.²⁰

Thereafter, according to his memoirs, Wiesenthal is committed to the prison hospital, where two more suicide attempts fail. There he is restored to health with "a special diet of strong soups, liver, and vegetables" prescribed by the solicitous sadist Waltke so that he can get on with his "interrogation" all the more quickly.

If Wiesenthal's memoirs and his interrogation in 1948 represent the truth accurately, this interrogation never took place, which makes the following sentence in his 1954 reparations application all the more interesting: "There [in the Lacki Gestapo prison] I was fearfully tortured by Unterscharführer Waltke and to put an end to these tortures, I cut open my veins" ("Dort wurde ich vom Unterscharführer Waldtke [sic] furchtbar gefoltert und um diese Folterungen ein Ende zu setzen, habe ich mir die Pulsadern aufgeschnitten").²¹

How to account for the survival of a Jew caught with a gun and, to say the least, compromising documents? Is Wiesenthal's 1954 claim to have been tortured simply one more roccoco furbelow on his story

of persecution, or do his other two accounts suppress an actual event which might have resulted in Wieselthal's having been "turned," and thus spared as a Gestapo agent? (One can speculate on what might have been Wieselthal's fate had he escaped once more to his alleged partisan unit and been trapped in such contradictions about his treatment in the hands of the German secret police.)

"I Didn't Wish to Die . . ."

Wieselthal's 1954 story of his recovery from his suicide attempt and his evacuation from Lvov in July 1944 is short and simple. After his torture by Waltke:

Although it was somewhat unusual, I was admitted to the prison hospital and was delivered on March 19, 1944 to the Lemberg [Lvov] Concentration Camp, which was just being established. There were in all about 100 inmates and a larger camp guard, which, under the leadership of Hauptsturmführer Warzok, preferred not to go to the front. In the camp I carried out small tasks for the camp command and the camp kitchen until July 19, 1944.

On July 19, 1944—it was about 10 days before the Russian entry into Lvov—the camp was evacuated . . .

(Obwohl es etwas ungewöhnlich war, kam ich in das Gefängnishospital und wurde am 19. März 1944 in das sich neu formierende Konzentrationslager Lemberg eingeliefert. Es waren im ganzen c. 100 verschiedene Häftlinge und eine grössere KZ-Bewachung, die es unter der Leitung von Hauptsturmführer Warzok, vorgezogen hat, nicht an die Front zu gehen. In dem Lager verrichtete ich kleine Arbeiten für die Lagerkommandatur und KZ-Küche bis zum 19. Juli 1944.

Am 19. Juli 1944—es waren ungefähr 10 Tage vor dem russischen Einmarsch nach Lemberg—wurde das Lager evakuiert . . .)²²

This dry account omits a dramatic incident recounted in both Wieselthal's memoirs and in his 1948 interrogation, whereby the "Nazi"-hunter narrowly escaped execution thanks to a providential Soviet aerial attack.

According to *The Murderers Among Us*, Wieselthal was to be tortured at last by the fiendish Waltke on July 17, on which day he and the other prisoners were summoned to the prison courtyard. There Wieselthal was assigned to a group of non-Jews slated for execution. Wieselthal describes what happened next as follows:

"We were probably going to be buried in a large mass grave," Wieselthal remembers. "I looked at the others the way some people on an airplane look at their fellow travelers. If there should be a crash, they are thinking, these will be one's companions in death. On the other side of the courtyard I saw a group of Jews. I wished I could be buried with them, not with the Poles and Ukrainians, but how could I get there? Suddenly there was a roar in the sky above us, and an explosion shook the courtyard. From Sapieha Street a cloud of fire and smoke went up into the air. The files from the tables were scattered all

over the courtyard, and there was terrific confusion. I quickly ran across the courtyard and joined the Jews. A minute later two SS men put us on a truck and brought us back to the Janowska [i.e., Lemberg] concentration camp."²³

Herewith the same incident in his sworn statements of 1948:

On July 20 I was to be released from the prison hospital. We were taken to the prison yard, where the entire Gestapo and the SS and Police-Leader of Galicia were. They sorted us out according to the crime[s] we were charged with. In this way I was immediately selected for death, as a partisan chief . . .

