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—Review—

The Occult Roots of Nazism

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Erratum:

Please note these corrections of errors in the Winter 1990-1991 issue of the *Journal*. On Page 449, lines ten and eleven, the sentence should conclude "... or to keep open the Library of Congress." On page 492, line 14, the word "guys" should read "guides."

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Table of Contents

Volume Eleven, No. 1 *Spring, 1991*

Articles

Living History 5
John Toland

Auschwitz: Technique & Operation of the Gas Chambers – Part I 25
Robert Faurisson

Tell-Tale Documents & Photos from Auschwitz 67
Mark Weber

Nordhausen-Dora Case 81
Major Poullada

Review

Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke, *The Occult Roots of Nazism* 121
William Grimstad

About the Contributors 128

From the Editor

This issue of *The Journal*, the forty-first since publication was begun in 1980, opens Volume XI with a long-sought contribution: Pulitzer-Prize winning historian John Toland's autobiographical remarks to IHR's Tenth Conference at Washington, D.C. last fall. IHR had sought out the best-selling author as a speaker for several years after the appearance of his *Infamy: Pearl Harbor and Its Aftermath*, Toland's Revisionist study of the cover-up by successive American presidential administrations, Congress, and the military (late IHR editorial adviser Pearcy L. Greaves played a key role in leading Toland through the maze of available proceedings and evidence from the nine official "investigations" by the government, on which Greaves was the pre-eminent expert).

Persistence pays, for here John Toland outlines the extraordinary story of how an intelligent, educated young American of literary bent, with a pronounced sympathy for the underdog that found its first reflection in a youthful affinity for Communism, grew into a marvelous historian dedicated to showing "how it actually was" in the experience and memory of historical participants, on all levels and all sides of the mighty happenings he investigates and chronicles. Toland's road to a broadly Revisionist perspective on the twentieth century's great wars and their actual origins, you will see, was marked by no Damascene crisis, but by his taking the pains to seek out, talk and listen to, and even befriend men and women whom Toland's colleagues in the literary establishment, peering into the dark and silent glass of their own enlightened prejudices, could view only as ogres. We eagerly await the appearance of the autobiography which he and his lovely wife and collaborator Toshiko are presently writing.

In the previous issue we promised further analysis of Jean-Claude Pressac's gigantic and unintentionally revealing attempt to substantiate homicidal gassings at Auschwitz by publishing a wealth of documents, photographs, sketches, and plans hitherto unavailable to all but the small number of researchers who have had access to the archives at the Auschwitz State Museum and other Polish institutions. Who better to help Revisionism profit from Pressac's Gargantuan

continued on page 66

Living History

(From remarks presented to the Tenth International Revisionist Conference, October 1990)

JOHN TOLAND

What am I? I've been called everything from an extreme liberal to an ultra-conservative. I am neither. I have been labeled a "Nazi" because of my numerous interviews with Hitler's adjutants, secretaries, doctors, and military leaders, both SS and Wehrmacht. I loved the remark the Soviets made in 1976 about me being "the leading Western running-dog, lacky historian." I would have put it on my stationery, if I bothered to have stationery. On the other hand, the People's Republic of China has published five of my books.

I fell for Communism when I was a young man, like so many others in those days who were idealistic and thought a lot about the world and people. We were attracted by the humanitarianism in Communism, and we were innocent. By being with those people, I learned more about Communism, and saw how they distorted the truth. For example, when Hitler invaded the Soviet Union, we were called in and told that we were no longer the American peace mobilizers, but were now part of a united front against the peace campaign. "The hell you say," I replied. "I'm still against the war." I was criticized for that, but after the Japanese attack against Pearl Harbor, I changed. I went down and enlisted in the air force.

Well, what am I? God knows! I belong to no school of history. I'm not a conventional historian, but primarily a teller of tales without thesis. I deal with history's human side, portraying history through the experiences of participants of all ranks. I write what I call living history.

My new publisher, William Morrow, asked me to explain why my latest book is different from other histories of the Korean War. This was my answer:

> I regard history as the stream of life, touching base with man's most vile attributes and ascending to his most noble qualities: evoking passions, turmoil and violent change, as it pushes its relentless and unpredictable way forward. I have no thesis. I start each book of war as a fresh subject, wiping out all previous conjectures in an attempt to achieve objectivity.

Once, after I had just returned from Germany, where I had been researching my biography of Hitler, I was given an award in Connecticut, for *The Rising Sun*. The speaker that evening was Barbara Tuchman, who was under the impression that I was a Nazi. Noticing my wife, Toshiko, Tuchman came up to me and said, "I see that you've been Japanized." I replied, "Yes, and it's about time."

She then asked me why I was writing about Hitler, and I said: "I think that he was the greatest mover and shaker of our century. He changed all of our lives, and I'm going to try to tell the objective story of Hitler." She then said to me: "Toland, nobody is objective." And I replied, "Speak for yourself, Barbara."

As a matter of fact, I liked her work, and I have never criticized her books. I just couldn't understand why she thought I was a Nazi. Was it just because important Nazis visited me at our home?

One of them was Hitler's SS adjutant, Richard Schulze-Kossens. I interviewed him in his home in Germany, and I got great stuff from him. He visited our house three times on lengthy stays—he was always bringing me new information. I would invite my friends over to meet these Nazis, whom they also found to be human beings. Much of my information came from people who still believed in Hitler. But why should I have relied only on Germans who were against Hitler? In fact, I just couldn't trust those Germans who said after the war, "I never liked Adolf Hitler!"

As a playwright who has written twenty unproduced plays, I look upon each of my histories as a drama. I strive to let the contestants on all sides act freely, uninhibited by my own conclusions. I simply observe them and try to make some meaning out of the drama. I take no sides and I treat all the actors equally, regardless of nationality. I try to understand the motivations of those involved, regardless of rank or status.

This is "living history." I tell it as it happens, without giving any hints or foreshadowings of how the drama will end. To

accomplish this, I must first spend many months reading other histories and accounts, and working in archives and libraries. Then I start mass-interviewing. I will go anywhere to get a good story, to get as close to the truth as possible. I must go to the places where the battles were fought, where critical conferences were held. I've got to learn what the characters were wearing, what the weather was, what they thought—everything in order to gain insight. And that is living history.

My concept of living history had its beginnings when I was fourteen years old. My father was a singer, a fine baritone, and my mother was an artist. All our friends were writers, dramatists, artists, and so forth. I had no idea what bankers or businessmen were like, and by the age of twelve I had decided to be a writer.

When I was fourteen a man named Porter Emerson Browne came to live with us. Porter had been a very successful playwright, but when his wife died he'd become an alcoholic. (My father, like most Irish, was sure he could cure anything.) Within a week, Porter was my idol. He was a little fat guy with false teeth, which he used to take out of his mouth and twirl as he talked to me. He once taught me to cheat at cards while twirling his false teeth. (He told me that if I was going to be a writer, I would have to know how to cheat, so that I wouldn't be cheated by others.)

Porter's most famous play was *The Bad Man*, a very successful comedy. It ran on Broadway for two years and was made into a motion picture with Wallace Beery. It was about Pancho Villa. But the *Bad Man* was not a "bad man"—he was really a good man.

I asked Porter why his play was such a success, and he replied: "I rode with Pancho Villa for two years. I knew him. I knew that he was a great patriot. I wanted to write a play about him and I knew that if I wrote a serious play, no one would take it seriously. So I decided to present him in this way so that for the first time the real truth about Pancho Villa could be understood by the average American, who was convinced that he was simply a criminal." Well, this touched me, and I wanted to do the same thing. Porter Browne began to teach me about playwrighting.

He stayed with us for two years. And before he left, he told me: "John, there's one thing that I must imprint in your mind—never forget, no matter what you write: don't tell it,

show it." I've been showing it ever since. In other words, most historians talk about and describe everything as if it were not even part of life. I use my playwrighting experience to show it from an objective point of view, to bring it to life. And because I interview so many people, I have sometimes been severely criticized.

While I was doing research on the dirigible, *Hindenburg*, I interviewed ten people who had survived the disastrous fire and crash. Do you think any of them will ever forget that day? Do you think that anyone who was in any of those great battles of World War II will ever forget what happened to them? Nowadays, of course, everybody goes around with a tape recorder and interviews people, but when I first began writing, they didn't realize this.

When I graduated from high school I was in no shape to go to college. So I worked in the Norwalk Tire Factory in order to go to Phillips Exeter Academy to learn how to study. Best thing I ever did. From there I went to Williams College, a wonderful school. It was very conservative, but they had two or three left-wing professors so you could hear both sides of every issue.

They also had a system whereby if you received a certain mark by your junior year, you could go into honors work, working with one teacher. I strove to do my best, and as a result my marks were high enough that I had two honors work teachers. One French, with whom I did French literature and drama, and the other was a delightful fellow in English who taught me playwrighting.

While going to school, I managed, my senior year, the Williams Christian Association Book Store. After finding out what books the professors would be assigning in their classes, I would send my spies to two competing book stores, where they would buy up all the books for a third of the price that I sold them for. As a result, by graduation day in 1936 I had made more than $5,000 – which was big money in those days.

That day a guy from Esso corporation [now Exxon] came up. The man who owned Barnes & Noble (a Williams man) had told him about me. So the man from Esso told me that he wanted me to begin as a junior executive with a very good starting salary. My first assignment would be in the South Pacific. I told him that I was honored by his offer, but that I would be going to the Yale Drama School because I was going

to be a playwright. He looked at me and said, "What a waste of talent!" He didn't realize that I made money so I could write—it wasn't for the desire of making money. Otherwise, I might have eventually become head of Exxon. Wouldn't that be terrible?

I didn't want to go back home, so I went to New York. I packed a knapsack and went riding freight trains. I loved it, and I had a marvelous time. You meet a better class of people riding freight trains. The first time I went to California I hitchhiked. But hitchhikers are a low breed. On the way I saw a freight train loaded with guys sitting on top, all waving to me to get on. They ranged in age from about 12 to 16 years, all young farmers. They were wonderful people, guys you could trust, and they taught me how to ride freight trains. So for the next three years I had a wonderful time seeing the best part of America.

Traveling like that, you take along water and newspapers, which you use as blankets. You usually go with three guys. The older fellow would guard our bindles. (We were called bindlestiffs in those days.) Another guy would set off and hit all the bakeries for day-old bread and meat ends. The third guy would be the star of the show. He would hit up people for ten or fifteen cents, which would last us until the next stop.

I was Phi Beta Kappa, and that became my job. By studying how it was done, I became a terrific panhandler. I didn't whine or anything like that. But I knew how to pick 'em. If a guy looks prosperous, leave him alone. I'd stay away from neighborhoods where the lawns are cut clean and neat. People there don't like panhandlers. But where lawns are neglected, and there are dogs and children, they'll help you. And if you're really desperate, go to the very poor. They will always give you something to eat.

All this taught me so much, and I wrote all about it. The concept of seeing human beings—observing them and seeing how they act and interact, not caring about their religion or rank or anything, but letting them act, instead of forcing them to do something they don't do—I found this fascinating.

By the time I was 41 I had written thirty-five plays—none produced; hundreds of unsold short stories and four unpublished novels. Two years later I had published a dozen factual articles and my book on dirigibles, *Ships in the Sky*. Then I visited Washington to research a book on the

depression. The Army was wonderfully helpful—they gave me so much material. Well, that afternoon, I was called by Ted Clifton, who later became John Kennedy's right-hand man. He told me that he had read my book on dirigibles, and liked the way I treated enlisted personnel. He said that he wanted me to do the same for the GI. He turned over to me all the materials about the Battle of the Bulge that the historians were working on, and he said that he would send me over to the Seventh Army in Germany with orders, and that it wouldn't cost me anything. So I set off. I didn't know I was going to be a historian. I was just going to write a story.

I hated all Germans! Naturally, a good American should. And then I arrive in Germany, where General Bruce Clarke ordered people who had been in the Battle of the Bulge to meet and talk with me. Some of these fellows told me about their experiences with the Germans. Then, after a while, Bruce said, "Now I want you to really get to know the enemy."

General Hasso von Manteuffel was one of the main commanders in the battle. He was a famous German commander, and his great uncle had been a Prussian field marshal. Well, Clarke phoned him in Bonn where he represented the "lost" province of Prussia, and he said: "Manteuffel, Clarke here. I'm going to send an American up to see you, and I'd appreciate it if you would see him for the next five days."

So I went to the U.S. Embassy, where we met. Manteuffel was wearing civilian clothes, but he still looked like a soldier. He was only five foot, two inches, but he was a great athlete. I hated him. He was the most Prussian of Prussians. He looked at me, in my sloppy clothes, and so forth, and he hated me. Well, then we started in. As I went after him, I began to see that this man was honest. He was telling me the truth about his relations with Hitler. And he said to me, "Toland, you only want to know what happened!" And I said, "Yes." Well, then he really opened up and told me everything.

After we got to know each other better, he told me that he was planning to run for public office, and he asked me what I thought about a campaign poster that showed him in uniform. "Forget it," I said. "No one is going to vote for you now. You ought to go down to southern Germany and live and enjoy youself." " But," he said, "they tell me I'll win." "You won't," I replied. Well, he didn't. Instead, he went south and enjoyed

life, and we remained fast friends for the next twenty years. He was also my conduit to former Wehrmacht people because, he said, I could be trusted.

Then I heard from an American about a man named Otto Skorzeny, an Austrian who became famous by rescuing Mussolini in a commando operation. This American had been a GI where the Malmedy massacre [during the Battle of the Bulge] took place. He and a dozen other Americans were stuck during the battle in a hotel, and thought they were going to be killed. Then one night this big face looked down at them and said, "You are now my prisoners."

It was Skorzeny, who commanded a special regiment of German soldiers dressed as American GIs. He took those Americans prisoner and thereby saved them. The former GI said that Skorzeny now lives in Madrid, and he asked if I would like to talk to him. I said, "You're talking about 'Scarface,' the guy that was going to kill Eisenhower, a criminal whom you say saved your lives?" In those days, everyone was trying to find Skorzeny, but this former GI was ready to direct me to him.

So I went down to Spain and found him in two hours! I met this huge man, like a mountain, who had a big scar. Wow! I had to tell him that I was John Toland, and that I was going to write a book about the Battle of the Bulge. And he replied, "I've been waiting for you."

Well, he took me home, cooked me dinner, and we had a marvelous time. I could see what a marvelous, historical artifact I had found. He loved Hitler! He wasn't like those other characters who talked about how terrible Hitler had been. Skorzeny offered to put me in touch with former SS men living in South America and elsewhere, people like former Belgian SS commander Leon Degrelle. "Fine," I replied, I'll listen to anybody." And so he became my conduit to the SS.

I had all these things going for me, and the book itself was a success. You know, we really screwed up in the Battle of the Bulge, but people love to see us screw up, because we always come out ahead in the last minute of play.

After talking to people like Skorzeny, my perspective and thinking changed. I saw that the Germans had a point, too, and I presented them as human beings. Similarly, I never used pejorative adjectives. You know, it worked!

Fortunately, the people who loved my book, like the GIs who were there, and most of the army brass, wanted to know what

the enemy was really like. You see, when two peoples are fighting like this, do you know who the real enemy is? It's often behind them—the guys who are pushing them to fight. The poor birds who have to do the actual fighting have no concept of what is really going on.

I had never been west of Los Angeles, and so I decided to visit the Far East. With my new perspective on history, I decided to write about the first six months after the Pearl Harbor attack. I visited Pearl Harbor, Wake Island, Saipan, and the Philippines, and I learned about the Filipinos.

In the Philippines, I was seeing more Filipinos than Americans, because the Americans had stopped helping me. I complained, and as a result the American officer (who was like the "ugly American" character in the novel and motion picture of the same name) asked me if I wanted to meet President Garcia. After hearing my story, President Garcia told a young fellow, Major Ramos, "I want him taken all over the Philippines." Imagine that! Here I was, a nobody, and I didn't have to pay a cent. I was taken all over. For example, within an hour after landing at Cebu, a young man told me that former President Osmaña wanted to see me the next morning.

Well, Osmaña was dying when I saw him, and he said to me: "I must tell you the secret that [former president Manuel] Quezon told us never to reveal about the so-called collaborationists." [That is, Filipino officials who cooperated with the Japanese occupation authorities during the war years]. He told me: "Just before Quezon left to go to America, he called together the six most prominent men in the Philippines, and he ordered them to pretend to collaborate with the Japanese in order to save the country." They were never to tell the story, and it caused a great sensation when it came out.

I got to meet the Aquinos, whom I've now known for years. I knew Mrs. Aquino [who is now the country's president] when she was a housewife. I never imagined that she would be head of anything. Her husband was the half-brother of my friend, Tony Aquino, who was a playboy. Tony was a wonderful guy, but his life was for pleasure. On the other hand, his younger brother was, at 26, governor of Pampanga. I met all these people, had a wonderful time, before going on to Hong Kong, Taiwan and, finally, Japan.

I hated the Japanese, of course, but after arriving in the country, I thought that I'd been had. While observing women clogging along the road with their kids, I thought to myself, "Are these the people I'm supposed to hate? I think I'm wrong."

Although I was a virtual nobody—I had written only two books—I arrived at the Sanyo Hotel for interviews with Japanese army and navy figures, the most important of whom was General Nara. He had brought along a copy of my book, *Battle: the Story of the Bulge*. He opened it to the biographical information about myself, and when his interpreter said that Nara wanted to tell me something that no officer should reveal, the general said: "You Williams, me Amherst. Must tell secret of Bataan." I said, "Back in three days, same place, good interpreter."

So, that evening I went to the press club and told my tale of woe to all the boys sitting around, and someone pointed to a very attractive young lady named Toshiko Matsumura, who was coming across the room to where we were. They said that she was a very good interpreter. After we met, she asked, "Mr. Toland, are you writing factual book or fiction?" She later often reminded me of my answer, which was: "Only the facts, girl!" At any rate, she liked the idea and offered to help me evenings when she wasn't working.

With her help I got a good story from General Nara. He told me about how he had ordered a colonel to carry out an attack against the American lines, which were protected on one side by a mountain, and on the other by water. The colonel took his troops over the mountain to get them to the rear. They had almost reached the top when they had to come back. The colonel asked General Nara to try again, but Nara refused. Nevertheless, they sneaked out and this time they made it. They got behind the Americans, and that's how they cracked the American line. I tell this story in honor of all those who were involved in this campaign.

Toshiko and I then went to see Admiral Genda, who had been in the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. He was now a general, and he headed the Japanese self defense forces. I became excited as he told me about the attack, and I began to feel like a Japanese participant in the campaign, which was wonderful.

After that, I talked with a flier who had taken part in the sinking of the *Prince of Wales*, a great British battleship. The

Japanese felt so terrible about sinking such a beautiful ship that the next day they flew out and dropped flowers over it! During those days, as I listened to all these things, I thought to myself that these are not the Japanese I had heard so much about. I told these stories in my book *But Not in Shame*, and I felt that I was beginning to get in touch. And all the time I was thinking of Porter Emerson Browne.

Another hero of mine was Edgar Snow, an editor of the *Saturday Evening Post*. He had gone to Asia to get the real story about China, which he told in his book, *Red Star Over China*. I was very glad to finally meet Snow in New York, through my Chinese friends. His book inspired me, and I also wanted to uncover suppressed truth. Instead of the usual bull that you get from the media, I wanted to find out what really happened. I didn't realize it at the time, but I was forming "living history."

The next book I wanted to write would be about the last one hundred days of the war in Europe. To research it, Toshiko and I spent about eight or nine months driving around in Europe. We toured 21 countries, including five countries behind the Iron Curtain.