On the same day on which we stood in the yard, 11 o'clock in the morning, where unexpectedly there was a Soviet attack and some bombs fell, there arose confusion and a cloud of dust of about 200 meters [in height?]. The Gestapo gentlemen ran away immediately and a small group stood there. I didn't wish to die and exploited this confusion and ran the 20 steps to this Jewish group. We were all driven once again into the jail and I together with this group. Then there was an air alarm. An auto with sirens was driven around for this purpose. After an hour there was again an all-clear. Then it was, Jews out. A car came from Lemberg Concentration Camp to pick up the Jews.

(Am 20. Juli sollte ich vom Gefaengnisshospital entlassen werden. Am 16. Juli kam die Sowjetische [sic] Offensive. Wir wurden auf den Gefaengnishof geholt, wo die gesamte Gestapo und der SS-u. Polizeifuehrer von Galyzien war. Die haben uns sortiert, je nach dem Verbrechen, das uns zur Last gelegt wurde. Auf diese [sic] Weise wurde ich sofort aussortiert zum Tode, als Partisanenhaeuptling . . .

An demselben Tag, wo wir im Hof standen, 11 Uhr vormittags, wo unverhofft ein sowjetischer Angriff war und einige Bomben fielen, entstand ein Durcheinander und eine Staubwolke von ungefaehr 200 m. Die Gestapo-Herren liefen gleich weg und da stand eine kleine Gruppe. Ich wuenschte nicht, dass ich sterben sollte und habe dieses Durcheinander ausgenuetzt und bin diese 20 Schritte zu dieser juedischen Gruppe gelaufen. Dann war Fliegeralarm. Es ist zu diesem Zweck ein Auto mit Sirenen herumgefahren. Nach einer Stunde wurde wieder Entwarnung. Dann hiess es, Juden raus. Es kam ein Auto vom K.L. Lemberg, um die Juden abzuholen.)²³

For what it's worth, then, Simon Wiesenthal's sworn testimony of 1948 is that he was saved *because* he was a Jew as late as July 1944!

Conclusions

A sustained comparison of his several accounts of his evacuation westward, all of them differing in numerous particulars, will not be undertaken here. The purpose of this brief study has been to make an internal criticism of Wiesenthal's credibility on his war years as reflected in several authoritative accounts he has provided of them, two of them sworn documents and the other his published memoirs.

The evident fact that Wiesenthal has more than once altered his

story of the six most important years of his life must be considered in connection with his credibility as a "Nazi"-hunter. The ongoing and intensifying hunt for World-War-II criminals (so long as they were Germans, or German allies, accused of mistreating Jews or Communists) has brought to grief more than one man unable to account for what he was doing, in minute detail, forty-five years ago. Thus John Demjanjuk, whose inability to remember in precisely which prison camp or holding pen he was held in at any given date contributed to his framing as "Ivan the Terrible" in Jerusalem. So Frank Walus, the wartime forced laborer from Poland whom Wiesenthal claimed to have documented as a member of the Gestapo until such humanitarians as Jerome Brentar of Cleveland were able to unearth insurance records which proved otherwise. It is time that competent authorities, in the United States and elsewhere, made a determined effort to establish the facts of Simon Wiesenthal's wartime career, by whatever means necessary. It is suggested that this time, if Mr. Wiesenthal is deposed under oath, appropriate penalties be imposed for deliberate misstatements.