We had incredible luck. In Hungary, for example, we got to know that country's most prominent opera singer, who was in charge of foreign travelers. He was a baritone like my father, and so we became friends right away. He warned Toshiko, "Please, madam, don't take so many pictures because the Soviets get very upset if you do that." He introduced us to Hungarian historians, who told us inside stories about the Soviets. After one such meeting, we found that our car had been broken into and that all of our photographs had been destroyed. However, we continued on our journey. Everywhere, we found people who helped us and provided useful information for my book. In Poland, we were given assistance everywhere.

Probably the most fantastic leg of our journey was in East Germany. This was in 1963, when Americans were not permitted to travel there. It said so in our passports. While we were in West Berlin, I interviewed an American journalist who had been born in Germany. He has been a young boy at the time of the bombing of Dresden in February 1945.

During this interview he made a passing reference to Dresden that moved me to ask if he had been there recently.

He begged me not to tell anybody, and I promised that I would keep the secret only if he would tell me how I could also get into the country. So he told me how, and he gave me a letter for a friend of his who was an official in the East German government. We crossed over, met the woman, and gave her the letter. I told her that I was working on a book about the final hundred days of the war from every side, and that we wanted to visit East Germany. She told me to return in four days, but not to tell anybody that I was coming. The night before we left, General Polk, the commanding general in West Berlin, had us over for dinner. When he asked what we would be doing the next day, I told him that we would be returning to West Germany.

Of course we crossed over the border instead, in our Volvo. We met with a young man in the foreign tourist agency who was a devoted Communist, and who was very glad that we wanted to learn about the German Democratic Republic. And so it was that we spent three of the most marvelous weeks of our lives going through East Germany, where we were given every possible help.

The only ones who tried to stop us were the Soviets. For example, Toshiko was always taking pictures of key bridges and buildings. While she did, our young Communist friend would talk to guards to distract them. On one occasion, we visited a location that I wanted to see in order to better tell the story of American prisoners of war. As we were coming down from the hill, where I had noticed that the ground was all torn up, we heard the wail of quickly approaching police sirens. Our young Communist friend told the police that he represented the government, that we were guests of the government, and so forth. (And he told Toshiko, "For God's sake, hide your camera!") So we got away free from there. When I later asked what the police had been so upset about, he told us that the location, of which Toshiko had taken many photos, was a military tank exercise ground.

How did we get back into West Germany? We were waved through a seldom-used crossing point by the West German border police, who assumed that a couple like us—one who looked like a Swede and the other Oriental—driving a Volvo with West German license plates for foreigners must be okay. We simply drove through, all the time smiling and waving.

The first man we interviewed after returning was Gero von Gaevernitz, who had worked with American OSS official Alan

Dulles. He had told us the story of how SS General Wolff had turned over all of the German troops in a famous operation [the German surrender in Italy], without any loss of life.

During our final meeting with von Gaevernitz, he said, "John, where did you come from? We got word from General Polk that you disappeared. What happened?" We told him that we had been in East Germany. He pretended that he wasn't in the CIA at that time, but we knew that he was. And he said to us, "East Germany? You know, you're in real trouble. You'll have to report to this office in the capital. There's no name on it, just a number. It's the CIA, and they'll handle this thing." Well, nothing ever happened to us. But I'm not going to tell you how we got away with it. You'll have to read our autobiography!

Our history books portray SS General Karl Wolff—whom I've mentioned—as a real swine. Even though he had willingly worked with von Gaevernitz and the Americans in the surrender, he was held prisoner in Stadelheim prison, near Munich. Well, I decided to meet with Wolff, even though no journalist had been permitted inside Stadelheim. I met this commandant, who spoke English, and I told him, "Sir, I want to see General Wolff." He replied, "You have three minutes." Well, I knew that the commandant would be interested in my story, so I told him all about it. As a result, I was there for almost three hours, and I got the whole story from Wolff, who explained why he had done what he did, for which he never got any credit.

Day after day, we had similar experiences in working on *The Last Hundred Days*, which became our first big bestseller. After that I decided to rewrite my experiences about Japan. I had only been there for six weeks, and I now felt that I knew nothing about the country. I wanted to dig deeper, and so I said to Toshiko, "Let's spend five or six years doing a book."

I went to my editor at Random House and I told him, "I've got a great idea. I'm going to write a book called *The Rising Sun*." He replied, "About Japan? But no one is interested in Japan." I said, "I don't give a damn. I'm going to write a book and if you want to publish it, all right." They reluctantly told me to go ahead. So after much research in the United States, we went to Japan, Okinawa, Iwo Jima, Saipan and Thailand, where we spent a year and a half. That was probably the most fruitful time of my life. Moreover, I was finally getting to

understand things and people.

I learned that Toshiko's father knew many key officials in Japan. The most important of these was Marquis Kido, the Privy Seal who had been the chief advisor to the emperor. He had also kept the so-called Kido diaries. Even though he had worked with the emperor for peace, he was sentenced to life imprisonment as a war criminal. And because the Americans had taken his diary and had defectively translated it, and would not pay attention to his corrections, he hated Americans. I told my father-in-law that I had to see him. So he phoned Kido who agreed to meet with me.

He was a short fellow, about five feet tall, but he had tremendous authority. For two days he seemed to look right through me as we talked. And then suddenly he said to me, "You only want to know what happened!" I said, "Yes, I only want to know what happened!" He responded, "Why didn't you tell me?" He then opened up and during the course of my six or seven interviews, we got to the heart of this whole story.

Whenever I interviewed someone, whether they were a president or a private, and regardless of nationality – I treated everyone the same – I routinely sent the material back for checking. Other authors I knew warned me that I was crazy to do this, and that I would lose every good story this way. In fact, I never lost a good story. In the case of Marquis Kido, for example, he sent us numerous pages. For one thing, I had got his religion wrong, his name wrong, and about ten other things like that. Most importantly, he explained that I had not understood what his special relationship with the emperor was. He then explained this in great detail, and told me many things he had not previously related.

The Germans were astounded by this practice of mine, which I followed in each case, no matter who the person was. The person was able to see that I could be trusted. The few things that people wanted removed were personal matters.

It took me a week to persuade Hitler's youngest secretary, Traudl Junge, to really agree to an interview. After several unproductive hours, her sister said to her in German, "Why don't you give it to him?" I wondered what she meant. Finally with a pleading look, I told her I would send back everything and she could check it. In her case, it came back as a thick manuscript about her personal relationship with Adolf Hitler – a gold mine. I had my interpreter make copies, and I returned her material before the time she had specified.

In the book's section about her, I included a portion telling how Hitler liked to arrange romances in the office. He had arranged a romance and a marriage with a young SS officer, for example. Well, she blew her top and wrote me a scathing letter. I replied by asking what she was kicking about. I told her that if she didn't want it, I would cut it out. So we cut that out. However, she never cut anything about Hitler.

I respect the right of whomever I interview, and I accurately relate what I'm told. As a result, I was trusted by both Nazis and anti-Nazis—they all knew that I knew everybody else. It's crazy, but I don't know anybody else who does this, and I don't understand why.

Well, I was very unhappy about what I'd written about Hitler in my two previous books. I regarded it as two-dimensional, and not the real Hitler. So I decided to write a book about him. After talking to my wife about this project, I spent six years working on the book. I returned to Germany, where I interviewed many people. Manteuffel and Skorzeny were very helpful.

Let me tell you about Otto Skorzeny. While working on *The Last Hundred Days*, we met with him in Spain, where he told us the marvelous story about Hungarian leader Horthy's secret deal with the Soviets to switch sides. Hitler found out about this and called in Skorzeny, who was his favorite troubleshooter. He told him that he could have a regiment to take care of the situation in Hungary. Skorzeny replied, "Sir, I want one tank and 25 men. And I want a truck." So he went to Hungary and successfully carried out "Operation Mickey Mouse." (Horthy's son was called Miki.)

Skorzeny had been inspired by reading George Bernard Shaw's play *Caesar and Cleopatra*, in which Cleopatra (as a young girl) is stolen away from a kind of lighthouse by wrapping her in a carpet. So Skorzeny got a big rug and took it to young Horthy's apartment on Castle Hill, the huge government headquarters. After saying to him "Miki, I've got a present for you," he shot him in the arm, rolled him up in the rug, packed him in the truck, put him on a plane and sent him off to Hitler. Skorzeny then phoned Horthy and told him, "Your son's about to be sent to the Führer's headquarters. What would you like me to do with him?" Horthy said, "I never wanted him to do this, tell me what you want me to do." Skorzeny told him that he wanted his cooperation in taking over Castle Hill. And so with just one tank and 25 men,

Skorzeny took over the entire citadel within an hour. He was most proud of the fact that he had accomplished it without almost no deaths – he killed four Hungarians and lost two of his own men.

Otto Skorzeny also told me about his great friend Hans-Ulrich Rudel, who was one of the Führer's greatest heroes. He was a Stuka pilot who had sunk a Soviet battleship and destroyed more than 500 Soviet tanks. A superman. Skorzeny told me the story of how Rudel had lost one leg during the last hundred days, was grounded and told that he would never fly again. When Skorzeny heard that this great athlete had lost his leg, he was very unhappy and visited his friend. When he arrived, he heard strange thumping noises coming from Rudel's room. He opened the door and found Rudel banging his stump against the table. Otto shouted, "Oh God, don't do that!" Rudel said, "Hi Otto, how are you doing?" and Otto responded, "What the hell are you doing?" Rudel answered, "Getting my leg tough so I can go back in my Stuka. My mechanics are fixing it so that I can fly it with one leg." And do you know that this guy went back to his plane? Can you imagine the pull of diving like that, the pain? Hitler was furious when he heard, because he had ordered Rudel never to go up again. He regarded him almost as a son.

To get back to my story, Otto asked me if I had communicated with Rudel, who lived in Chile. After I told him that he would not answer my letters, Otto picked up the phone, reached Rudel in Chile, and told him "Toland says you're afraid to see him." Skorzeny then looked at me and said, "He'll be here tomorrow."

Otto told me more about his friend. "Do you know Rudel has become a champion skier? With one leg? And not only that, did you know that last year he went on a climb of the highest mountain in Chile? He went up with ten people and was abandoned, with no skis and one leg, and after three weeks he came down again?" This was a superman; I was eager to talk with him.

And that's how Otto, Toshiko and I found ourselves at the airport waiting for this man with one leg. All of a sudden we saw this youngish man running as if he had three legs. It was Rudel. Otto served as our translator. Even though he had a curious English that was entirely his own, we managed to get a terrific story from Rudel.

I later became very friendly with Rudel. You may know he was one of the leaders of the neo-Nazi group. I visited him and his beautiful new wife and their two-year-old child at his new home on the border of Austria and Germany. When he told us of all his ideas about changing Germany, I said, "Gee, why don't you just enjoy life." He simply said, "No. What can I do for you?" I told him about Hitler's air force adjutant, a snob who was the only Hitler adjutant I was not able to meet. So Rudel phoned this fellow and told him, "Rudel here. Toland is here and he's going to tell our story. You are going to see him." And that's how he got this air force snob to see me.

Meeting a man like Rudel was really something. For example, as he told me, at the end of the war he refused to let the enemy capture him. He flew directly to an American airfield in spite of their guns and so forth. Later, British airmen treated him chivalrously and were glad to shake the hand of the great Rudel. Doug Bader, a great British ace and his country's most popular airman, lost both legs during the war but flew with artificial limbs. He sent Rudel his first artificial leg.

After completing my biography of Hitler, I was disgusted with this whole subject, and I wanted to get away from it. What made Hitler do all these things? So I decided to look into the First World War, and I began to work on a book entitled *No Man's Land.*

In response to my book *The Rising Sun* I received many letters—mostly from naval officers—who told me that I was mistaken in writing that Roosevelt did not know in advance that the Japanese task force was on its way to attack Pearl Harbor. I received so many letters that I told Toshiko that I might have made a terrible mistake. I decided to write another book and find out if I had been wrong. Well, I went at it in my usual manner and within a year found out that I had been mistaken. Franklin Roosevelt did know. For example, after a two-year search I had located a certain Admiral Ranneft, a Dutchman. In late 1941 he had been a captain, and was serving as the Dutch naval attaché in Washington.

After we established contact, he wrote to me: "You might be interested in my story. Did you know that I was the one who brought the plan for the Bofors anti-aircraft guns to the U.S. Navy, and because of that they used to let me into the Navy secret intelligence office all the time? And on December 3,

1941, I went in there and they told me they had discovered two apparent carriers, obviously Japanese, heading towards the east. When I returned there on the afternoon of December 6, I asked where the two carriers were now. The commanding officer motioned to a man who went up to the board and pointed to an area two hundred miles from Pearl Harbor."

"Wow! That's a great story," I told Ranneft, "but I just can't just take your word for it. What about some documentation?" It's in my war diary," he replied. "You know, some of it burned up here, but I sent the rest to The Hague. Why don't you inquire there?"

Two weeks later, I received the entire December 1941 portion of his diary. Everything he told me was right there, proving that we knew that the Japanese were coming. By the way, that evidence has been pooh-poohed by those who can't believe it.

Another great lead: one evening a man phoned me to tell me that he had been the person who had located the Japanese force in the Pacific. He was just a young navy enlisted man at the time, but he was a brilliant electronics specialist and eventually became a millionaire because of his inventions. (For example, he invented the anchor that is used by all of our small craft. Everyone who has a yacht uses one.) So after listening to what he had to say, I said, "Fine. I'll come up to Maine and see you." After spending an entire day with him, I believed him. But I told I him that I would come back the next day with my wife. I returned with Toshiko, and after we spent another whole day with him, she said to me: "He's telling the truth."

Well, about six months later, he called up in a jovial mood and said, "Oh, John, I'm getting married! You know, I'm marrying a woman who owns almost all of California and she doesn't like publicity. Do you mind not using my name?" I said, "Okay, I'll call you Seaman Z." I then asked about the photographs he had given me of himself. "Oh, use the pictures," he said, because, you see, he really did want to be uncovered.

Well, when my book *Infamy* was published, the *Washington Post* claimed that I had invented "Seaman Z." About a year later he came out in the open and publicly confirmed what I had written, but this was not mentioned in the media.

The most important part of my book was my treatment of the various trials and investigations into the Pearl Harbor

affair. I was floundering because I had all this great stuff, but I was not able to put it all together. I was trying to support Captain Safford, the naval genius who realized that all his information had been destroyed. So he went to a Boston lawyer named Rugg, who was representing Admiral Kimmel, who was getting the blame for Pearl Harbor.

I was saved by a man named Percy Greaves. I had heard about this strange fellow up in Dobbs Ferry (New York), who had been collecting material about Pearl Harbor for years. After talking to him by phone, I went to see him. We got along well together, and I visited him dozens of times during the next six months. He allowed me free access to his dank, dark cellar, where he fed his dog and where he kept all this precious material. I owe a great deal of the quality of *Infamy* to Percy Greaves.

[Editor's note: Until his death in 1984, Greaves was a frequent contributor to *The Journal*, served as an IHR editorial adviser, and addressed the Third IHR Conference (1981). See the *JHR* issues of Fall 1982 (pp. 319-340), Winter 1983-84 (pp. 388-474), and Winter 1984 (pp. 444-445).]

Finally, I would like to tell you about the book we've been working on for the last three years. It's a history of the Korean War. We've done a great deal of research on this in Korea, Taiwan and China. Through our contacts, we were finally invited to China itself, and our visit there was one of the most important times of our lives.

When we arrived in Beijing in late April 1989, the Chinese historians I had been in touch with were very excited because the students were organizing a revolt. They were protesting against the corruption of the fat cats in power, and were receiving tremendous public support.

Well, on the fourth of May, we were interviewing a young lieutenant colonel from the People's Liberation Army who had written a book about the Korean war. Unfortunately, I got nothing from him because he would not let me tape him and he refused to answer any of my tough questions. When we went out for lunch, we saw this great flood of students coming back from the first demonstration at Tienanmen Square. It was most exciting. When we returned to the young lieutenant colonel after lunch, he was very excited and said, "I'm going to bring my old professor to see you. He was the first to write about the Korean War. He was a top commissar there. Maybe he will be willing to tell you about it."

Two days later he introduced us to this large man. Dressed in a dark Mao uniform, he looked like a bear. When we sat down, I asked him if I could tape him, and he said, "Yes. I'm not going to tell you about my book. I'm going to tell you things I couldn't put in my book." He then began revealing all this marvelous information. Toshiko asked him if she could take his picture, and he readily agreed. He put a big arm around me for a picture that we could use for publicity if we wanted. All this was a great breakthrough.

John and Toshiko Toland

The next day we were invited to lecture on living history at the Academy of Military Science. It turned out that the entire staff had read my books, five of which have been published in China. Our lecture was very well received. Afterwards, the commanding general allowed us to take his picture. And then they opened up this archival material to us, which told what the Korean War was like, what Mao was like, and so forth.

The media horribly misrepresented the Chinese students' revolt. This was only a limited revolt against corruption by the top officials, but the TV circus turned it into a demonstration

for democracy, which they did not understand at all. Their older professors told them "You have won. Now leave Tienanmen Square." But no, they were told to put up a kind of statue of liberty, and the media turned the thing into a tragedy. No one has written the truth about what really happened. The young Chinese were doing something very Chinese. It was not like we all saw on television, and turning it into a Western thing corrupted the spirit of the entire campaign.

Fortunately, we managed to get out of China with all our material, and as soon as we got out, the doors closed again.

After writing seven histories of war in the twentieth century, I've come to a number of conclusions. It is human nature that repeats itself, not history. In fact, we often learn more about the past from the present, than the reverse. I have also discovered that a vile man can occasionally tell the truth, and a noble man can tell a lie. And that men don't make history as often as history makes men. That the course of history is not only unpredictable, but inevitable. Finally, I've learned that the writing of history can never be definitive.

I have tried to approach history as a non-partisan, ignoring nationality and ideology, and to portray the horrors of war through the sufferings of ordinary people as well as in the imaginations of the mighty. Throughout it all, I have tried, in my obsessive search for reality, to present living history, human history, with subjective objectivity.

Auschwitz: Technique & Operation of the Gas Chambers

Or,

Improvised Gas Chambers & Casual Gassings at Auschwitz & Birkenau, According to J.C. Pressac (1989)

Part I

ROBERT FAURISSON
Translated by T.J. O'Keefe

Jean-Claude Pressac's massive study of the homicidal gas chambers of Auschwitz and Birkenau appeared two years ago. Had it actually presented the slightest proof for the existence of the alleged gas chambers, media throughout the entire world would have resounded with the news. But instead of an uproar, there has been silence. The explanation for this silence lies in the fact that the author, far from presenting the expected proof, has unintentionally proved that the Revisionists were correct to conclude from their own researches that the gas chambers were only mythical. As will be seen, the Pressac book is a calamity for the Exterminationists, a windfall for the Revisionists.

Since 1978, there have been innumerable books, documents, and films supposed to prove, once and for all, the reality of the Hitlerian gas chambers. For their part, the professors and researchers, who made the rounds from conferences on the "Holocaust" to colloquia on the "Shoah," promised us that, on this subject, we were about to hear the last word. But when all was said and done, nothing surfaced in fulfillment of the expectations which had been created. Nothing. Ever.

Nevertheless, the appearance of these books, documents, and films as well as the staging of the conferences and colloquia was usually accompanied by an ephemeral media brouhaha or the appearance of intellectual ferment, as if

something new had actually been produced. The fever fell rapidly, but for some days at least the illusion of an event had been created.

Nothing of the sort with Pressac's book. This time the silence was shattering. A single journalist remarked upon the book: Richard Bernstein, whose article appeared in the *New York Times* of December 18, 1989 (section C, p. 11, 14). The title of this article and the photograph taken from Pressac to illustrate it are indicative of the reporter's confusion. The headline reads: "A New Book Is Said to Refute Revisionist View of Holocaust."