Notes

1. The Wiesenthal interrogation is contained on one of the 91 rolls at the Archives entitled "Records of the U.S. Nuernberg War Crimes Trials Interrogations, 1946-1949" (Copy 1019, No. 79). These 91 rolls contain nearly 15,000 pretrial interrogation transcripts of over 2,250 individuals, conducted by the Interrogation Branch of the Evidence Division of the Office, Chief of Counsel for War Crimes (OCCWC). The orthography of the transcript, which among other things indicates the umlaut with the letter "e" rather than by the dieresis, has been followed above.
2. This statement, "Eidesstattliche Erklärung über die Zeit meiner Verfolgung," has been published in *Simon Wiesenthal: Dokumentation*, by Robert Drechsler, Vienna: *Dokumente zur Zeitgeschichte*, 1/1982 (July, 1982). Drechsler's account of Wiesenthal's life presents much useful informaton, particularly in regard to Wiesenthal's sustained legal squabbles with Bruno Kreisky and others, including Drechsler himself. The document cited was submitted to the "State Pension Board" (Landesrentenbehörde in Düsseldorf (North Rhine/Westphalia), is dated August 24, 1954, and bears Wiesenthal's address in Linz, Austria.
3. *The Murderers Among Us: The Simon Wiesenthal Memoirs* by Simon Wiesenthal (edited and with an introductory profile by Joseph Wechsberg, New York; Bantam Books, third printing, 1973. Following the usage in the title, we have referred to this book as Wiesenthal's "memoirs"; purists might style it his "authorized biography." Perhaps it could be said to lie somewhere between the two genres.
4. *The Murderers Among Us*, p. 25.

5. Interrogation of Simon Wiesenthal, May 27, 1948, p. 1.
6. According to historian Richard C. Lucas, at the time of the Soviet occupation of eastern Poland in 1939, "Jews in cities and towns displayed Red flags to welcome Soviet troops, helped to disarm Polish soldiers, and filled administrative positions in Soviet-occupied Poland . . . The Soviets with Jewish help shipped off the Polish intelligentsia to the depths of the Soviet Union. Some monasteries and convents were turned over to the Jews." *The Forgotten Holocaust*, Lexington, Ky.: The University Press of Kentucky, 1986, p. 128. The new rulers of Lvov and their Jewish helpers were just as unwelcome to the city's Ukrainians.
7. *The Murderers Among Us*, p. 28f.
8. *The Murderers Among Us*, p. 29.
9. "Eidesstattliche Erklärung über die Zeit meiner Verfolgung," in Drechsler, *Simon Wiesenthal*, p. 133.
10. In Drechsler, *Simon Wiesenthal*, p. 135.
11. *The Murderers Among Us*, pp. 33ff.
12. Interrogation of Simon Wiesenthal, May 27, 1948, p. 2.
13. Interrogation of Simon Wiesenthal, May 28, 1948, p. 2.
14. Interrogation of Simon Wiesenthal, May 28, 1948, p. 2.
15. Interrogation of Simon Wiesenthal, May 28, 1948, p. 5.
16. Interrogation of Simon Wiesenthal, May 28, 1948, p. 4.
17. Interrogation of Simon Wiesenthal, May 28, 1948, p. 4f.
18. *The Murderers Among Us*, p. 35.
19. Interrogation of Simon Wiesenthal, May 28, 1948, p. 5.
20. *The Murderers Among Us*, p. 35.
21. In Drechsler, *Simon Wiesenthal*, p. 133f.
22. In Drechsler, *Simon Wiesenthal*, p. 134.
23. *The Murderers Among Us*, p. 36f.
24. Interrogation of Simon Wiesenthal, May 28, 1948, p. 6.

[Copies of Wiesenthal's secret 1948 interrogation, together with an English translation, may be obtained from IHR, 1822½ Newport Blvd., Suite 191, Costa Mesa, CA 92627, for \$15.00.]

Dr. Karl Otto Braun: A Memorial Tribute

MARK WEBER

Dr. Karl Otto Braun—German diplomat, businessman and Revisionist historian—passed away in Munich on 21 August 1988, shortly before his 78th birthday. He is also remembered as an uncommonly decent and honorable man. He is survived by his wife, Elisabeth, and two daughters. The eldest, Monica, gave birth to his first grandchild, a girl, in late 1987.

Dr. Braun was born on 31 August 1910 in Wolnzach, Bavaria, the son of a physician. Young Karl Otto received his secondary education at the prestigious *Wilhelmsgymnasium* in Munich and the humanistic *Gymnasium* in Coburg.

He studied English, history, geography and international law at the universities of Munich, London and Berlin, including study under the great historian Dr. Karl Alexander von Müller in Munich. Braun's special areas of emphasis were Manchuria, the League of Nations and the works of Shakespeare. After receiving his Dr. phil. (Ph.D.) in 1935, he studied Japanese at the University of Berlin's center for oriental languages. (He also spoke English, Italian, Spanish and French.)

He received a year of training for the diplomatic service at the German Foreign Office in Berlin, and then, from 1938 to November 1940, he served in Japan as a cultural attaché with the German embassy in Tokyo and as an economic affairs Vice Consul with the German Consulate General in Osaka. From 1941 until the end of the Second World War he was with the East Asia section of the Political Department of the German Foreign Office in Berlin. During the final two years of the war, he headed the section. During that terrible period, he also lost his brother, Major Wilhelm Braun, who was killed in action in Poland in July 1944.

In the aftermath of the war, all former German officials with university degrees were subject to "automatic arrest" under the provision of the notorious U.S. occupation directives JCS 1067,

regardless of whether or not they had been members of the National Socialist Party. Dr. Braun was accordingly seized by American occupation forces in 1945 and interned at the Dachau concentration camp, which was then run by U.S. authorities. He escaped in the fall of 1946, in part to avoid being forced to testify against his former colleagues. (A common American practice at the time was to coerce former German officials into testifying against their former colleagues by threatening to turn them over to the Soviets.)

After the escape, he fled with his wife and infant daughter to South Tyrol, the ethnically German region of northern Italy, where he worked for two years as a journalist. He then moved to Argentina where he worked in Buenos Aires for the German steel industry as an independent merchant, 1948-1954. He returned to Germany where he was employed by major steel corporations until his retirement in 1975.

Dr. Braun devoted the final years of his life to historical research and writing, with a special emphasis on American foreign policy towards Germany and Japan under Presidents Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt.

As a conscientious scholar, Dr. Braun combined a devotion to truth and justice with careful attention to accuracy and detail. His firm belief in the ultimate triumph of historical truth, was reflected in a Latin phrase he often quoted: "*Veritas magna est et praevalebit.*"

Dr. Braun's work on behalf of historical justice for Germany was rooted in an abiding devotion to the heritage and culture of his people. His search for historical truth was also motivated by a heartfelt concern for world peace and international harmony.

Although he served as an important official in a government which was at war with the United States, Dr. Braun had a genuine regard for America's welfare and long-term interests. He was very troubled, for example, by the threat posed by Zionist power and influence to America's national integrity and basic values.

Like so many others of the postwar generation, I learned a great deal from anecdotes of his diplomatic career. For example, he described Hitler's historic speech to the Reichstag on the afternoon of 11 December 1941, four days after Pearl Harbor. Sitting next to Rudolf von Ribbentrop, the son of the Reich Foreign Minister, he watched as Hitler recounted the reasons for the outbreak of war and the decision to strike against the Soviet Union, reviewed the dramatic course of the war thus far, and then explained why Germany was joining with Japan in war against the United States.

Dr. Braun told about his meeting in Berlin with the legendary Indian nationalist Subhas Chandra Bose, and his role in arranging Bose's dramatic submarine voyage from Europe to Asia.

Although he played no role in Germany's wartime Jewish policy, Dr. Braun told what he knew about the so-called "final solution"

policy, based on his conversations with Dr. Georg Leibbrandt, a friend who has represented the Reich East Ministry at the Wannsee conference of January 1942, where the "final solution" policy was coordinated. The two men had known each other since 1934. After the war, Leibbrandt emphatically told Braun in private that the "final solution" had been a policy, not of extermination, but rather of deportation to the occupied eastern territories. (This assessment is also abundantly confirmed by other evidence, including detailed German records found after the war.)

During the final decade of his life, Dr. Braun authored numerous historical essays and reviews, which appeared in a variety of West German publication, as well as a book, *Pearl Harbor in neuer Sicht* ("A new view of Pearl Harbor"), which was published by the respected publishing firms of Ullstein and Herbig.