The photograph shows a wooden door with a metal frame and, in the center, a peephole; moreover, one sees chalked on the door German and Russian words. The *Times* caption reads:

> A photograph of a gas chamber door from the book "Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers." A warning written on the door after the camp's liberation reads "Attention! Danger! No entry!"

The journalist is honest enough to stress that the writing on the door stems from after the war but doesn't reveal to the reader that this photograph is presented by Pressac himself in the chapter on gas chambers... for *disinfection* (p. 50). Truth to tell, the unfortunate journalist could have found none better: among the hundreds of photographs and documents in this tedious tome, it is impossible to find *a single one* which could be decently presented as proof of the existence of a single gas chamber.

In a different edition of the *New York Times* published on the same date, an identical article (Section B, p. 1, 4) appeared under a different title: "Auschwitz: A Doubter Verifies the Horror."

This time, Bernstein chose a photograph of a blueprint of a crematorium and a photograph of prisoners carrying their shoes after showering. The first photograph comes from page 141 of the book, on which the blueprint is said to concern a crematorium *without a homicidal gas chamber*. The second photograph is taken from page 80, where the naked men are said to be prisoners who, with their shoes in hand, are leaving the shower room for the "drying room; clean side," both rooms in a large installation for showering and disinfection.

The content of this article would bear reproduction in full for its author's circumspection regarding Pressac. And, as we've seen, none of the three photographs supports the thesis of an extermination in gas chambers.

In France there has been brief mention, here and there, of the Pressac book, with the air of a drowning man's last grasp at a straw. In this regard, the case of Pierre Vidal-Naquet is heart-rending. This professor has, in recent years, championed two authors whom he counted on to answer the Revisionists: Arno Mayer and Jean-Claude Pressac or, as he described them, an American Jewish historian "teaching at the very elitist Princeton University" and a Frenchman, "suburban pharmacist, trained in and practicing chemistry" (Arno Mayer, *La "Solution finale" dans l'histoire*, Preface by Pierre Vidal-Naquet, La Découverte, 1990, p. viii). His colleague and friend Arno Mayer has just done him a nasty turn by writing:

> Sources for the study of the gas chambers are at once rare and unreliable. (English original text: *Why Did the Heavens Not Darken?: The "Final Solution" in History*, New York, Pantheon, 1988, p. 362).

Which led Pierre Vidal-Naquet to write:

> Nobody at all, from now on—I mean after Jean-Claude Pressac's book—will be able any longer to speak, regarding the gas chambers of Auschwitz, like Mayer of "rare and unreliable" sources. (French edition, p. ix)

But what Vidal-Naquet prefers to ignore is that Pressac, too, has unintentionally made a fool of him (see below, p. 43, note 2).

Neither Arno Mayer nor Jean-Claude Pressac has succeeded in discovering the slightest proof of the existence of homicidal gas chambers at Auschwitz or at Birkenau.

An Author and a Book That Are Concealed from Us

So, J.C. Pressac is a pharmacist. He practices in the Parisian suburbs, at La Ville de Bois (Essonne). Around 1979-1980, he first offered his services to the Revisionists, who ended up in dismissing him; about 1981-1982, he besieged Georges Wellers, director of *Le Monde Juif*, who finally sent him on his way; then he presented his services to the Klarsfelds, who still use him today, but in an odd manner. Serge and Beate Klarsfeld have not published his book in its original French version, but in an English translation in America. It is unobtainable from the indicated address: The Beate Klarsfeld

Foundation, 515 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10002. One might say that this odd work has been placed under lock and key, in a few tabernacles, and is accessible only to a handful of the elect. In January 1990 I was able to obtain a copy by chance.

In October 1990, during my trip to Washington, I visited those two sanctuaries of international research, the Library of Congress and the National Archive and, out of simple curiosity, asked to see the book. Impossible: it was, to be sure, listed in the general catalogue, but oddly absent from the shelves, with no one able to explain its absence.

When Pressac, who has a burning desire to speak on the radio and at conferences, makes an appearance, one has the feeling that his handlers are attempting either to cut him short or to keep him altogether silent. Thus he was recently forbidden to speak at an anti-Revisionist colloquium organized at Lyon by the Union of Jewish Students of France and the Council of Representatives of Jewish Institutions of France; a journalist wrote: "[J. C. Pressac], who was present, could not even present his work yesterday, and he took it badly" (*Lyon Matin*, April 24, 1990, p. 7).

His friends have good reasons for confining him to a minor role; they know that, as soon as Pressac opens his mouth, they must fear the worst for their own cause: the whole world could then become aware that the unfortunate pharmacist suffers grave difficulties in expressing himself, that he advocates a horribly confused thesis and that he takes a real joy in making blunders.

A Windfall for the Revisionists

I will consider Pressac's book at some length for the following reasons:

1) The work is absurd to the point of zaniness and on that ground constitutes a historical and literary curiosity which the historian has no right to ignore; the author's mental fragility, combined with his taste for cooking his data, for padding his figures, for strewing sand in his critics' eyes and for making assertions without evidence provides a treat in itself for the connoisseur of eccentricity;

2) The thesis defended by Pressac illustrates the state of decomposition into which the theory of the extermination of the Jews has fallen; according to our pharmacist, one can no longer maintain, as did the judges at Nuremberg and the authorities at the Auschwitz State Museum, that the Germans

deliberately built vast gas chambers, veritable factories for gassing at Auschwitz, which functioned impeccably for years; for Pressac, the Germans tinkered with innocent rooms to transform them, for better or worse, into homicidal gas chambers (in the case of two large crematoria) and carried out improvised and episodic gassings (in the case of two other crematoria); in short, to use expressions I've heard many times from the mouth of our subject, at Auschwitz and at Birkenau there was a good deal of "improvisation" and "casual gassing": these words sum up Pressac's book in its entirety;

3) This voluminous compilation is like a mountain which gave birth to a mouse, and the mouse is Revisionist; indeed, the little of substance which one draws from reading Pressac fully confirms that the Revisionists were—and are—right;

4) For the first time, an Exterminationist agrees, apparently at least, to a debate with Revisionists on terrain dear to them: that of scientific and technical argumentation; the opportunity to demonstrate the impotence of the Exterminationists on this terrain as well is too good to be missed.

A Deceptive Title

Pressac has chosen a deceptive title for his book. He devotes not a single chapter to *homicidal* gas chambers and even less to the "technique" or to the "operation" of such chambers. He never stops asserting that these chambers existed, but nowhere does he demonstrate this. Often I've done the following: opening the book to a half-dozen different pages, I've invited people to confirm that each time, without exception, either there's no question of homicidal gas chambers, or the *question of the homicidal gas chambers is conflated with something different*; or finally, according to the author himself, it's a matter not of "proof" but of "clues" and "traces" of the gas chambers. Chapters are allotted to Zyklon B, to delousing installations, to the *Zentral Sauna* (a large complex of showers and disinfection equipment located at Birkenau), to crematoria, to testimonies, to the Revisionists, to the town of Auschwitz and to the private life of J.C. Pressac. There are treatments in detail, invariably confused, of faucets, of plumbing, of ventilation, of stairs, of masonry, of heating, and even fairly intimate personal revelations, all in the worst disorder and in a style never anything but baffling. On the gas chambers described as *homicidal*, however, one finds *not a single chapter nor even so much as a single autonomous*

treatment which can be detached for a second from the whole for study on its own.

Pressac wishes to deceive us utterly; or more specifically, to mistake showers, disinfection gas chambers, and morgues for homicidal gas chambers.

Scribbler's Methods: Disinfection Gas Chambers or Homicidal Gas Chambers?

Pressac in no way respects his book's plan. The disorder is general. The book swarms with needless repetitions. The technical discussions are disjointed. The book's title justified one in expecting a technical treatment, thoroughly documented, of the "murder weapon."

Since, according to the author, at Auschwitz and at Birkenau there was a considerable number of disinfection gas chambers (p. 550) and because such chambers could not, for obvious physical reasons, be used for killing people, how is a homicidal gas chamber to be distinguished from a disinfection gas chamber?

Since, according to the author, in one document (p. 28) the words *Gaskammer* (gas chamber), *Gastür* or *gasdichte Tür* (gas-tight door), *Rahmen* (frame), *Spion* (peephole) are all employed for a disinfection gassing, how are the words *gasdichte Tür* alone suddenly able, in another document, to supply proof of a homicidal gassing?

Doesn't one risk, at every moment, believing he's discovered a homicidal gas chamber where, in reality, the German document speaks only of a disinfection gas chamber?

Left with no criterion, without the least direction, we are condemned, from the opening pages of this utterly disorganized book, to doubt, to uncertainty, to the worst errors, and all that while wandering through a maze of heterogeneous reflections by the author.

I awaited with curiosity Pressac's response to these elementary questions. Not merely did he fail to give us answers, but he confessed his own embarrassment and, as we shall see, he devised a pitiful technical explanation to extract himself from the mess. Here is what he has written:

> Since the homicidal and delousing gas chambers using Zyclon-B [*sic*] had been installed and equipped according to the same principle, they had identical gas-tight doors fabricated in the same workshops [at Auschwitz]. Confusion [...] was

> inevitable, since at this time it was not known how to distinguish between the two types of gas chamber. [...]. The only difference is in the gas-tight doors: there is a hemispherical grid protecting the peephole on the interior of the doors of homicidal gas chambers.

The author returns to this subject on page 49 and above all on page 50, as if there he had a technical proof, a material proof of the existence of the famous homicidal gas chambers at Auschwitz. This apparent proof is based on two photographs of poor quality. On the left is the exterior of a gas-tight door with a peephole and, on the right, the interior side of this same door with a peephole protected by a hemispherical grid. It is this grid which makes the difference between the door of a homicidal gas chamber and the door of a disinfection gas chamber: it protects the peephole; thanks to it, the victims could not break the glass through which the SS were watching them! On page 50, Pressac is not so affirmative; he writes that this protective grid "makes it reasonable to conclude a homicidal use." But, nearly 200 pages later, he reproduces the two photos again, but with a different caption; this time, more boldly, he states plainly that it concerns (indisputably) "a gas-tight door from a homicidal gas chamber (as can be seen by the heavy hemispherical grill protecting the inspection peephole on the inside)" (p. 232). There one sees a characteristic example of Pressac's inability to put his thoughts in order, of his endless repetitions, of his mania for passing from hypothetical statement to pure affirmation on the same subject. The reader's confusion grows when, another couple of hundred pages further, he discovers a photograph of a wooden door with the following caption:

> An almost intact gas-tight door found in the ruins of the western part of Krematorium V [...]. *This door has no peephole* [emphasis in the original] even though it was used for homicidal gassings (p. 425).

But how does Pressac know that this door was used [*sic*] for such gassings?

The Pressacian confusion probably reaches its height when, at the end of the book, the photograph of a small brick building at Stutthof-Danzig is presented to us in these terms:

> [...] This chamber, originally used for delousing effects, was later used as a homicidal gassing chamber. This mixed usage is an extreme example of the confusion created over a period of thirty years and more by the difficulty of distinguishing

> between, or the deliberate refusal to distinguish between, disinfection and homicidal gas chambers (p. 541).

In the end the reader is unable to understand what, for Pressac, constitutes the physical characteristics of a homicidal gas chamber at Auschwitz, or of even a mere gas chamber door at the camp. It is the author who, according to his whim, decides to class as homicidal this chamber or that door, which in fact could have been entirely innocent.

But, to return to the grill which so preoccupies him, our pharmacist ought to have consulted an expert in disinfection gas chambers and asked him, for example, the following question: didn't the grill simply protect either the extremity of a device to measure the temperature of the chamber, or a cylinder for chemically testing the density of the gas? (See *The Leuchter Report* [David Clark, P.O. Box 726, Decatur, Alabama 35602], 1989, p. 16, column C, and J.C. Pressac himself, "Les Carences et Incohérences du Rapport Leuchter," *Jour J, La lettre télégraphique juive*, December 1988, p. viii, where there is mention of the "thermometer" of a disinfection gas chamber at Majdanek.)

The confusion between disinfection gassings and homicidal gassings continues with the business of the trucks which left Auschwitz to pick up Zyklon-B at the factory in Dessau, a city south of Berlin. Pressac cites "movement authorizations," of which Revisionists are perfectly aware (p. 188). In my *Réponse à Pierre Vidal-Naquet* (La Vieille Taupe, 2nd ed., 1982, p. 40), I reproduced the text of a radio message dated July 22, 1942, signed by General Glücks and addressed to the Auschwitz concentration camp:

> By this [radio message] I authorize a round-trip journey from Auschwitz to Dessau by 5-ton truck in order to pick up gas intended for gassing the camp to combat the epidemic that has broken out.

The German words are "Gas für Vergasung": gas for gassing. Here, and in two other documents of the same type, it is expressly a question of gassing for disinfection (July 22 and 29, 1942 as well as January 7, 1943). In the meantime, on August 26 and October 2, 1942, two other documents of the same sort speak of "material for special treatment" and "material for the transport of the Jews." There Pressac sees proof that, *both times*, what is meant is gas for *killing* the Jews! This is no proof at all. As the general context (three other texts of the same sort) demonstrates, the gas was for disinfecting clothing or rooms

on account of the arrival of the Jews who had been deported. The term "special treatment" (*Sonderbehandlung*) here designates transport (*Transportierung*) of the Jews (*Réponse à Vidal-Naquet, op. cit.*, p. 24). The more people arrived at Auschwitz, which functioned as a turntable for redistributing a large number of deportees to other camps after a quarantine period, the more necessary was Zyklon-B.

The Six Gassing Locations According to Establishment History and to Pressac

These six places are, first, *Krematorium I* or *Krema I* (also called *Altes Krematorium* [Old Crematorium]), located in the main camp of Auschwitz and visited by innumerable tourists (it is presented as if in its original state); then, located at Birkenau, *Bunkers I* and *II* (their location is not very certain); *Krematoria* or *Kremas II* and *III* (in ruins which can be investigated) and *Kremas IV* and *V* (of which there remain only traces).

According to Pressac, *Krema I* was planned with criminal intent and the homicidal gassings in the crematorium constitute an "established fact." But he offers only assertions unsupported by any arguments, any documents, and, in the 38 pages he devotes to this building (pp. 123-160), he is content essentially to report *testimonies* of gassings rather than proof. These testimonies, to which I shall return, leave one absolutely unsatisfied. He recalls, following the Revisionists, how after the liberation of the camp the Poles altered and disguised this crematorium so better to convince visitors of the existence of a homicidal gas chamber. The tricks were many. It was, for example, to conceal some of them that the Poles, Pressac tells us, covered the roof with "roofing felt" (p. 133). The loveliest of these ruses, discovered by the Revisionists and reiterated by Pressac (p. 147), is the pretended door for victims entering the gas chamber; in reality, this door was constructed much later by the Germans to give access to the air-raid shelter into which the structure had been converted. In short, for Pressac, what the tourists visit today is to be considered an "authentic symbol of homicidal gassings at Auschwitz" (p. 133), which is to say an imaginary representation, because, here, a symbol is not a reality and an "authentic symbol" is still further from reality.

In the conclusion to this section, he plays a real sleight-of-hand trick. He appeals to the Leuchter Report as the material proof—the only one—of the reality of homicidal gassings in that place. He says that Fred Leuchter, whose qualifications he cites, removed seven samples of brick and cement and that upon analysis six of them revealed the presence of cyanide; then he writes in bold-face type:

> **These results, virtually all (6 out of 7) positive, prove the use [of] hydrocyanic acid in the "Leichenhalle" of *Krematorium I*, hence its use as a homicidal gas chamber.**

Pressac omits stating that Leuchter:

—came to exactly the opposite conclusion: for Leuchter, a gas chamber did not exist and could not exist there;

—based his findings on physical inspection;

—reinforced this finding with chemical analyses entrusted to an American laboratory; these analyses revealed that, in the alleged homicidal gas chamber, the amount of ferric-ferro-cyanide was either zero or infinitesimal by comparison with samples from a disinfection gas chamber (recognized as such by the authorities of the camp museum), which had quantities of ferric-ferro-cyanide equal to 1050 mg per kilo, that is, at least 133 times that of the quantities found in the alleged homicidal gas chambers.

I shall return later to the Leuchter Report and the use to which Leuchter puts it.[1] Let us note for the moment that our author exploits the report and the chemical analyses it contains to his own profit. Georges Wellers does the same (see "A propos du 'rapport Leuchter' et les [*sic*] chambres à gaz d'Auschwitz," *Le Monde Juif*, April-June 1989, p. 45-53), judging that "the results of the chemical analyses were obtained by a very competent and conscientious specialist [Fred Leuchter]" but that "his understanding of the problem posed is minimal" (*ibid.*, p. 48). Vidal-Naquet thus took advantage of general credulity when, before an assembly of students of the Lycée Henri IV, in Paris, on September 24, 1990, he stated regarding the Leuchter Report:

> This is a grotesque document which proves nothing. Wellers and Pressac have expressed what is to be thought of it.

Let it be added that Pressac states that Leuchter was "commissioned" by the Revisionists, thus implying that these had been beaten at their own game and that the American

engineer had cruelly deceived his "silent partners." Leuchter, however, has in fact demonstrated that the Revisionists were correct. Furthermore, he functioned in a completely independent spirit, as a man who had up to then believed in the reality of the German homicidal gas chambers

Since Pressac admits that the Poles drastically altered the site, it is incumbent on him to study the question of gassing in the alleged gas chamber *as it originally was before all alterations, according to the plans which he presents to us, plans which I had discovered in 1976, published in 1980, and for which he is indebted to me.* However, he hasn't done so because then he would have to admit the obvious: vast gassing operations, right beside the oven rooms and twenty meters from the SS hospital, would have resulted in a general catastrophe.

The premises could have been disinfected with Zyklon B, as suited a storage place where in particular corpses of those who had died from typhus were piled; whence, doubtless, the infinitesimal traces of ferric-ferro-cyanide.

Neither Gerald Reitlinger nor Raul Hilberg nor Pierre Vidal-Naquet seems to believe that there was a gas chamber there; as for Olga Wormser-Migot, she stated expressly in her dissertation that Auschwitz I had *no* (homicidal) gas chamber (*Le Système concentrationnaire nazi (1933-1945),* PUF, 1968, p. 157).

Pressac is thus perhaps the last believer in the "homicidal gas chamber of *Krematorium I.*" At least publicly, for I recall that in private, in the company of Pierre Guillaume and me, he ridiculed the idea.

As for *Bunker 1*, he admits that in the last analysis even the physical site is unknown to us (p. 163). He adds that no one has either physical traces or an original plan (p. 165). As for the mass graves which were supposedly alongside this bunker and whose odor was allegedly unendurable, he considers them to be a product of the imaginations of the "eyewitnesses" and the odor in question to have arisen from decantation basins for sewage (p. 51, 161).

Regarding *Bunker 2*, there is no more evidence. Pressac believes he's found traces of this house but he furnishes only "testimonies" that he himself considers implausible; these testimonies are sometimes accompanied by drawings; in addition there are vague area plans owing to a Soviet commission (p. 171-182).

The factual balance established by Pressac up to this point is pitiful, if one considers that a good portion of the history of homicidal gassings at Auschwitz is founded on the *certitude* that the Germans carried out massive gassings at these three places (*Krema I, Bunker 1, Bunker 2*). This certitude, which one sees today as based on no evidence, has invaded the history books and the court dockets: goodly numbers of Germans have been convicted of the alleged gassings in *Krema I*, in *Bunker 1* and in *Bunker 2*.