Dr. Braun also translated a number of essays from English into German. For example, he translated and skillfully condensed an important essay by Tyler Kent, along with my introduction, from *The Journal of Historical Review* (Summer 1983) for publication in the German monthly *Nation Europa*, February 1984. In the same issue of *Nation Europa* was his translation of a presentation by Leon Degrelle from *The Journal of Historical Review* (Fall 1982). He also translated former U.S. Congressman Hamilton Fish's book *FDR: The Other Side of the Coin*, for which he also provided a foreword and footnotes for the German edition published in 1982.

Dr. Braun remained productive until the end. Even during his final days in the Munich hospital where he died, he worked on a translation of an American book about Franklin Roosevelt and Wall Street, a task which his youngest daughter has pledged to complete.

Dr. Braun was a good friend and supporter of the Institute for Historical Review. His first contribution to *The Journal of Historical Review* (Winter 1984) was an essay on the legacy of the policies of Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt on Europe. He was a guest speaker at two IHR conferences. His first presentation was an informative and partially autobiographical address, "Reflections on German and American Foreign Policy, 1933-1945," to the February 1985 conference, which appeared in the Spring 1985 issue of *The Journal of Historical Review*.

His younger daughter, Sabine, accompanied him to the October 1987 IHR Conference, where he spoke about Richard Sorge, the Soviet master spy who obtained tremendously important secrets for the Kremlin from the German embassy in Tokyo while working as the Japan correspondent of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* newspaper. Braun knew Sorge during his posting in Tokyo.

In spite of a serious physical disability, Dr. Braun was also an active outdoorsman and mountain climber who scaled several of Europe's highest peaks.

Both in person and in his correspondence, Karl Otto Braun was invariably kind, tactful and encouraging. He patiently and selflessly encouraged many others during the final decade of his life, and it gave him great pleasure to know younger men and women who would carry on the work that was so dear to his heart. He will be remembered with admiration and affection.

Dr. Braun's character and spirit were manifest in his address to the 1985 IHR conference. Each Revisionist historian, he said, must

. . . weigh his words carefully, must maintain a sense of balance and, about all, must stick to the facts. Revisionism has a mission. It is to find facts. Historical fact-finding has a purifying effect because it embodies the struggle for truth . . . Nations should promote a regard for history, thereby strengthening their memory and power.

The dawn of another Renaissance is approaching! Believe me: Moral values have a more enduring life than shrewd tactics! If we stoop to the level of Marxist lies and self-deception, as Franklin Roosevelt did, we fall into the hands of our more cunning enemies; whereas if we keep ourselves on a morally elevated plane, we will emerge victorious. When all is said and done, our blue shining planet, our universe, is in the hands of God . . .

The Strange Life of Ilya Ehrenburg

MARK WEBER

Ilya Ehrenburg, the leading Soviet propagandist of the Second World War, was a contradictory figure.

A recent article in the weekly *Canadian Jewish News* sheds new light on the life of this "man of a thousand masks."¹

Ehrenburg was born in 1891 in Kiev to a non-religious Jewish family. In 1908 he fled Tsarist Russia because of his revolutionary activities.

Although he returned to visit after the Bolshevik revolution, he continued to live abroad, including many years in Paris, and did not settle in the Soviet Union until 1941.

A prolific writer, Ehrenburg was the author of almost 30 books. The central figure of one novel, *The Stormy Life of Lazik Roitschwantz*, is a pathetic "luftmensch," a recurring character in Jewish literature who seems to live "from the air" without visible means of support.

As a Jew and a dedicated Communist, Ehrenburg was a relentless enemy of German National Socialism. During the Second World War, he was a leading member of the Soviet-sponsored Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee.

(At fund-raising rallies in the United States for the Soviet war effort, two leading members of the Committee displayed bars of soap allegedly manufactured by the Germans from the corpses of murdered Jews.)

Ehrenburg is perhaps most infamous for his viciously anti-German wartime propaganda. In the words of the *Canadian Jewish News*: "As the leading Soviet journalist during World War II, Ehrenburg's writings against the German invaders were circulated among millions of Soviet soldiers."

His articles appeared regularly in *Pravda*, *Izvestia*, the Soviet military daily, *Krasnaya Zvezda* ("Red Star"), and in numerous leaflets distributed to troops at the front.