. *Krema II* is supposed to have been planned WITHOUT a homicidal gas chamber (p. 200). It is here that the Pressac thesis differs totally from the traditional thesis. According to him, the Germans transformed a harmless, half-underground morgue (*Leichenkeller 1*) into a homicidal gas chamber. To that end they improvised, but without modifying the ventilation; this is supposed to have remained in conformance with that of a morgue, evacuating contaminated air at the bottom; that would have contradicted the ventilation of a hydrocyanic gas chamber, in which the warm air and the gas would have necessitated removing the contaminated air at the top.

Krematorium II is supposed to have functioned as a homicidal gas chamber and a crematorium starting on March 15, 1943, before its entry into official service on March 31 [1943], to November 27, 1944, "annihilating a total of approximately 400,000 people, most of them Jewish women, children, and old men" (p. 183).

Pressac offers no proof in support of such statements. He even states that the "industrial" extermination of the Jews at Auschwitz-Birkenau was "planned between June and August 1942 and actually implemented between March and June 1943 by the entry into service of the four *Krematorien*" (p. 184). These dates are known to be those on which the Germans, alarmed by the spread of typhus, decided to build these crematoria, and later completed the construction, but one cannot see what allows Pressac to assert, *additionally*, that these dates coincide with a decision to gas and an employment for gassing! Nowhere does he reveal to us who made such a decision, when, how, why, what were the authorizations, the instructions, the funding, and, as well, who, on the spot, was requisitioned for such an undertaking and what it must have taken to set in motion the modalities of this gigantic murder. He states that documents specifying the

date of the decision to modify the crematorium for "criminal" ends are lacking (*Ibid.*)!

Krema III, too, is said by Pressac to have been planned WITHOUT a homicidal gas chamber (p. 200). The Germans are supposed to have carried out the same "do-it-yourself" improvisation as in *Krema II*. *Krema III* is supposed to have operated from June 25, 1943 to November 27, 1944, "killing about 350,000 victims" (p. 183).

Krema IV and *V* are supposed to have been planned WITH homicidal gas chambers (p. 384). They are supposed to have functioned, one beginning on March 22, the other on April 4, 1943 (p. 378), but to have been scarcely used. "After two months, *Krematorium IV* was completely out of service. *Krematorium V* did not enter service until later, but was scarcely any better." (p. 384, 420). The gassing procedure is described as "illogical to the point of absurdity" (p. 379) and as "constituting a circus act" for the SS man carrying out the gassing (p. 386; see p. 43-46 below).

It is important to recall here that in 1982 Pressac maintained that *Kremas IV* and *V* had been planned WITHOUT homicidal gas chambers; the Germans had, according to him, transformed harmless rooms into homicidal gas chambers ("Les 'Krematorien' IV et V de Birkenau et leurs chambres à gaz, construction et fonctionnement," *Le Monde juif*, July-September 1982, p. 91-131). He never lets us know why he renounced that thesis in order to adopt one diametrically opposed now.

To sum up, if one is to believe our guide, one obtains, as to crematoria planned WITH or WITHOUT homicidal gas chambers, the following sequence, arranged in chronological order according to initial date of operation:

Krema I: planned WITH homicidal gas chamber

Krema IV: planned WITH (Pressac's thesis in 1982: WITHOUT)

Krema II: planned WITHOUT

Krema V: planned WITH (Pressac's thesis in 1982: WITHOUT)

Krema III: planned WITHOUT

Neither logic nor chronology can be served by such caprice and such incoherence.

For Pressac, Almost No Zyklon B Used to Kill People

According to our author, more than 95 per cent of the Zyklon B was used to exterminate vermin, which take time to kill, and less than 5 per cent to exterminate people, who are easy to kill (p. 15). He doesn't let us know how he has arrived at these figures. Here, we are at a far remove from the claims of the run of Exterminationists, in particular Raul Hilberg, who assures us that:

> Almost the whole Auschwitz supply was needed for the gassing of people; very little was used for fumigation (*The Destruction of the European Jews*, New York, Holmes and Meier, Revised and Definitive Edition, 1985, p. 890).

One can imagine the consternation of Exterminationists on this point, as on many others, if, instead of vaunting the book without having read it, they should happen to open it up and start reading.

He Can't Explain the Absence of Blue Stains

According to our pharmacist, if the Germans used so little Zyklon B to murderous ends, that's because in order to gas a million men (750,000 in *Kremas II* and *III* and 250,000 elsewhere, p. 475), only tiny quantities were required, whereas much more was needed to kill insects. Pressac holds to his belief in this matter because it is for him the only way to explain a stupefying physico-chemical anomaly: the complete absence of blue stains in the places at Auschwitz and Birkenau at which, supposedly, Zyklon B was used to kill human beings on an industrial scale, while, on the other hand, one notices the presence, today, of large blue stains on the walls of the disinfection gas chambers at Auschwitz, at Birkenau, or in other concentration camps. These blue stains in the disinfection gas chambers are due to the presence, at one time, of hydrocyanic (or prussic) acid; this acid has remained in the walls where, combining with iron contained in the bricks, it has produced ferric-ferro-cyanides.

Pressac dares to state (p. 555) that, in the case of homicidal gassings, the hydrocyanic acid went directly into the victims' mouths before it could spread elsewhere and impregnate the ceiling, the floor, and the walls. The gas was not even deposited on the bodies of the victims, from which it could have emanated throughout the room. This naive explanation amounts to supposing that the hydrocyanic gas, in this case

and this case only, consisted of molecules with homing devices, so organized that these molecules divided up the job of being inhaled, each vanishing into its own particular mouth.

According to even its manufacturers, Zyklon B (employed since the early 1920's and still used around the world today under other trademarks) presents the inconvenience of needing "difficult and lengthy ventilation, due to the gas's strong capacity for adhering to surfaces" (doc. NI-9098). Pressac forgets that, according to his own theory, in *Leichenkeller 1* (less than 210 sq. meters) of *Krema II* alone 400,000 persons were gassed in 532 days (see p. 36 above), which implies that gassings of human beings were carried out with great speed and in quasi-continuous fashion. He knows that hydrocyanic acid is absorbed through the skin (p. 25). So many corpses, representing a skin surface far larger than that offered by the insects and impregnated, like it or not, by hydrocyanic acid, would have constituted no less a source of emanation of the dread gas, which would have gone on to settle all over the room. These corpses would have been, further, impossible to handle in the way we've been told, and I shall not recall here the extreme precautions which, in today's American penitentiaries, are required of the doctor and his two helpers in order to remove a single cyanic corpse from a hydrocyanic gas chamber.

The ruins of *Krema II* are eloquent: they do not bear the least stain of blue ferric-ferro-cyanide. Therefore, the Germans certainly never used Zyklon B there in the quantities needed to gas 400,000 persons.

He Admits That the Germans' Code Language Is a Myth

Pressac opens an enormous breach in the edifice of the traditional historians and especially in that of Georges Wellers when he rejects the thesis according to which, in order to camouflage their crime, the Germans used a secret language or "code." He states twice that this is a "myth," explaining himself at length (p. 247, 556). He well sees that the secret of such a massacre would be impossible to conceal. Following the Revisionists, he submits documents which prove that the camps at Auschwitz and Birkenau were, if one may say so, transparent. Thousands of civilian workers mingled each day with the prisoners (p. 313, 315, 348,...). Numerous civilian

firms, located at different places in Germany and Poland, received orders for the construction of the crematoria, the disinfection gas chambers or the gas-tight doors. The *Bauleitung* alone comprised around a hundred employees; photographs show engineers, architects, and draftsmen in their offices (p. 347) where—as was known long before Pressac—the plans of the crematoria were displayed for all to see. The aerial photographs taken by the Allies show that at Auschwitz, as at Treblinka too, the farmers cultivated their fields right up to the camp fences. On the other hand, it is certain that the Germans sought zealously to conceal their industrial operations at Auschwitz (in vain, by the way). Thus the following paradox would arise: at Auschwitz, the Germans strove to hide what was going on at all their factories (armaments, synthetic petroleum, synthetic rubber, etc.) except...at their "death factories," supposedly located in the crematoria.

Unsubstantiated Statements and Manipulations

The book abounds with unsubstantiated statements and manipulations throughout.

What evidence does the author have to support the claims, hitherto unproved, according to which on September 3, 1941 Zyklon B was used, for the first time, to kill 850 people in the basement of *Block 11* at Auschwitz I (p. 132)? He states that, shortly afterwards (?), Russian prisoners were gassed in the morgue (*Leichenhalle*) of *Krema I*. He provides not a single bit of evidence. He states that, according to the "confession" of Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss, these prisoners numbered 900, then slips in the following words: "in fact between 500 and 700." The method is characteristic of Pressac: undoubtedly recognizing that the figure 900 is impossible in view of the dimensions of the room, he "corrects" it, and instead of making clear that his lower number is hypothetical, he *asserts* that "*in fact*" there were 500 to 700 hundred victims. I believe I could cite a good fifty examples of this process, which consists of introducing an unbelievable testimony, altering it to make it credible, and finishing up by according the result of this transformation the status of an established fact a little further on in the text, without reminding us that the original text was changed on the basis of a hypothesis.

Pressac alters words, numbers, dates, sometimes informing the reader of these changes with laborious justifications, at other times leaving him in the dark. Page 18 offers an example of this procedure. There the author sets forth the different characteristics of hydrocyanic acid (HCN, principal component of Zyklon B): molecular weight, etc. Suddenly, in a list of fifteen characteristics, he slips in the following: "Concentration used in homicidal gassing at Birkenau: 12 g/m^3 (1%) or 40 times the lethal (or mortal) dose." By so doing, he gives to understand, from the outset of his book, that the homicidal gassings at Birkenau are a scientific fact of equal standing with the molecular weight of the gas under discussion; and he would have us believe that the amount of Zyklon used to kill people at Birkenau can be, almost to the gram, scientifically established!

This technique, a mixture of guile and aplomb, is standard operating procedure throughout the Pressac book. Page 227 includes surprising assertions. Without providing the least justification, the author declares that *Krema II* was used to gas Jews before it was even completed (the undressing room was not finished) and before it was handed over to the camp administration on March 31, 1943. He lets fly, as self-evident fact, that around 6,900 Jews were *gassed* in twelve days. And he specifies the exact numbers and dates: 1,500 Jews from the Cracow ghetto on Sunday evening, March 14; 2,200 Jews from Salonika on March 20; nearly 2,000 more Jews from Salonika on March 24; and 1,200 more the day after. None of these data is accompanied by the citation of any source other than "The Auschwitz Calendar," compiled by Polish Communists. If indeed those Jews arrived at the camp on these dates, on what authority does Pressac tell us they were *gassed*? The accusation made here against Germany is exceptionally grave and would require a sheaf of evidence of extreme precision.

Repeatedly Pressac mentions "Himmler's order of 26th November 1944 to destroy Birkenau *Krema II* and *III*," "thus making the end of the gassings official" (p. 115, 313, 464, 501, 533, etc.) but our autodidact can only repeat here, without verification, what leading Jewish authors have stated (with some variation as to the date). This order never existed, but one understands why it had to be invented: in the first place to explain why, when the camp was liberated, there were no traces whatsoever of the crime; further, to make up for the absence of any order to *begin* the gassings.

On what authority does Pressac assert that Himmler was present in person at a homicidal gassing at *Bunker 2*, on the day of July 17, 1942 (p.187)? How can he accuse Dr. Grawitz, "Head of the German Red Cross," of having seen the extermination of the Jews (in gas chambers, from the context) with his own eyes (p. 206)?

To begin with, whence has he derived his summary of the homicidal gassing procedure at Auschwitz such as it appears, fragmentarily, on page 16? His sketch surprises one.

> What the reader of a work entitled *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers* would expect is an in-depth study bearing on the technique and operation of these extraordinary chemical abattoirs without precedent in history, then a complete description of the process by which a million victims were gassed. But the author evades the subject. He furnishes nothing but vague, fragmentary hints, with the reader unable to determine whether they are based on "testimony," documents, or are simply the result of further extrapolations. Nowhere in his book does he return to the central subject of gassing *procedure*. To be sure, he mentions, but only in the context of *Kremas IV* and *V*, the procedure peculiar to the gassings in these two locations, a procedure so absurd that he speaks of it as "a circus act" (p. 386).

How is he able to write: "In May 1942, the large-scale gassings of arriving transports of Jews began in Birkenau Bunkers 1 and 2" (p. 98), especially given that, as we've seen above, he acknowledges knowing nothing about *Bunker 1* (appearance, make-up, and even site)?

How does he know that, when the Zyklon B was poured through the openings in the roof of *Krema I*, the SS men in the hospital located right next door avoided watching the operation because "at such times it was forbidden to look out the windows" (p. 145)?

In what way does a pile of shoes offer proof of the existence of homicidal gas chambers (p. 420)?

How is he able to maintain that the SS envisaged the possibility of alternately using *Leichenkeller 1* and *Leichenkeller 2* as gas chambers (p. 233)?

How could anyone serve up the enormity enthroned at the top of page 188 (column 2)? There Pressac declares that the "terrible hygienic conditions in the camp" required enormous deliveries of Zyklon B and that the SS, in order to hide these conditions, pretended to order Zyklon B... for exterminating the Jews; these requests were addressed to superiors who had "a general knowledge" of the extermination "without being informed of the practical details"!

The "Circus Act" of *Krema IV* and *V*

Had he been honest, the author would have begun the section he devotes to *Krema IV* and *V* by recalling his interpretation of 1982. At that time, he maintained in *Le Monde juif* (*op. cit.*) that these two *Krema* had been planned WITHOUT criminal intent, as simple crematoria; then, later, the Germans had carried out improvisations in order to transform certain rooms there into homicidal gas chambers. In 1985 the author was still sticking to this thesis (Colloque de l'École des Hautes Études en sciences sociales [François Furet and Raymond Aron], *L'Allemagne nazie et le génocide juif*, Gallimard/Le Seuil, 1985, p. 539-584).

But in the present work Pressac makes a 180-degree turn, giving his reader no warning other than after the fact, in veiled terms at that (p. 379, 448). Since Pressac is always confused, readers will be unaware of why he held his former thesis (that these *Krema* were planned WITHOUT criminal intent), or what led him to adopt a new thesis, diametrically opposed to the earlier one (these *Krema* were planned WITH criminal intent).[2]

The author's embarrassment is considerable. One wonders if he wouldn't be happy to send to the devil the history of these two *Krema IV* and *V* which—he insists on this point—should not have worked because they were so badly designed and constructed that the ovens were quickly out of service (p. 384, 420).

He writes that at the end of May 1944 most of the members of the *Sonderkommando* who lived in a section of the Men's Camp at Birkenau—and therefore, he adds in passing, openly and publicly—were transferred "to *Krema IV*, which was converted into a dormitory for them" (p. 389).

In the Holocaust literature the revolt of the Jewish *Sonderkommando*, which set fire to *Krema IV* out of despair at having gassed and burned masses of their co-religionists, is

presented as a page of heroism. For his part Pressac doubts the "veracity" of this story and writes that *Krema IV* was only a dormitory at that time and that

> this rebellion was an act of despair on the part of prisoners who were overcrowded and underoccupied, who had seen too much and felt that their end was near (p. 390).

As one will see right away, the layout of the premises was such that, at *Krema IV* and *V*, it would have made a mockery of a homicidal gassing operation.

Let's take either of these two *Krema*. To start with, since there was no undressing room, the crowd of victims is supposed to have been led into the morgue, where bodies were already piled up. There, the victims undressed with the corpses in full view. Then they were led into an antechamber, and next a corridor. Wisely, they passed the doctor's office, then a coal storage room. Next, at the end of the corridor, they were divided up between two "homicidal gas chambers," each equipped with a coal stove which was fired from the corridor. Then an SS man, stationed outside the building, is supposed to have poured the granules of Zyklon B through shutters on the roof. Due to the height, he had to use a ladder. He had to position the ladder and climb up for each shutter; he would open the shutter with one hand and empty the contents of the Zyklon can with the other. Quickly, he would close the shutter and go on to the next. At the next he would move all the more quickly because, HCN being lighter than air, the emissions from the granules from the first made the operation more dangerous, even if our SS man was wearing a gas mask.

At the end of the operation, he would have had to ventilate these rooms at length and with care. Given the small size of the shutters and the absence of any sort of equipment for ventilation, one can't see how the operation could be carried out. The doors would have to be opened, and thus the antechamber, the doctor's office, etc. The corpses would have to be removed from each of the two gas chambers; then dragged the length of the corridor and past three successive doors to end up... in the morgue, where presently other prospective victims would be arriving.

In his 1982 study in *Le Monde juif* (*op. cit.*, p. 126), Pressac wrote: "This improvisation is stupefying," concluding:

> So, it becomes obvious: *KREMATORIUM IV* AND *V* WERE NOT PLANNED AS CRIMINAL INSTALLATIONS BUT WERE CONVERTED INTO SUCH [Pressac's capitals].

In the great opus under review, he makes obscure reference to his feelings of "1980"; he says that at that time he found that the operation was "illogical to the point of absurdity" (p. 379).

Nine years later, has our pharmacist finally arrived at either explaining this operation, "illogical to the point of absurdity," or discovering that the Germans in fact used a different procedure, one logical, sensible, explicable? Not at all.

He begins by relating that the SS took note of the fact that their procedure "had become irrational and ridiculous" (p. 386). The SS gasser had to pour the Zyklon B through six openings (Pressac considers that there were three gas chambers, not two, the hall doing service as the third!). This SS man, he states, had to go up or down his ladder no fewer than eighteen times while wearing his gas mask.

According to our guide, after two or three gassings carried out in this fashion, the *Bauleitung* (Construction Office) determined that natural ventilation was dangerous and that the method of introducing the poison resembled "a circus act."

For ventilation a door was installed which resulted, Pressac assures us, in preventing the west wind from blowing the gas in a dangerous direction and which allowed the rooms to be ventilated only by the north or south winds.

As to the procedure for introducing the gas (the "circus act"), that remained the same, except that the shutters were widened by 10 centimeters. Pressac writes, in all seriousness, that

> The method of introduction remained the same, however, the camp authorities considering that a little physical exercise would do the medical orderlies responsible for gassing a world of good.

Here, as elsewhere, our pharmacist shows marvelous aplomb, telling his story without supplying his reader a reference to any evidence whatsoever. Where has he seen, for example, that the camp authorities (which? when?) decided that the "circus act" was absurd but that "a little physical exercise would do the medical orderlies responsible for gassing [the Jews] a world of good"?

One of the constants in Pressac's writings is the stupidity which the SS demonstrated by its boasts. He uses this to explain many of the anomalies, absurdities, and ineptitudes in the stories of homicidal gassing. It is curious that he apparently doesn't suspect that this "stupidity" could be

attributed precisely to those who describe to us the activities of the SS gassers in such fashion. Or yet again, since all these operations are supposed to be tinged with stupidity, is it the SS's stupidity or that of Pressac himself?

Lastly, it is surprising that before concluding that *Krema IV* and *V* definitely had homicidal gas chambers, he didn't wonder whether they didn't simply house showers or delousing chambers. I have in my archives a sketch of *Krema IV* and *V*, after a plan which I entrusted to him; I see written plainly in our subject's handwriting the words "Showers 1" and "Showers 2" at the places he calls the homicidal gas chambers today. And, on his third gas chamber, I read "Corridor."

Instead of One Proof, One Single Proof... Thirty-Nine Criminal Traces

In his chapter on proof, Pressac capitulates immediately. He is aware of his failure; despite his rodomontade, he admits:

> The day when a newly discovered drawing or letter makes it possible to explain the reality in black and white the revisionists will be routed (p. 67).

This statement, which he lets slip regarding a detail, could be applied to the work as a whole: Pressac hopes one day to discover a "specific German document" which will prove the Revisionists wrong but, as of now, he hasn't yet found anything.

He recalls that in 1979 I launched a challenge. I was asking for proof, a single proof of the existence of a single homicidal gas chamber. He is not up to this challenge. His title for Chapter 8 speaks volumes. It reads:

> "One Proof...One Single Proof": Thirty-nine Criminal Traces (p. 429).

For my part, I was expecting to find a chapter entitled: "'One Proof...One Single Proof'? Thirty-nine Proofs."

By "criminal traces" he intends "traces of the crime" or "clues to the crime." That is to say, as the author specifies, "presumptive evidence" or "indirect proofs." Pressac tells us that "in the absence of any 'direct,' i.e. palpable, indisputable and evident proof," an "indirect" (author's quotation marks) proof "may suffice and be valid." He adds:

> By "indirect" proof, I mean a German document that does not state in black and white that a gas chamber is for HOMICIDAL purposes, but one containing evidence that logically it is impossible for it to be something else (p. 429).

And at this point the reader is offered thirty-nine indirect proofs.

But let us return for a moment to my challenge, in its meaning and its rationale. And let us also see in what terms Pressac admits that he is unable to provide what he himself calls a "direct proof" or a "definitive proof."

On February 26, 1979, exercising my right of response, I sent a letter on this matter which *Le Monde* refused to publish and which is reproduced in my *Mémoire en défense contre ceux qui m'accusent de falsifier l'histoire* (La Vieille Taupe, 1980, p. 100). At that time I wrote:

> I know a way of advancing the debate. Instead of repeating *ad nauseam* that there exists an abundance of proofs attesting to the existence of the "gas chambers" (let us recall the value of this alleged abundance for the—mythical—"gas chambers" of the Altreich), I propose that, to begin at the beginning, someone supply me with one proof, one single precise proof of the actual existence of one "gas chamber," of one single "gas chamber." Let us examine this proof together, in public.

It goes without saying that I was prepared to consider as "proof" what my opponents themselves chose to designate as such. My challenge is explained by an ascertainment: the Exterminationists all employed the all-too-facile system of "converging bundles of presumptions" or again, as it was called in past times, "adminicles" (parts of a proof, presumptions, traces). Each of their alleged proofs, rather shaky, was supported by another proof, itself rather fragile. There was much use of testimonial proof, which is the weakest of all since, as its name indicates, it is based only on testimony. The "essence" of the testimony of Kurt Gerstein was called on, supported by the "essence" of the confession of Rudolf Höss, which rested on the "essence" of a personal diary in which, they say, in veiled language, Dr. Johann-Paul Kremer revealed, and at the same time concealed, the existence of the gas chambers. In other words, the blind man leans on the cripple, guided by the deaf man. In the past, at the time of the witchcraft trials, judges made great use of

adminicles and, in order to condemn witches and wizards, relied on a strange accounting method whereby a quarter of a proof added to a quarter of a proof, itself added to half a proof, were considered to equal a real proof (the film *Les Sorcières de Salem* [the French version of Arthur Miller's *The Crucible*] depicts a judge practicing this type of arithmetic). Naturally, one couldn't provide definitive proof of the existence of Satan and of a meeting with him. It was impossible to prove his existence as one would prove that of a human being. That wasn't the fault of the judges, the thinking went, but precisely that of Satan, who, it was no doubt thought, was too naughty to leave traces proving his misdeeds. Intrinsically perverse by nature, Satan left at the most only vague traces of his passing through. These traces did not speak of themselves. One had to make them speak. Especially wise intellects were skilled at detecting them in places where ordinary people saw nothing. For minds such as these, Satan had tried to cover his tracks but had forgotten to hide the traces of his so doing, and, beginning there, learned magistrates, helped by scholarly professors, were able to reconstruct everything.

It was no different from any of the trials in which, since 1945, SS men have been tried for their participation, always indirect, in the homicidal gassings. Like adepts of Satan, these SS men allegedly left not a single trace of the gassings, but trained minds (the Poliakovs and the Wellers), testifying in their writings or at the bar of justice, have known how to foil their tricks, unravel the mystery and reconstruct the crime in all its Satanic horror; they have interpreted, deciphered, decoded, and decrypted everything.

No "Direct Proof," He Finally Concedes

Pressac writes:

> The "traditional" historians provided him [Faurisson] an "abundance of proofs" which were virtually all based on human testimony (p. 429).

He also states that there have been photographs of which certain have traditionally passed as proof of the existence of homicidal gassings, but he admits that not a single one of these can be "presented as definitive proof" (*Ibid.*).

Not a single one of the numerous plans of the *Krema* of Auschwitz and Birkenau in his possession indicates "explicitly," he writes, the use of homicidal gas chambers

although in the trials certain of these plans were employed as though they were explicitly incriminating (*Ibid.*).

There remain, he writes, only the various items of correspondence and official documents of German origin, which have, for example, been used in the "Faurisson trial"; but which, according to him, have never formed more than a convincing body of presumptive evidence (*Ibid.*).

The list of thirty-nine "criminal traces" brings to mind an enumeration (in the style of François Rabelais or Jacques Prévert) of disparate objects. One sees a parade of harmless technical terms drawn from the realms of the architect, the heating engineer, or the plumber, over which our pharmacist from La Ville de Bois wracks his brain to uncover darker designs. Pressac is without equal in making screws, nuts, bolts, and even the very screwheads speak.[3] It would be tedious to go through all thirty-nine clues. I shall restrict myself to the ones which, according to him, are essential.

Harmless Technical Terms

But beforehand I would like to call to the English-speaking reader's attention several German technical terms in fairly commonplace usage.

In order to designate a delousing gas chamber (or a gas chamber for training recruits in the use of gas masks), the Germans use the word "*Gaskammer*" and, when the context is sufficiently clear, simply "*Kammer*." A gas-tight door is a *Gastür* or *gasdichte Tür*; English speakers use "gas-proof door" as well as "gas-tight door"; this type of door can be used either for delousing gas chambers or for airlocks (for example, airlocks in an oven room or in an air-raid shelter).[4] In a more general fashion, a gas-tight door may be found anywhere in a building where there is a risk of fire or explosion; this is so in a crematorium, where high-temperature ovens are in operation. I believe that in Germany—this has to be verified—doors to basements with central heating installations are, generally if not compulsorily, gas-tight to contain fire, explosion, or gas leakage. "*Gasprüfer*" means "gas detector." "*Brausen*" means "shower heads" (for watering, spraying, showering). "*Auskleideraum*" means "undressing room" and, in *delousing* installations, refers to the room in which, on the "dirty side" (*unreine Seite*), persons undressed; it is not impossible, but I

haven't been able to verify, that in a morgue the same word is applied to the room in which clothes were removed from the corpses. Pressac introduces into evidence the existence of words such as *"Drahtnetzeinschiebvorrichtung,"* which he translates as "wire mesh introduction device," and *"Holzblenden,"* "wooden covers"; I do not think these words call for any special comment.

On the other hand, it is inadmissible that at the very start of his book, where he claims to enumerate the terms used by the *Bauleitung* in order to designate "delousing" or "disinfection," he noted the words *Entlausung*, *Entwesung*, and *Desinfektion* without taking the chance to recall that one of the terms most frequently used by the Germans to designate this type of operation is: *Vergasung*, which is translated by "gassing." For example, to stick to the documents cited by Pressac, Nuremberg document NI-9912, which I was the first to publish and for which he is indebted to me, designates gassing only by *Durchgasung* or *Vergasung*; this last word, which figures in the first paragraph of Section III, was translated into English as "fumigation" (p. 18, col. D). In a document cited by Pressac himself, General Glücks speaks of "gas for gassing" the camp due to the typhus epidemic: *"Gas für Vergasung"* (see above, p. 32); as for Commandant Höss, he referred to disinfection gassings as *"Vergasungen"* (see Part II of this article in the next (Summer) issue of *The JHR*.).

In passing I wish to specify that, for the reader's convenience, I have translated *"Entlausung"* and *"Entwesung"* the same, that is, by "disinfection." I note moreover that in the language used by the *Bauleitung* or in the ledgers of the locksmith of Auschwitz, there is a tendency to use the words interchangeably, without always distinguishing between "delousing" and "disinfestation."

In *Krema II* and *III*, the ventilation of the area which Pressac dares call a gas chamber, whereas it was a morgue, was exactly the opposite—and he admits this—of the way it must have been if Zyklon B had been employed there. Zyklon B is essentially hydrocyanic acid, a gas lighter than air. Therefore ventilation would have had to proceed from the bottom to top, with air blowing in at ground level and being extracted at ceiling level. But it was done from top to bottom as... in a morgue. *Pressac does not try to explain this anomaly, which destroys his thesis, at its foundations, one could say.* He makes

note of it, then does not even attempt to come up with an explanation.

Fourteen Shower Heads and A Gas-Tight Door

A discovery on which he prides himself, truth to tell the only one which he presents as "definitive" (p. 430) before declaring that it "indirectly" (p. 430) proves the existence of a homicidal gas chamber, is an inventory from *Krema III* for 14 shower heads (*Brausen*) and a gas-tight door (*gasdichte Tür*). Giving in to enthusiasm at first, our inventor writes on page 430:

> [THIS] DOCUMENT [...] IS DEFINITIVE PROOF OF THE PRESENCE OF A *HOMICIDAL* GAS CHAMBER IN LEICHENKELLER 1 OF KREMATORIUM III.

In 1986, the magazine *VSD* had published an interview with Serge Klarsfeld under the title "Les historiens du mensonge" ["The Historians of the Lie"], May 29, p. 37). There Klarsfeld admitted that until then "no one [had] bothered to compile the material proofs" of the existence of the gas chambers. To the question "Why were there no longer real proofs?," he answered:

> There were the beginnings of proofs which embarrassed the Faurissonians but had not yet silenced them. In particular, two letters analyzed by Georges Wellers, dating from 1943, which spoke, one of a gassing cellar, the other of three gas-tight doors to be installed in the crematoria.

Klarsfeld announced that he was eventually going to publish "a monumental work on Auschwitz-Birkenau by Jean-Claude Pressac." He added that the author had discovered the "proof of proofs":

> In all he has found 37 proofs, one of them definitive, of the existence of a homicidal gas chamber in [*Krema III*] at Birkenau.

The interview was accompanied by "the irrefutable proof" in the form of a reproduced document described as follows:

> On this receiver from [*Krema III*] signed by the camp commandant of Auschwitz, one reads at the top of the last two columns: 14 shower heads (*Brausen*), 1 gas-tight door (*gasdichte Tür*).

Regarding this "definitive" or "irrefutable" proof, Klarsfeld declares that it concerns

> A document which mentions both a gas-tight door and 14 shower heads.

To which he adds by way of commentary:

> Come, let us be logical, if this was a shower room, why this gas-tight door? The logic is flawless.

The logic is certainly not flawless and besides, as is obvious, here Klarsfeld makes use of a rhetorical technique dear to Pressac: preterition (and what's more, in the interrogative form).

I sent the magazine a text by way of right of response but they refused to publish it.

To begin with, this interview is actually a confession. In it Klarsfeld acknowledges that, until then, nobody had bothered to gather the material proofs. For his part Pressac declared at about the same time: "Until now there have been the testimonies and only the testimonies" (*Le Matin de Paris*, May 24-25, 1986, p. 3). In other words a terrible charge, an atrocious accusation against Germany had been broadcast throughout the world up to that time with no real proof, merely with the "beginnings of proofs" or with "testimonies." The murder weapon had never been subjected to expert examination.

The text I submitted by right of response recalled that the gas-tight doors were commonplace and that, for example, before and during the war it was compulsory to equip every place which could serve as a bomb shelter with gas-tight doors. I added that the gas-tight doors didn't imply, any more than do gas masks, a homicidal gassing.

Serge Klarsfeld, embarrassed by my use of citations from his interview in a text I devoted to Elie Wiesel ("Un grand faux témoin: Elie Wiesel" [A Prominent False Witness: Elie Wiesel], *Annales d'Histoire Révisionniste*, no. 4, 1988, p. 163-168 [published as a leaflet by IHR, 1822½ Newport Blvd., Suite 191, Costa Mesa, CA 92627]), blundered by publishing a letter in *Le Monde Juif* (January-March 1987, p. 1) in which he stated that his interview was "mistakenly edited" at certain points. But there are denials which are as good as confirmations, and such was the case here, since Klarsfeld, compounding his mistake, was then impelled to write:

> It is evident that in the years following 1945 the technical aspects of the gas chambers have been a neglected topic

because back then no one imagined that their existence would have to be proved.

Pressac had before his eyes a typed form, probably mimeographed, in numerous copies. Headings down the side of the page listed various parts of a building (rooms, elevator cage, hallway, toilet, etc.); across the top were headings for different fittings (lamps, chandeliers, lanterns, ovens, electrical plugs, etc.). Both horizontal and vertical listings left blank spaces for additional headings. The form in question referred to rooms in *Krema III*, among them *Leichenkeller 1* and *2*. Regarding *Leichenkeller 1*, alleged to have been the homicidal gas chamber, the following had been entered: 12 of a certain type of lamp, 2 water taps, 14 shower heads and (handwritten in ink) 1 gas-tight door. For *Leichenkeller 2*, allegedly the undressing room, 22 lamps and 5 faucets have been noted.

From the juxtaposition of 14 shower heads and a gas-tight door in the same room (part of a morgue), Pressac concludes that he is confronted with a homicidal gas chamber (!) outfitted with *dummy* shower heads; these shower heads, he adds with admirable composure, were "made of wood or other materials and painted" (p. 429; see also p. 16)!

The reasoning here is disconcerting. Pressac frames it in expressly the following terms:

—A gas-tight door can be intended only for a gas chamber [implying: a *homicidal* gas chamber];

—Why does a [homicidal] gas chamber have showers in it?

This reasoning evinces, aside from its innuendoes, a grave error. A gas-tight door can be found, as I've already stated, at any place in a structure in which, as is the case in a crematorium, ovens operate at high temperatures, with the risk of fire, explosion, and gas leakage. They may also be in air-raid shelters, in disinfection gas chambers, in morgues, etc. Finally, *Krematorium III* could have had, in all or in part of its *Leichenkeller 1*, a shower or wash room (every crematorium has a room for washing corpses). Furthermore, in another passage, Pressac writes that Bischoff, head of the construction office, requested, on May 15, 1943, the firm of Topf & Sons, specialists in the construction of crematoria, "to draw up the plans for 100 showers using water treated by the waste incinerator of *Krematorium III*" (p. 234); we know that there

was a shower room on the ground floor because the plan is detailed enough to show it; on the other hand, the plan of the basement is not detailed and indicates only the general layout of *Leichenkeller 1* and *2*.

But Pressac must sense the frailty of his argument since, once his enthusiasm has receded, he writes, nine pages later, in regard to this same document:

> This document is the only one known at present that proves, *indirectly* [my italics], the existence of a HOMICIDAL GAS CHAMBER in Leichenkeller 1 of *Krematorium III* (p. 439).

Let us observe, in consequence, that at issue here is the *sole* real proof and this proof is now *indirect*, although earlier it was decreed to be "fundamental" (p. 429) and "definitive" (p. 430). Georges Wellers himself, despite his readiness to entertain the most tainted "proofs," has conceded, since 1987, his total skepticism regarding the probative value of the document disclosed in *VSD* the year before. He told Michel Folco:

> Good, and the story of the shower heads on the form, you know, that isn't proof of what it was (*Zéro*, Interview, May 1987, p. 73).

As long as one refuses to carry out complete excavations of *Krema II* and *III* or to publish the explanations as to the function of these places furnished by the architectural engineers Dejaco and Ertl at the 1972 trial in Vienna, the matter can only be speculated on.

Four "Introduction Devices"

When Pressac discovers on another inventory that four "wire mesh introduction devices" and four "wooden covers" for *Leichenkeller 2* are mentioned, he puts forward the hypothesis that the inventory is in error and that it should read *Leichenkeller 1* (p. 232 and 430). His hypothesis is not gratuitous; it is founded on a material observation: an aerial photograph showing, apparently, four openings on the roof of *Leichenkeller 1*. But he is wrong to present subsequently his hypothesis as a certainty and to decide that the wooden covers belong to *Leichenkeller 1* (p. 431). If these devices were used to convey the Zyklon-B granules to the floor of the alleged gas chamber, how would they have been protected from the pressure of the crowd of victims and how would the gas have been able to spread through the room? I recall that, in the

procedure for disinfection gassing, the granules were not piled together or thrown in bunches but rather spread out on matting so that the gas could rise from the floor to the ceiling without hindrance or obstacle; after the gassing, the personnel, always wearing gas masks equipped with a particularly powerful filter, entered, following a long period of ventilation, to recover the dangerous granules, taking great care that none were left behind. Finally, Pressac seems to ignore that in 1988, at the Zündel trial in Toronto, the Revisionists were able to show that, if the four apparent openings are present in Brugioni and Poirier's work at the date of the aerial reconnaissance of August 25, 1944, curiously they no longer appear on the aerial photograph "6V2" of September 13, 1944, which Brugioni and Poirier didn't publish. Are they patches? Retouchings? Discolorations? On this matter one must read the expert testimony of Kenneth Wilson (Robert Lenski, *The Holocaust on Trial*, Decatur, Alabama, Reporter Press, 1990, p. 356-360, with a photograph of the expert at work, p. 361). The imposing block of concrete which constituted the roof of *Leichenkeller 1* and which can be inspected today on its outer as well as its inner surface bears not a single trace of these mysterious openings. As for the support columns, they were entirely of concrete and were not hollow. To conclude, if the inventory shows that these "devices" and "covers" belonged to *Leichenkeller 2*, it is dishonest to transfer them arbitrarily to *Leichenkeller 1* as Pressac has done in his "recapitulatory drawing for *Krematorien II* and *III*" on page 431.

Vergasungskeller

Pressac makes use, but not without hesitation, of the shopworn argument based on the presence of the word "*Vergasungskeller*" in a routine letter that the Auschwitz Construction Office addressed to the competent authorities in Berlin (doc. NO-4473). This letter, dated January 29, 1943 which contained nothing confidential and was not even stamped "Secret," states that in spite of all kinds of difficulties, and in particular, despite the frost, the construction of *Krema II* was nearly completed (in fact this *Krema* would not be operational until two months later). The letter states specifically that due to the frost it has not yet been possible to remove the formwork from the ceiling of the corpse cellar (which isn't assigned a number), but that this is not serious

since the *Vergasungskeller* can be used as a provisional morgue (p. 211-217, 432). For Pressac the use in this letter of the word *Vergasungskeller* involves an "enormous gaff [*sic*]" (p. 217), revealing the existence of a homicidal "gassing cellar" which could only have been *Leichenkeller 1*.

Since the word "*Vergasung*" is standard in German technical language to designate either the phenomenon of gasification[6], or carburetion in a motor, or disinfection gassing (translated in English as "fumigation"; see p. 50 above), it is impossible to see how, on the part of the author of the letter at Auschwitz, or on the part of the addressee in Berlin, a meeting of minds could result in the understanding that, for the first and last time, a *homicidal* gassing was at issue here! If Pressac, relying on another document, is correct in saying that the *Leichenkeller* in question here can't be *Leichenkeller 2*, he is wrong to deduce that consequently it can only be *Leichenkeller 1* (which recalls a homicidal gas chamber). He doesn't examine seriously another hypothesis: *Leichenkeller 3* with its three rooms.