In one leaflet headlined "Kill," Ehrenburg incited Soviet soldiers to treat Germans as sub-human. The final paragraph concludes:

The Germans are not human beings. From now on the word German means to use the most terrible oath. From now on the word German strikes us to the quick. We shall not speak any more. We shall not get excited. We shall kill. If you have not killed at least one German a day, you have wasted that day . . . If you cannot kill your German with a bullet, kill him with your bayonet. If there is calm on your part of the front, or if you are waiting for the fighting, kill a German in the meantime. If you leave a German alive, the German will hang a Russian and rape a Russian woman. If you kill one German, kill another—there is nothing more amusing for us than a heap of German corpses. Do not count days, do not count kilometers. Count only the number of Germans killed by you. Kill the German—that is your grandmother's request. Kill the German—that is your child's prayer. Kill the German—that is your motherland's loud request. Do not miss. Do not let through. Kill.²

Ehrenburg's incendiary writings certainly contributed in no small measure to the orgy of murder and rape by Soviet soldiers against German civilians.

Until his death in 1967, "his support for the Soviet state, and for Stalin, never wavered," the *Canadian Jewish News* notes. His loyalty and service were acknowledged in 1952 when he received the Stalin Prize.

In keeping with official Soviet policy, he publicly criticized Israel and Zionism.

The *Canadian Jewish News* further writes:

. . . the recent disclosure that Ehrenburg arranged to transfer his private archives to Jerusalem's Yad Vashem library and archive, while still alive, comes as a stunning revelation.

The reason this information has come to light only now is that Ehrenburg agreed to transfer his archive on condition that the transfer, and his will, remain secret for 20 years after his death.

On Dec. 11 [1987], with the 20-year period expired, Israel's daily *Maariv* related Ehrenburg's story . . ."

The collection includes material about the important wartime Jewish partisan movement. Among the documents in the collection is one concerning a pogrom in Malakhovka, a village near Moscow, which took place in 1959.

This new revelation about one of the most influential figures of the Stalinist regime shows that, whatever he may have said for public consumption, Ehrenburg never privately disavowed Zionism or ever forgot his ancestry.

Notes

1. Rose Kleiner, "Archives to throw new light on Ehrenburg," *Canadian Jewish News* (Toronto), 17 March 1988, p. 9.
2. Alfred de Zayas, *Nemesis at Potsdam* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 2nd edition, 1979), pp. 65-66, 201; and, Erich Kern (ed.), *Verheimlichte Dokumente* (Munich: FZ-Verlag, 1988), pp. 260-61, 353-55.

George Bernard Shaw's Letter to the Editor, May, 1945

in Respect of the Irish Prime Minister's Condolences
on the News of Adolf Hitler's Death

RONALD KLETT

When Shaw's pamphlet "Common Sense About the War" appeared in late 1914,¹ some three and one-half months after the war had started, it raised an angry tempest in Britannia. Although it only stated (what after the war was well-nigh universally conceded to be true) that Germany was no more to blame for the war than were Britain and her allies, "G.B.S. became intensely unpopular [in Great Britain]. His plays were no longer performed. His appearance at any public function caused the instant departure of many of those present. Some of his friends disowned him."²

About thirty years and six months later, when Shaw is almost 89 years old, he publicly expresses views just as outrageous to the prevailing orthodoxy. His letter to *The Times*, London, appears ten days after the Second World War officially ends in Europe. These

views are considered so shocking even today that, when, five or six years ago I searched in the several biographies of Shaws that I could find in a university library, I discovered no author who mentions the letter. The inspiration for it is the report that the Irish Prime Minister, Eamon de Valera, has visited the German Minister, at Dublin, to convey his condolences on the news of Adolf Hitler's death. This is Shaw's letter, published May 18, 1945, *The Times*, London, page 5, under the title "Eire and Hitler."³

"The correctness of the Taoiseach's [Prime Minister's] action when the death of the head of the German State was reported has been vindicated by Commander MacDermott.⁴ But his letter does not cover the whole story. In 1943 the allies called upon the neutrals to deny asylum to Axis refugees, described for the occasion as war criminals. Portugal refused. The rest took it lying down, except Mr. de Valera. He replied that Eire reserved the right to give asylum when justice, charity, or the honor or interest of the nation required it. That is what all the neutrals ought to have said; and Miss Hinkson,⁵ as an Irishwoman, will, on second thoughts, be as proud of it as I am. The voice of the Irish gentleman and Spanish grandee was a welcome relief from the chorus of retaliatory rancor and self-righteousness then deafening us.