To place myself in the framework of his hypothesis, if the word "*Vergasung*" is to be taken here in the sense of "gassing," Pressac must, before jumping to the conclusion of a homicidal gassing, consider the possibility that the word may refer to a disinfection gassing and since (locating myself throughout in the framework of his book), he makes great play of the testimony of the Jewish cobbler Henryk Tauber, I remind him that, according to this testimony, *such as Pressac reads it himself*, Zyklon B cans were stored in one of the rooms of *Leichenkeller 3*. According to him, the room of which Tauber speaks would have been the one, on plans in our possession, which is labeled "*Goldarb[eit]*"; perhaps he considers that this room, before it was used for melting down the dental gold[7], served as a storage room for the Zyklon cans (see p. 483 and the annotated plan on p. 485, number 8) but perhaps another room of *Leichenkeller 3* is meant. What is certain is that materials for gassing (*Vergasung*) were stored, if possible, in locations protected from heat and humidity, well-ventilated, and locked; a cellar was recommended.

Expressed otherwise, always in Pressac's frame of reference, the letter of January 29, 1943 might mean that the morgue couldn't yet be used but in the meantime the corpses could be placed in the storage room provided for the gassing

materials: in the *Vergasungskeller*, that is the "cellar for gassing [material]" (as *Vorratskeller* means "cellar for provisions").

On the other hand, *if* one makes of *Vergasungskeller* a cellar for homicidal gassing, *if* this cellar was *Leichenkeller 1*, and *if* the Germans contemplated making it into a provisional morgue, where would the victims have been gassed? *Leichenkeller 1* could not have been simultaneously a homicidal gas chamber and a morgue.

I notice on pages 503 and 505 that Pressac believes that I have given three successive and differing interpretations of *Leichenkeller 1*. I am supposed to have seen this room as first a room for carburétion, then as a morgue, and finally as a disinfection gas chamber. Not at all. In the first case, I recalled Arthur R. Butz's interpretation of the word *Vergasung* in the sense of "gasification" or "carburetion" but neither Butz nor I located this *Vergasungskeller* which, in any case, would have had to be close to the oven room and not in a dependency far-removed from the ovens. In the second instance I reminded Pierre Vidal-Naquet that the word *Leichenkeller* meant morgue or cold room and I specified: "A morgue has to be disinfected" (*Réponse à Pierre Vidal-Naquet, op. cit.*, p. 35). I added that chemical analysis would be able to reveal traces of cyanide because Zyklon B is an insecticide with a hydrogen-cyanide base. Rooms designated to hold corpses, in particular corpses of those dead of typhus, would have to be disinfected (I remind here that I use the word disinfection for "disinfestation," fumigating for insects, as well as for disinfection proper).

One will remark that Raul Hilberg mentions this document NO-4473 and cites three extracts in German, but avoids reproducing the word *Vergasungskeller* (*The Destruction of the European Jews, op. cit.*, p. 885). I imagine that as someone with a good command of the German language he saw that, had the Germans wanted to speak of a gas chamber, they would have used the words "*Gaskammer*" or "*Gaskeller*" (?) and not "*Vergasungskeller*," which one cannot translate as "gas chamber" without dishonesty. Besides, at the end of his book, Pressac himself is resigned to writing that the *Vergasungskeller* document "does not in itself constitute the absolute proof of the existence of a HOMICIDAL gas chamber in the basement of Birkenau *Krematorium II*" (p. 505).

Four Gas-tight Doors

On page 447, as "criminal trace" no. 22, Pressac cites a document which makes mention of, regarding *Krema IV*, four gas-tight doors. This time, for reasons which are not clear, he judges that this document does *not* amount to a "conclusive" proof of the existence of a homicidal gas chamber. This admission tends to reduce much of the value of his initial and fundamental "criminal trace," on which he cites the mention of a single gas-tight door on an inventory from *Krema III* as if it were a conclusive proof (see above, "Fourteen Showers and a Gas-tight Door," pp. 51-54).

A Key for a Gas Chamber

On page 456 he offers us as the 33rd "criminal trace" a document dealing with a "key for gas chamber." He does so with some embarrassment. That is understandable. Can one imagine a keyhole in a door, gas-tight, to a room which itself is supposed to be gas-tight? He writes that this is "incomprehensible with our present state of knowledge"; but why then represent this document as a "criminal trace"? The key might have been the one to the room in which the cans of Zyklon B were stored.

A Peephole for a Gas Chamber.

Still on page 456, he confesses that the 34th "criminal trace" is nothing of the sort, whatever may have been believed. In question is an order regarding "The fittings for one door with frame, airtight with peephole for gas chambers" (*Die Beschläge zu 1 Tür mit Rahmen, luftdicht mit Spion für Gaskammer*). In 1980, during proceedings brought against me by the LICRA (International League against Racism and Anti-Semitism), LICRA and all the rest offered this document as proof of the existence of homicidal gas chambers. Pressac, however, concedes that the document at issue was a command concerning a *disinfection* gas chamber, as I had already indicated in my *Réponse à Pierre Vidal-Naquet* (*op. cit.*, p. 80).

Other False Findings

"Criminal traces" nos. 33 and 34 ought never to have figured on Pressac's list of the 39 "criminal traces." Indeed, he presents no. 33 to us as "incomprehensible with our present state of knowledge," while no. 34 proves, as Pressac admits, the

existence of a disinfection gas chamber, not that of a homicidal gas chamber.

The business of the ten gas detectors, which he brings up on page 432, has already been scotched on page 371, where Pressac reveals that the firm Topf & Sons, manufacturers of crematory ovens, routinely supplied detectors for CO and CO_2; why try to convince us that this type of company, on receipt of an order for "gas detectors," would have understood by way of telepathy that in this case it was to supply detectors for HCN (and not of CO and CO_2) and... that it would be in a position to furnish an item that it didn't manufacture?

On pages 223 and 432, Pressac reveals what he believes is a document, dated March 6, 1943, according to which *Leichenkeller 1* of *Krema II* and *III* had to be "preheated." Pressac is triumphant. Why would one bother to preheat a morgue? And he implies that what they wanted to preheat was... a homicidal gas chamber. But nineteen days later, on March 25, 1943 to be exact, the authorities learned that such a preheating wasn't possible (p. 227).

On page 302 Pressac regales the reader with an account of how a corpse chute was replaced by a stairway, but toward the end of his book he abandons any attempt to include this in the "39 criminal traces."

He Ought to Have Pondered the Lesson of the Dejaco/Ertl Trial (1972)

I have had occasion to say that the real "Auschwitz Trial" was not that of certain "Auschwitz guards" in Frankfurt (1963-1965), but the trial in Vienna, in 1972, of two men responsible for constructing the crematoria of Auschwitz, above all those at Birkenau, Walter Dejaco and Fritz Ertl, architectural engineers. Both were acquitted.

If the scantiest of the fragments presented here by Pressac (and, as he admits, already known at the time), could have proved the existence of homicidal gas chambers, this trial would have been played up with great fanfare and the two defendants been crushingly condemned. The trial, which was long and meticulous, and which was at first noisily heralded, above all by Simon Wiesenthal, demonstrated—as Pressac concedes—that the prosecution's designated expert was unable to trouble the two defendants; the expert "virtually admitted defeat" (p. 303). In July 1978 I paid a visit to Fritz Ertl

(Dejaco had died that January), in hope that he could clarify certain points regarding the plans of the crematoria which I had found at the Auschwitz Museum. I discovered an old man, panicked by the prospect that his troubles were beginning anew. He was obstinate in refusing me the slightest information but he told me all the same that, for his part, he had never laid eyes on homicidal gas chambers either at Auschwitz or at Birkenau.

It is no secret that I would be delighted to have access to the documents from the pre-trial investigation as well as the transcripts of the Dejaco/Ertl trial. I am convinced that these would include detailed answers on the architecture of the Birkenau crematoria, on their internal layout, on their purpose, and, lastly, on their possible modification. This Dejaco/Ertl trial, the preliminary investigation of which began in 1968 at Reutte (Tirol), is all too often forgotten: it prompted, for the first time, a general mobilization to prove the existence of homicidal gas chambers at Auschwitz. It marked the first time that the Soviet Union really played a role in furnishing valuable documents, and it witnessed the establishment of a sort of direct conduit between Moscow and Vienna through the intermediacy of Warsaw (Central Commission for the Investigation of German Crimes in Poland) and Auschwitz (archives of the Auschwitz Museum) (p.71). Officials from the Jewish community throughout the world, alerted by Simon Wiesenthal, spared no effort. The two unlucky architectural engineers thus saw massive forces combined against them. Let it be added that, since they were quite unaware of the chemical and physical impossibilities of homicidal gassing in the facilities they had built, their plea was that the buildings' construction was perfectly normal, but that surely it was possible that certain Germans had used them to commit crimes. Dejaco went as far as to say: "And every big room could serve as gas chamber. Even this hearing room" (*Kurier*, January 20, 1972). Dejaco was greatly mistaken, since a homicidal gas chamber can only be a small room requiring a very complex technology and specific equipment, but nobody caught the error. It was during this trial (January 18-March 10, 1972) that the only Jewish "witness" to the gassings, the all-too-renowned Szlamy Dragon, "fainted" on the stand, and gave no further testimony (*AZ*, March 3, 1972). Pressac says that he demonstrated "total confusion" (p. 172).

The *Leichenkeller* at Sachsenhausen Ought to Have Been Visited

In order to get an idea of the several *Leichenkeller* at Birkenau, Pressac ought to have visited the *Leichenkeller* at the Sachsenhausen concentration camp, which is still intact and which, modernized in 1940/1941, offers a standard model of this type of building: on the ground floor there was a dissecting room, a doctor's office, etc., and in the basement three rooms occupying about 230 square meters. They could hold 200 corpses. Each room had its own function. One was designed for the undressing and laying out of 80 corpses; the next for laying out 100 corpses; the third was for 20 infected corpses. It is not claimed that there was a homicidal gas chamber in the Sachsenhausen crematorium. Pressac could have verified on the spot that a *Leichenkeller*, which has to be cool, possesses as well heating vents, humidification equipment, a special system for the isolation of the infected corpses (no direct drainage into the sewage system), a chute (*Rutsche*) very similar to those in *Krema II* and *III* at Birkenau with, on both sides, steps for the personnel who ran the elevator for transporting the corpses. Finally, at Sachsenhausen it is confirmed that the very word *Leichenkeller* is generic and is used of the building, ground floor and cellar, as a whole. This point of nomenclature alone should make us cautious regarding every invoice, every work sheet, every accounting record which, apparently referring to a basement room, perhaps actually concerns a room on the ground floor. For example, at Sachsenhausen the well-lit dissecting room or the doctor's office, both located on the ground floor, are described as belonging to a *Leichenkeller* (underground morgue).

He Ought to Have Done Work in the Archives at Koblenz

In the German Federal Archive at Koblenz, Pressac could have discovered, as I did, the extraordinary collection of documents NS-3/377, relative to the 1940 modernization of the *Leichenkeller* at Sachsenhausen. The three plans—of the foundations, the basement, and the ground floor—might have been done by an artist. There is in addition a collection of 90 pages itemizing the materials supplied and the expenses accrued; Pressac would perhaps have found in these pages the actual sense of words which he unjustifiably invests with

sinister meanings when he finds them in the records of the workshops at Auschwitz. By the way, I also have in my possession extracts from these records, carefully selected by the Polish prosecution: from them one can determine that the Germans and the internees under their discipline were scrupulous in entering the slightest order and job; reference is often made to disinfection gas chambers.

He Ought to Have Visited a *Leichenkeller* in Berlin

Pressac, who in his book speaks more of the crematoria and their ovens than of the gas chambers, should perhaps have visited the Ruheleben crematorium at Berlin-Charlottenburg to see a contemporary *Leichenkeller* capable of receiving 500 bodies at a time (see Hans-Kurt Boehlke, *Friedshofsbauten*, Munich, Callwey Verlag, 1974, p. 117, which shows a plan of the above).

He Ought to Have Given Thought to the Example of Stutthof-Danzig

Towards the end of his book (p. 539-541), Pressac devotes some attention to a small brick building which, at the camp in Stutthof-Danzig (not to be confused with the camp at Struthof-Natzweiler, in Alsace), is occasionally represented in the "Holocaust" literature as a homicidal gas chamber although it was obviously, as shown by its external stove, a disinfection gas chamber. Pressac's discussion is incoherent. He begins by stating, correctly, that, given the presence of the stove, the building was a gas chamber for delousing prisoners' effects (p. 539). Then, suddenly, with not a shred of supporting evidence, he declares that from June 22, 1944 (one admires his precision) to the beginning of November 1944 the building was used as a homicidal gas chamber for executing groups of about 100 people. Finally, on the next page (p. 540), Pressac changes his mind and concludes that no scientific examination of the "murder weapon" was ever made. From this he concludes, judiciously:

> which means that we do not know how the chamber functioned as a delousing installation and are unable to provide material proof of its criminal use.

It should be brought to Pressac's attention that therefore he had no right, a few lines earlier, to charge anyone with

homicidal gassing. *What's more, what holds for this camp near Danzig is just as valid for Auschwitz and it is inadmissible, there as elsewhere, to accuse the Germans of having used an abominable weapon without even having the weapon submitted to expert examination.*

No Expert Report on the Weapon
No Real Excavation

Until 1988 there had been no expert report on the gas chambers of Auschwitz and Birkenau. We had to wait until April 1988 for Fred Leuchter, a specialist in execution gas chambers at American penitentiaries, to publish a 193-page report on "the alleged execution gas chambers at Auschwitz, Birkenau, and Majdanek." Ernst Zündel, a German resident of Toronto, Canada, had hired Leuchter to examine those gas chambers and to gather samples there. The result was spectacular: there had never been any homicidal gas chambers in these camps. Only the sample taken from a gas chamber at Birkenau—officially recognized by the present camp authorities as having been used for disinfection with Zyklon B—contained meaningful, and even considerable, traces of cyanide; moreover, this chamber had the blue blotches which reveal that a gas containing hydrocyanic or prussic acid had been used in the past.

Pierre Vidal-Naquet dared to state in 1980 that an expert report had been "accomplished in June 1945 on the ventilation orifices of the gas chamber at Birkenau [*Krema II*], on twenty-five kilos of women's hair and on the metallic objects found in the hair" (re-edited in *Les Juifs, la mémoire et le présent*, Maspero, p. 222, n.41). I replied to him:

> I am familiar with the expert reports ordered by examining magistrate Jan Sehn and carried out by the laboratory located on Copernicus Street in Cracow. *They are not reports establishing specifically that such and such a building was a homicidal gas chamber* (*Réponse à Pierre Vidal-Naquet, op. cit.*, p. 35).

I shall not deal here with the explanations that I have advanced for the possible presence of traces of hydrocyanic gas in the vents, in the hair or in other objects. S. Klarsfeld knew of this expert report but he knew its limitations as well, since, in his 1986 interview (see above, p. 50-51), he admitted that up to that time real proof had never been published; but

an expert report would have constituted real proof. Pressac mentions the expert report of 1945 but is a long way from sharing Vidal-Naquet's views since he points out that, while scrapings from certain metallic objects described as galvanized plates originating from *Leichenkeller I* of *Krema II* were analyzed, this analysis, which revealed the presence of cyanide compounds, is only *qualitative* (Pressac's own emphasis—p. 233), although to serve as proof the analysis would have had to have been qualitative and *quantitative*.

Pressac informs us that the German association for "reconciliation with the Jews" and for "repentance," *Sühnezeichen* (Sign of Atonement), had in 1968 begun excavations in the ruins of the "gas chamber" of *Krematorium II*; I would be curious to know why these excavations were almost immediately broken off. In 1987 I received a revelation from French journalist Michel Folco. During a trip to Auschwitz organized together with Pressac, the two of them had met with Tadeusz Iwaszko, chief of the Auschwitz Museum archives, with whom I became personally acquainted in 1976. Folco asked him why the Poles had never resolved to carry out excavations and an expert examination, the results of which would have enabled them to silence the Revisionists. Iwaszko's response was that if proof of the crime were not discovered, the Jews would accuse the Poles of having suppressed it. Pressac wrote that in 1980 Iwaszko had already told him that excavations would have been of no value because in any case, whatever the results, the Poles would be accused of having "arrange[d]" the site (p. 545).

That's where the shoe pinches the accusers: they dread the results of excavations and analyses. The Revisionists, for their part, have risked undertaking such researches; their reward for doing so has been the Leuchter Report, which proves that there were no homicidal gas chambers at Auschwitz, at Birkenau, or at Majdanek ("The Leuchter Report: The How and the Why," *The Journal of Historical Review,* Summer 1989, p. 133-139).

Notes

1. See Appendix 1 below (to be published with Part II of this article in the Summer 1991 issue of *The Journal of Historical Review*).
2. Our druggist is used to making blunders. In order to illustrate that, I recommend page 558. There he recounts how no one was willing to give credence to his first thesis (*Krema IV* and *V* were planned *without* criminal intent) but that fortunately one man came to his aid, a man who "launched" him and who allowed him to present his thesis at the Sorbonne Colloquium in 1982, a man who, he wants to confide, found his exposé "clear and remarkable." This individual, who in 1982 supported a thesis whose exact opposite Pressac sustains today, was none other than . . . Pierre Vidal-Naquet!
3. On page 500 he presents us with three "gas-tight" wooden shutters, the provenance of which he doesn't indicate but which probably were part of the disinfection gas chamber. He points out that the fixing bar is "attached to the shutter by two nuts and bolts. The bolt heads are ON THE INSIDE and the nuts are ON THE OUTSIDE" [original emphasis]. And he adds: "an arrangement that calls for no further comment . . .," thus giving to understand, without saying so expressly (Pressac makes frequent use of preterition), that these shutters were part of a homicidal gas chamber and that, had the bolts been "on the inside," the victims would have unscrewed the fixing bar and made their escape!
4. In a bombing attack, the door to an air-raid shelter is supposed to guard against two effects, among others, caused by exploding bombs: suction of the oxygen out of the shelter and penetration of CO into the same shelter.
5. This observation, which destroys his thesis, he makes three times. On page 224, he writes: "The ventilation system of *Leichenkeller 1* [the homicidal gas chamber] had initially been *designed for a morgue*, with the fresh air entering near the ceiling and the cold unhealthy air being drawn out near the floor. Its use as a gas chamber really required the reverse situation, with fresh air coming in near the floor and warm air saturated with hydrocyanic acid being drawn out near the ceiling. But the SS and [engineer Prüfer] chose to maintain the original morgue, ventilation system in the gas chamber, hoping that it would be efficient enough." On page 289, he recalls this "technical reality" of a ventilation system "inappropriately designed for a gas chamber." On page 489, he finally writes: "The levels of the air inlets (above) and extraction holes (below) prove that the system was designed for an underground morgue and not for a gas chamber, where the extraction of the WARM noxious air should be in the UPPER part."
6. See "die Vergasung der Koks" (coke gasification) in a technical study of the crematoria which appeared in 1907: *Handbuch der Architektur* (Heft III: Bestattungsanlagen), Stuttgart, Alfred Körner Verlag, 1907, p. 239. In this work I found much information on "Leichenkeller," "Leichenkammer," "Sezierraum" (dissecting room), on hygienic rules, aeration, disinfection, on particular precautions for infected corpses

(separate room with special aeration and lower temperature), on showers, on the doctor's office, on the washing room, on the length of time for cremation. When all is said and done, *Krema II* and *III* were simply classic types.

7. Pressac is right to recall, regarding this practice (commonplace during wartime where "recovery of non-ferrous metals" is carried out everywhere), that the "recovery of gold from corpses is current practice, even though it may be considered repugnant" (p. 294); medical students know that it isn't an activity peculiar to the SS!

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continued from page 4

appetite for the *minutiae* of the planning, construction, and operation of the Auschwitz crematoria and delousing facilities than IHR editorial advisor Robert Faurisson, who preceded Pressac into the Auschwitz archives and served as the strange French pharmacist's first mentor in the on-site, material study of the realities on the ground (and underground) in the famous concentration camp. Here, in the first part of a monumental study of the Pressac thesis and its import for Revisionism (translated from the original French as originally published in *Revue d'Histoire Révisionniste*, no. 3, November-December 1990–January 1991, pp. 65-155), Dr. Faurisson spares all but the masochistic the chore of moiling through Pressac's mammoth (and all but unavailable) tome by reducing its author's unprecedented efforts to exploit the material evidence to so much grist for the Revisionist mill.