"I have not always agreed with the Taoiseach's policy. Before the ink was dry on the treaty which established the Irish Free State I said that if England went to war she would have to reoccupy Ireland militarily, and fortify her ports. When this forecast came to the proof the Taoiseach nailed his colors to the top gallant, declaring that with his little army of 50,000 Irishmen he would fight any and every invader, even if England, Germany, and the United States attacked him simultaneously from all quarters, which then seemed a possible result of his attitude. And he got away with it triumphantly, saved, as Mr. Churchill has just pointed out, by the abhorred partition which gave the allies a foothold on Ireland, and by the folly of the Führer in making for Moscow instead of for Galway [a county of Ireland].

"Later on I hazarded the conjecture that Adolf Hitler would end in the Dublin Viceregal Lodge, like Louis Napoleon in Chislehurst and the Kaiser [Wilhelm II] in Doorn. If the report of the Führer's death proves unfounded this is still a possibility.

"It all sounds like an act from Victor Hugo's *Hernani*, rather than a page of modern world-war history; but Eamon de Valera comes out of it as a champion of the Christian chivalry we are all pretending to admire. Let us recognize a noble heart even if we must sometimes question its worldly wisdom.

"Faithfully,

"May 15.

G. Bernard Shaw."

The letter reminds me of the words that Shaw forty-one years earlier, in his play *John Bull's Other Island*, Act II, put into the mouth of his character Peter Keegan: "My way of joking is to tell the truth. It's the funniest joke in the world."

Notes

1. *The New Statesman*, supplement, Nov. 14, 1914. Also printed, in three installments, *The New York Times*, 1914, Section 5, on Nov. 15, pp. 1-3; Nov. 22, pp. 1 & 2; and Nov. 29, pp. 1 and 2.
2. St. John Ervine, *Bernard Shaw: His Life, Work, and Friends* (London: Constable & Co., 1956), p. 464.
3. *The New York Times* prints this letter, May 19, 1945, p. 6, under the title "Shaw Hails de Valera for Mourning Hitler; Sees Dublin as Haven if Führer Is Alive"; but the Associated Press news story omits part of one sentence and the whole of another, without troubling to inform the reader; and changes punctuation, capitalization, and paragraphing.
4. A. MacDermott, Commander, Royal Navy, whose letter, defending de Valera's act, appears in *The Times*, London, May 15, 1945, p. 5.
5. Pamela Hinkson, London, whose letter, protesting de Valera's act, appears the same day and page as Commander MacDermott's. She identifies herself in the letter as Irish.

About the Contributors

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CHARLES E. WEBER, who earned his Ph.D. in German literature at the University of Cincinnati (1954), has taught at Cincinnati, the University of Missouri, the University of Tulsa, and Louisiana State University. The author of *The 'Holocaust': 120 Questions and Answers*, Dr. Weber is the chairman of the Committee for Reëxamination of the History of the Second World War and the editor of its *Bulletin*.

MARK WEBER studied history at the University of Illinois (Chicago), the University of Munich, Portland State University (B.A., 1976), and Indiana University (M.A., 1977). He has published many articles on Revisionist subjects in *The Journal of Historical Review* and elsewhere, and is currently working on a major Revisionist study of the Holocaust story.

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BRADLEY R. SMITH

On the Expansion of Recent Outreach Efforts

This is one conference you do not want to miss. So plan to make the trip to sunny Southern California for the IHR's Ninth International Revisionist Conference. Food, lodging and local transportation arranged through the Institute. Conference registration fee is \$300.00 (after November 30th) and includes all conference events, buffet breakfasts and banquet dinner. Space is limited, so reserve now. Write for application form. This event is sponsored by the Institute for Historical Review which reserves the right to refuse admission to anyone.

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