Seeing is believing, especially for Revisionists. Our new associate editor, Mark Weber, has selected and commented on just a few of the many revelatory, "tell-tale" documents and photographs which make Pressac's *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers* a windfall for Revisionism. The relief one feels at the restoration of the architecture and equipment of Auschwitz to its original banality is a measure of just how bizarre and sinister a phantasmagoria the wizards of Exterminationism have conjured up. Truly Mark and Dr. Faurisson and their colleagues are benign magicians, wielding their restorative powers to dispel the hateful projections of the liars of Auschwitz!

The Journal of Historical Review is proud to publish, for the first time ever, the final plea of the defense lawyer in the 1947 trial of nineteen Germans for their role in alleged war crimes

continued on page 120

Tell-Tale Documents and Photos from Auschwitz

Jean-Claude Pressac's book, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers*, is the first serious and detailed response to the Revisionist critique of the generally accepted Auschwitz extermination story. This 564-page work is itself evidence that Holocaust Revisionism can no longer be dismissed as a temporary or frivolous phenomenon, but is a formidable challenge that must be taken seriously.

As Robert Faurisson and Mark Weber have pointed out in their reviews of his book, Pressac fails to prove his case. But in his ultimately unsuccessful effort to shore up the crumbling "Exterminationist" view, Pressac is obliged to make many highly significant concessions to the Revisionist position. Both explicitly and implicitly, he discredits countless Holocaust claims, "testimonies" and interpretations.

His book features hundreds of valuable illustrations—including many good-quality reproductions of previously unpublished original diagrams and documents—that simply cannot be reconciled with the generally accepted Holocaust extermination story. Reproduced on the following pages are a few of these illustrations, which were selected from Pressac's book by Mark Weber, who also provided the captions. (See also Weber's review of Pressac's book in the summer 1990 *Journal of Historical Review*.)

"One Louse, Your Death!" This bilingual (German-Polish) poster graphically warned Auschwitz inmates of the danger of typhus-bearing lice. (p. 54) Other measures taken by camp authorities to combat typhus included camp quarantines, routine delousings of barracks and clothes with "Zyklon" gas, quarantine of newly arriving prisoners, disinfection baths for inmates, and inspections of barracks. The dread disease claimed the lives of many tens of thousands of inmates. German camp personnel also fell victim, including SS garrison physician Dr. Siegfried Schwela and other high-level SS officers.

Konzentrationslager Auschwitz
Kommandantur

Auschwitz, den 12.August 1942

S o n d e r b e f e h l .

Ein heute mit leichten Vergiftungserscheinungen durch Blausäure aufgetretener Krankheitsfall gibt Veranlassung, allen an Vergasungen Beteiligten und allen übrigen SS-Angehörigen bekanntzugeben, daß insbesondere beim Öffnen der vergasten Räume von SS-Angehörigen ohne Maske wenigstens 5 Stunden hindurch ein Abstand von 15 Metern von der Kammer gewahrt werden muß. Hierbei ist besonders auf die Windrichtung zu achten.

Das jetzt verwendete Gas enthält weniger beigesetzte Geruchstoffe und ist daher besonders gefährlich.

Der SS-Standortarzt Auschwitz lehnt die Verantwortung für eintretende Unglücksfälle in den Fällen ab, bei denen von SS-Angehörigen diese Richtlinien nicht eingehalten werden.

gez.: H ö s s
SS-Obersturmbannführer und Kommandant.

F.d.R.:

SS-Hauptsturmführer und Adjutant.

Verteiler:

7 Stück an	SS-T-Stuba.	je 1 Stück an:
7 "	" Verwaltung	SS-Revier, HWL, DAW, Funkst.
3 "	" Ablage	Fernschreibstelle
2 "	" Bauleitung	Telefonvermittlung
2 "	" Polit.Abt.	SS-Kantinengemeinschaft
1 "	" 9./SS-T-Stuba.	Fahrbereitschaft
1 "	" Landwirtschaft	Arbeitseinsatz KL
1 "	" Reitstall	Arbeitseinsatz FKL
1 "	" Schutzhaftlager	Abteilung VI
1 "	" FKL.	Außendienststelle des
1 "	" Gerichtsoffizier	Amtes W.I.
1 "	" Personalabteilung	Sonderkommando Zeppelin.
1 "	" Haus der Waffen-SS	

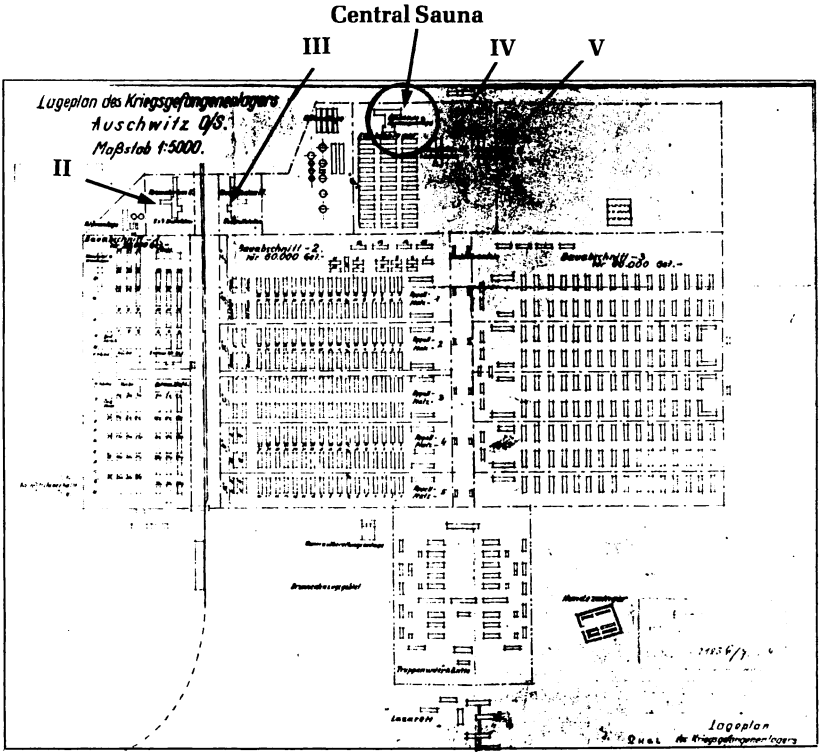
"Zyklon" (hydrocyanic acid gas), a widely available commercial insecticide and rodent killer, was used extensively at Auschwitz to kill typhus-bearing lice. It was used, for example, to fumigate clothes in delousing gas chambers, and to kill vermin in barracks and other buildings.

Commandant Rudolf Höss emphasized its deadliness when not used properly in this "special order" of August 12, 1942. (p. 201) Forty copies were distributed to officials throughout the camp. Höss warned:

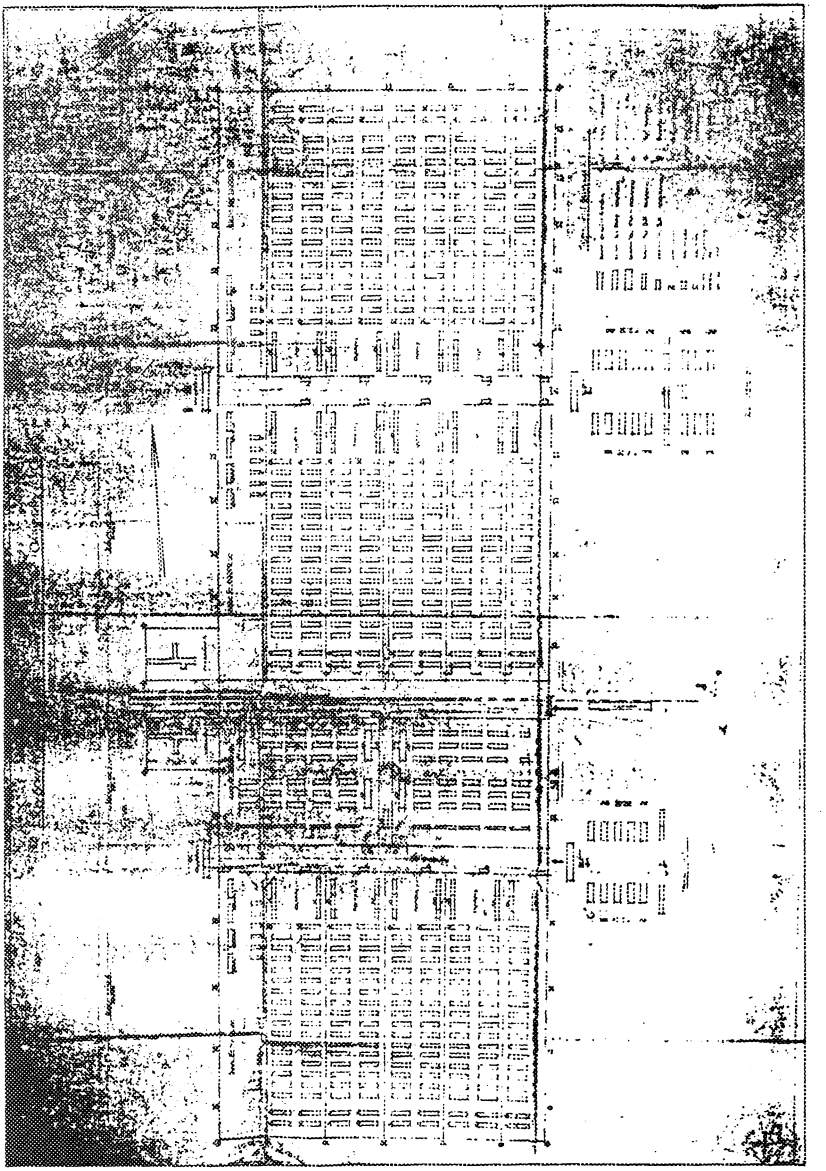
Today there was a case of illness due to slight symptoms of poisoning with Prussic acid [Zyklon]. This makes it necessary to warn all those involved with gassings, as well as all other SS personnel, that especially when opening gassed rooms, SS personnel not wearing gas masks must wait at least five hours and keep a distance of 15 meters from the chamber. In this regard, particular attention should be paid to the wind direction.

The gas now being used contains less [protective] odor additive, and is therefore especially dangerous.

The SS garrison physician refuses to accept responsibility for accidents that may occur in cases where SS personnel do not obey these guidelines.



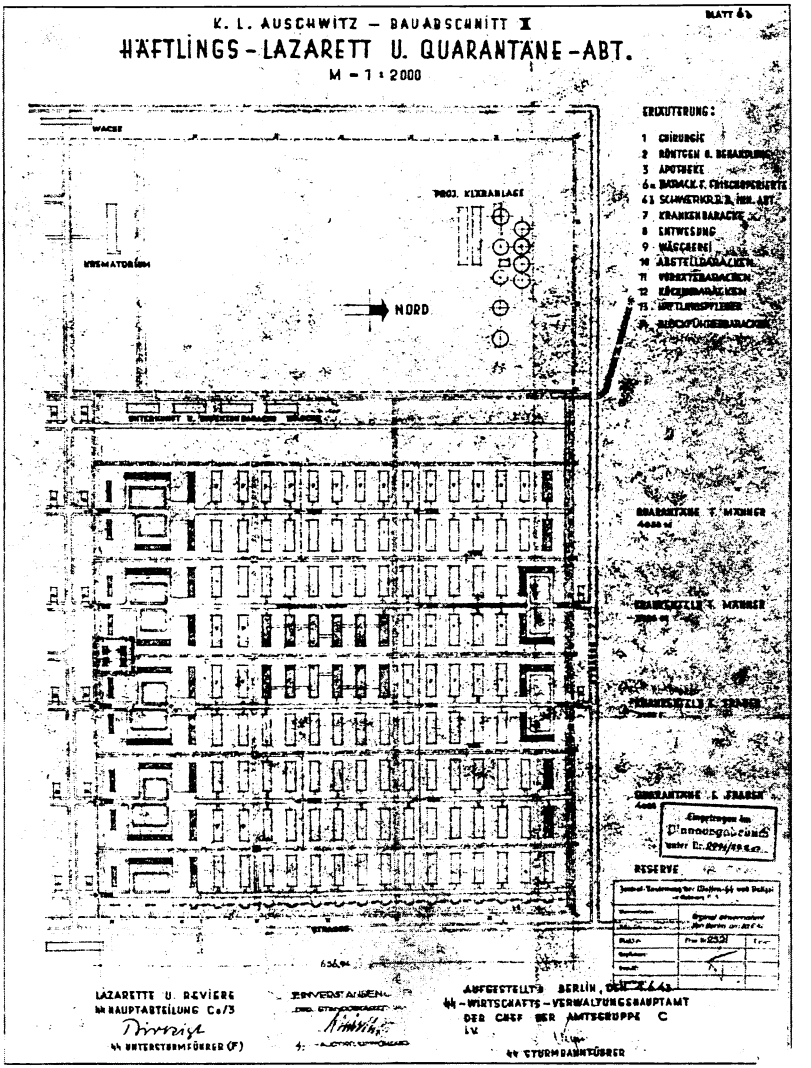
Shown on this March 1944 Auschwitz construction department diagram of the Birkenau camp are crematory buildings II and III (at upper left), and IV and V (at upper center). Between them is the "Disinfection and disinfestation facility" ("Desinfektions u. Entwesungsanlage"), which was also known as the "Central Sauna" ("Zentralsauna"). (p. 514.)



This August 1942 architectural diagram of the Auschwitz-Birkenau camp, supposedly the Third Reich's main "extermination" center, shows that German authorities planned to enlarge the camp so that it would eventually hold 200,000 inmates. (p. 203) The "Mexiko" section at the top, which would hold 60,000 people, was only

partially completed, and the comparable section at the bottom was never begun. This document cannot be reconciled with the camp's alleged function as a top secret extermination center.

At no time were any of Auschwitz-Birkenau's four crematory buildings ever hidden, concealed or "camouflaged." They were in plain view, and even newly arriving Jews could easily see them. Crematory buildings II and III were particularly visible. In this photograph, taken in May or June 1944, crematory building (Krema) III can be plainly seen in the background. (p. 251) In the foreground are Jews who have just arrived at Birkenau from Hungary.



Auschwitz-Birkenau was greatly enlarged in 1943 and 1944 to accommodate the arrival of more and more Jews. Accordingly, plans were made for more extensive hospital and quarantine facilities.

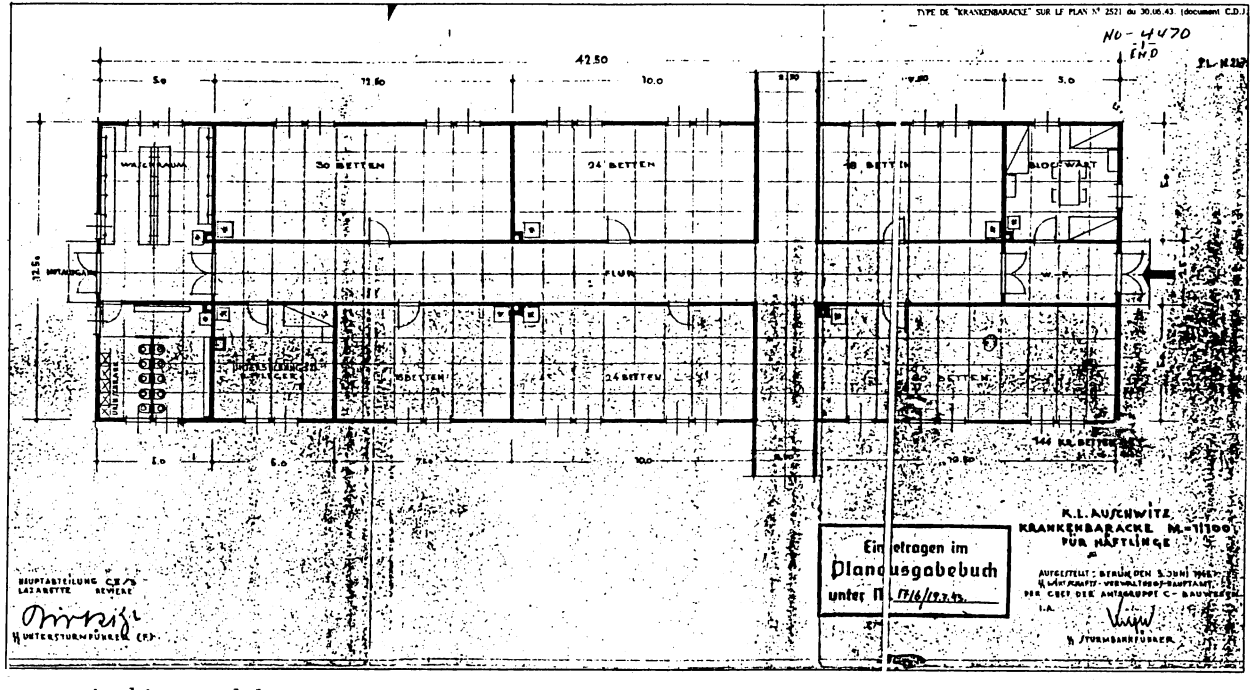
This plan for a new "Prisoner hospital and quarantine section" ("Häftlings-Lazarett u. quarantäne-Abt.") in the Birkenau camp's "Mexiko" section was prepared in June 1943 by the WVHA agency in Berlin that administered the concentration camp system. It was quickly approved by the Auschwitz camp construction department. This "hospital and quarantine" section for 16,596 inmates included

surgery, x-ray, delousing, and laundry facilities, as well as barracks for severely ill inmates.

Pressac acknowledges the difficulty of reconciling these plans with the camp's alleged function as an extermination facility:

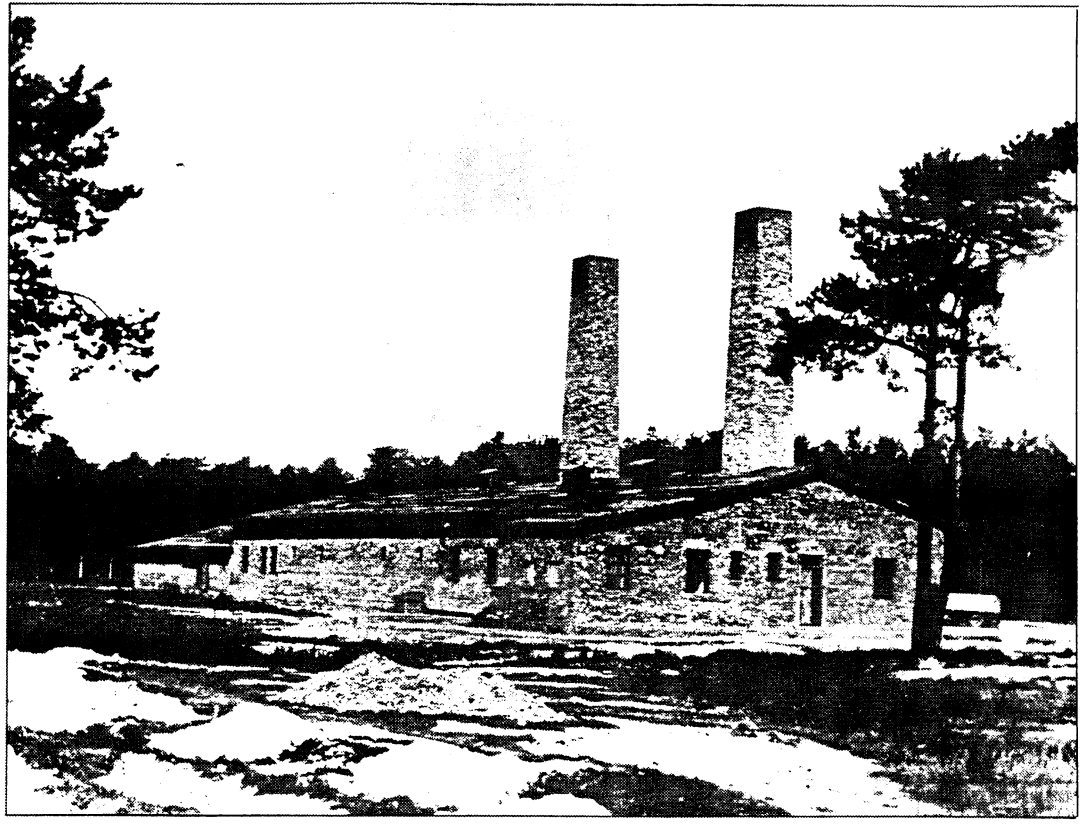
> There is incompatibility in the creation of a health camp a few hundred yards from four Krematorien [crematory facilities] where, according to official history, people were exterminated on a large scale.... It is obvious that KGL [concentration camp] Birkenau cannot have had at one and the same time two opposing functions: health care and extermination. The plan for building a very large hospital section in BA III ("Mexiko" section of Birkenau] thus shows that the Krematorien [facilities] were built purely for incineration, without any homicidal gassings, because the SS wanted to "maintain" its concentration camp labor force.

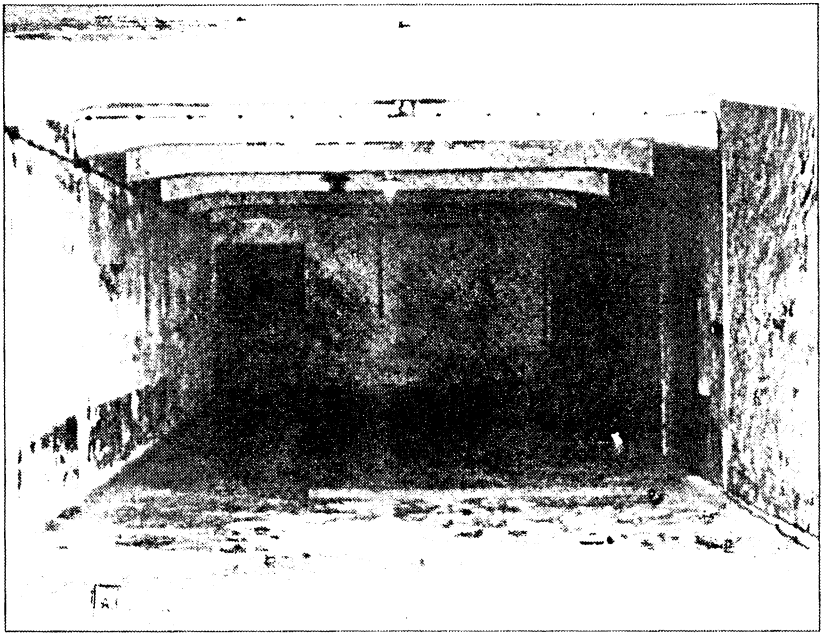
The "Mexiko" section was only partially completed and "became a transit camp in May-June 1944 for the Hungarian transports," Pressac reports.



Architectural diagram of an Auschwitz "barracks for sick inmates." (p. 513) The barracks has 144 beds, large wash and toilet rooms, and a room for medical staff. (This June 1943 diagram is also Nuremberg document NO-4470.) Photos of hospital facilities for inmates are also reproduced in Pressac's book. (pp. 510-511)

Auschwitz-Birkenau crematory building (Krema) IV shortly after its completion in late March 1943. (p. 418) This building, supposedly one of the principal extermination gassing centers, was actually built very hastily in response to the terrible typhus epidemic that raged during the summer of 1942. (pp. 392, 398) This facility was so quickly and so poorly constructed that it could be used only intermittently for a short time, and was shut down for good in May 1943. (pp. 413, 420)

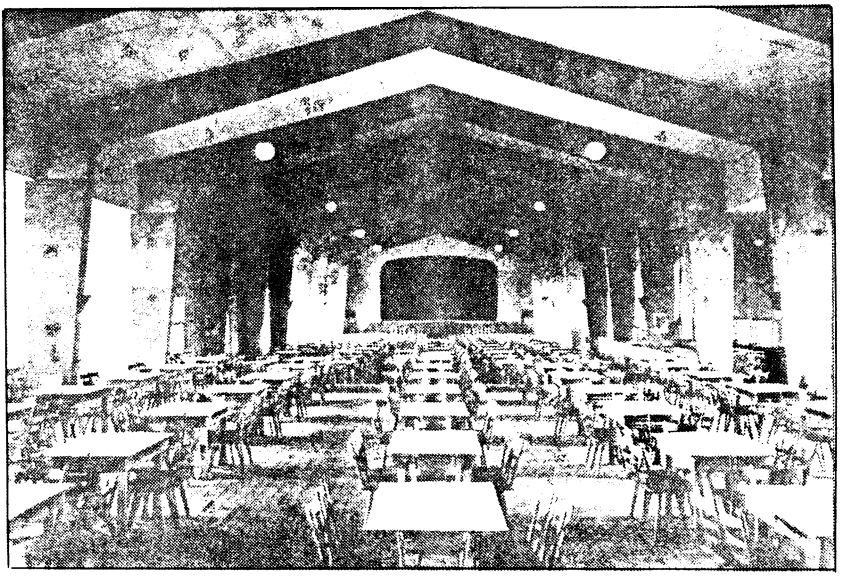




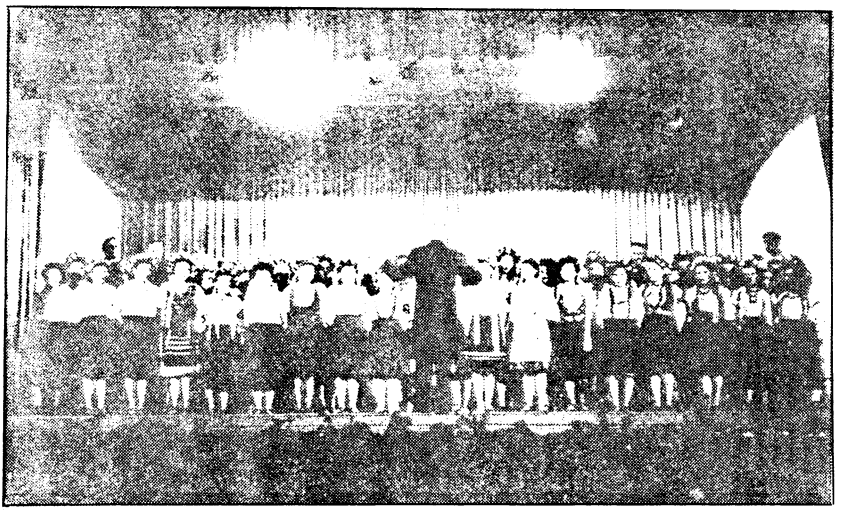
Were thousands of Jews murdered here? This is the inside of the alleged extermination gas chamber in the Auschwitz I main camp. (p. 155) German camp authorities never bothered to obliterate the incriminating "evidence" by destroying this structure. As Pressac acknowledges in his book (pp. 123, 133), there is no hard evidence that this room was ever an extermination facility.

Not long after the Allied liberation of Auschwitz in January 1945, Soviet and Polish authorities organized a dance on the roof of the supposed extermination gas chamber in the main camp. Apparently they did not regard it as a mass extermination facility. In his book about Auschwitz (p. 149), Pressac expresses astonishment and regret over this incident:

> Above the stage, dominated by a red star with the hammer and sickle, fly the flags of Poland (left) and the Soviet Union (right), with lamps mounted above them. This photograph proves that a dance was organized in 1945 on the roof of Krematorium I, and that people actually danced above the homicidal gas chamber. This episode appears almost unbelievable and sadly regretable today, and the motives for it are not known. This photo also proves that the present [1989] covering of roofing felt and zinc surround [sic] of the roof are not original.

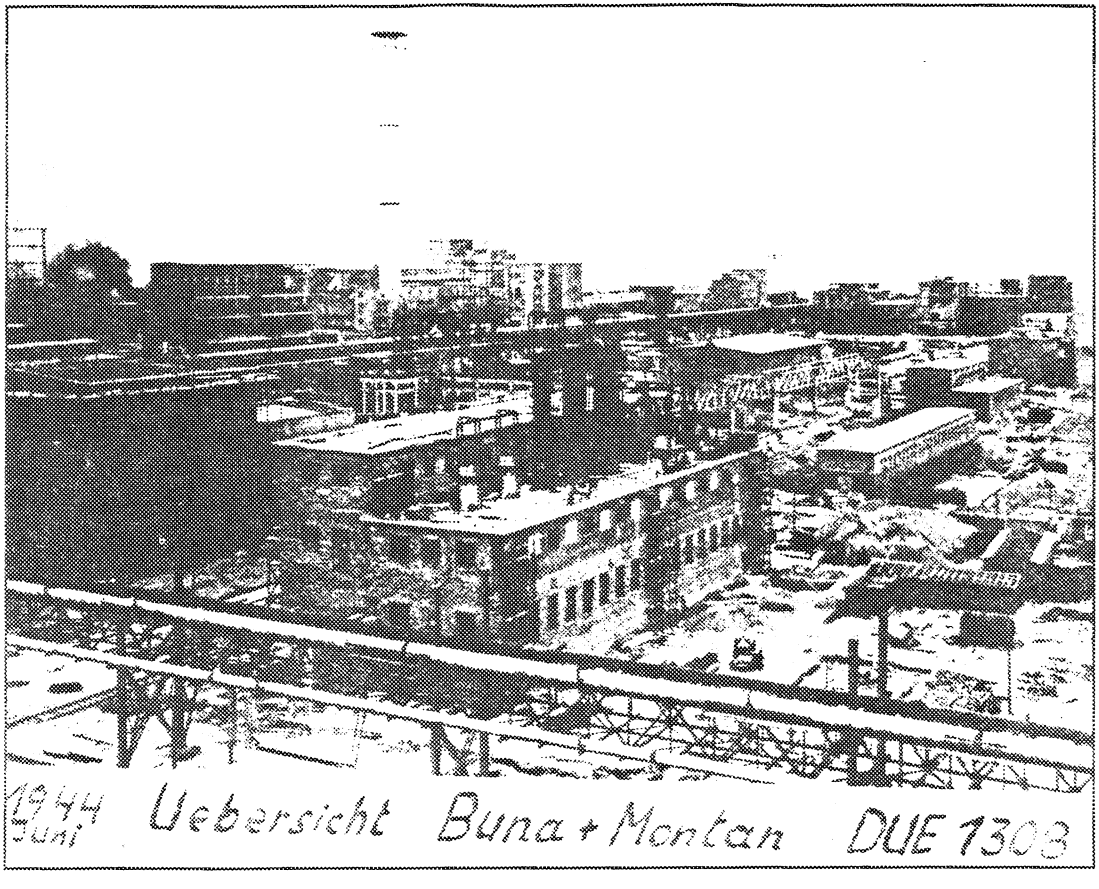


Eating hall for inmates at the Auschwitz III (Monowitz) camp. (p. 506) Inmates from Birkenau and the rest of the camp complex were routinely transferred to and from Monowitz, which hardly makes sense if Auschwitz had been an extermination center.



Ukrainian women's choir at the Auschwitz III (Monowitz) camp. (p. 506) A surprisingly wide range of free-time activities, including entertainment, was available to forced-labor inmates.

Partial overview of the extensive "Buna" industrial works at Auschwitz III (Monowitz) camp, where gasoline was produced from coal. (p. 506). This photo, as well as the two previous ones, are from the Duerrfeld document file in the National Archives (Washington, DC).



Major Poullada's Final Defense Plea in the Nordhausen-Dora Concentration Camp Case

LEON B. POULLADA
Introduction by Mark Weber

Published here for the first time is the informative and thought-provoking final defense plea in the postwar Nordhausen-Dora concentration camp case. U.S. Army Major Leon B. Poullada, chief defense counsel, made this presentation on December 23, 1947, to the seven American Army officers who served as judges. The text has been slightly edited for reasons of style and grammar.

The wartime Nordhausen-Dora or "Mittelbau" camp complex consisted of the Dora main camp and 31 satellite subcamps clustered around the town of Nordhausen (Thuringia). By far the most important part of this complex was the underground "Mittelwerk" factories where—from the summer of 1943 until April 1945—tens of thousands of concentration camp inmates, forced laborers from foreign countries, and German workers were employed manufacturing the high-priority V-2 guided missiles.

The Nordhausen trial opened on August 7, 1947, and concluded on December 30, 1947. It was one of 489 cases, involving a total of 1,672 defendants, conducted by U.S. Army military courts and commissions in the American zone of occupation in Germany.

Along with the trials organized by the other victorious powers, and particularly the inter-Allied Nuremberg IMT trial of 1945-1946, these postwar proceedings lent an aura of legal and historical legitimacy to the victors' version of history, and thereby played a key role in the shaping of our official mythology about the Third Reich and the Second World War.

In his plea, Major Poullada systematically confronts one emotion-charged issue after another, calmly but persistently

challenging the judges to set aside prejudice and presumption to consider all the evidence with an open mind. Poullada concludes with an eloquent defense of traditional Anglo-American standards of justice.

As Poullada repeatedly emphasizes, these postwar "war crimes" trials violated basic principles of justice. With specific examples, he shows how the prosecution has encouraged witnesses to give clearly false hearsay testimony evidence. With prosecution connivance, Poullada establishes, some witnesses gave demonstrably perjured testimony. He cites the case of a witness named Birin who helped to popularize the infamous lie that German women selected inmates to be killed so that their tatooed skins could be used as ornamental decorations.

Readers will note that many of the points and arguments presented here by Major Poullada are strikingly similar to those made over the years by Revisionist historians about the Holocaust extermination story.

Poullada was by no means the only American who was outraged at the great miscarriage of justice conducted in the name of the United States in these "war crimes" trials, in which the same victorious powers served as both judge and prosecutor. Charles Wennerstrum, for example, presiding judge in one of the Nuremberg trials, spoke out against the unwholesomely vindictive character of these proceedings, which served the purpose of vengeance much more than the cause of justice.

Fortunately for the defendants, the wartime American-Soviet alliance was already breaking apart by the time of the Nordhausen-Dora trial. German sensibilities had become more important and, as a result, defendants were treated more justly than had been the case in earlier postwar trials. Certainly the worst of all had been the great Nuremberg IMT trial of 1945-1946, in which Stalin's minions participated as equal partners with their American, British and French colleagues.

The American Army officers who served as judges in this case apparently were not unmoved by Major Poullada's arguments. Four of the 19 Nordhausen defendants—including "Mittelbau" general director Georg Rickhey—were found not guilty and acquitted. One defendant—SS First Lieutenant Hans Moeser—was sentenced to death by hanging. The

remainder were sentenced to prison terms ranging from five years to life.

An interesting footnote to this case: "Mittelwerk" operations director from September 1943 until April 1945—and Rickhey's subordinate—was Arthur Rudolph. After the war he moved to the United States, where he worked for the NASA space program. In 1969 he was honored with the NASA Distinguished Service Medal for his key role in developing the Saturn V rocket that put the first man on the moon. Some years later, in a case that attracted worldwide attention, the federal government's "Office of Special Investigations" threatened to prosecute Rudolph as a "war criminal" for misdeeds allegedly committed forty years earlier. He was obliged to give up his American citizenship in 1983 and was forced into exile in Germany. For more on the Rudolph case, see: Thomas Franklin, *An American in Exile* (1987) [available for purchase from IHR ($16.95)].

We are grateful to Mr. Joseph Halow for bringing Poullada's defense pleas to our attention. Halow had obtained a copy of this document while working as a young Army court reporter in the "war crimes" trials. Halow spoke about his experiences at the October 1990 IHR conference. His memoir, *Innocent in Dachau* (which deals at length with the Nordhausen case) will be published later this year by IHR.

If it please this honorable court, this court has heard very patiently the evidence in this case for the past eighteen weeks, and now it becomes the duty of this court to appraise, to ponder, to weigh this evidence carefully in arriving at its decision.

The proof in this case has been voluminous. It is of course necessary for the court to reject some of this evidence and to accept the remainder of this evidence with great caution. It would be folly for counsel for the defense not to imitate counsel for the prosecution and not discuss at great length the individual pieces of evidence which have been presented to this court. It is the opinion of the defense that when confronted with such a multitude of proof as this court has been presented with, it is necessary to resort to basic principles of justice and to obtain an overall picture of the proof as it has been presented according to whether or not

each piece of proof tends to tighten or to lessen the necessity of judicial proof. It is necessary for us not to lose sight of the forest because of the trees, it is necessary for us to avoid the fate of the inebriated man who, having run into a lamp post and was knocked down by the force of the blow, immediately arose and as he tried to leave, ran into the same lamp post again, repeating this procedure over and over until finally he was found by a policeman leaning against this post in great desperation muttering to himself, "Lost, lost in an impenetrable forest." We must avoid this "impenetrable forest" of only one pole and we must see our way clearly around the obstacles which have been presented in this case. Therefore it would be my endeavor to discuss the overall principles and general aspects of evidence, and I will tend[1] to do so under five general topics.

Concentration Camps in Law

I will discuss first of all the general nature and the problems incident to the operation of any concentration camp such as Dora. Secondly, I will discuss the organization and background of Dora itself and of Mittelwerke, without appreciation of which it is not possible for this court to arrive at a just decision. Thirdly I will discuss those factors affecting the credibility of the prosecution witnesses. In the fourth instance I will discuss the errors of presentation made by the prosecution, which the court should consider in arriving at a decision in this case. Lastly I would very briefly like to touch upon the principles of law and justice which must concern this court as they cover the immediate case involved.

Coming then first to the topic of the nature and the problems of the operation of a concentration camp such as Dora, I believe it is pertinent to discuss briefly some basic misconceptions which War Crimes courts have indulged in the past in considering these concentration camp cases. There seems to be something abhorrent about the term "concentration camp" in the connotation which this term has acquired for all of us which somehow is translated into the conception that a concentration camp, or the operation of a concentration camp, in and of itself, is illegal per se. Now, this is not the case. International law recognized fully the right of a sovereign state to intern those persons who, in the opinion of the authorities of this state, are inimical to its purpose and

threaten its welfare. We have done so in the case of the Japanese on the west coast when we removed them in large numbers into so-called relocation centers—a more euphemistic title perhaps—but nevertheless, a concentration camp.[2] We did so without giving them any trial, we confined them and we restrained their liberty. We did not consider that to have been an illegal act. It was a perfectly legal thing to do because our safety and our welfare were threatened by their presence on the Pacific coast.

Many states in the union keep prison labor camps. These prisoners are farmed out to industrial firms and they work for industrial firms and these firms in turn repay the state for the work of these prisoners. It is not the operation of a concentration camp or a relocation camp or whatever name we call it that is illegal, but it is the manner in which it is performed that may become illegal, and it is important to keep that distinction in mind.

Legality of Execution

The same type of misconception arises in connection with the term "executions." As my associate, Mr. Brook, has gone into this in some detail, I will cover it only briefly. However, it must be evident that each sovereign state has a right during the period of its sovereignty to set up its own constitution and its own laws, and executions which are prescribed pursuant to such constitution and such laws are perfectly valid and legal. The mere fact that their system does not accord or is abhorrent to our particular morals or principles or standards of conduct does not make the punishment which was ordered administratively illegal per se.

Perhaps I could illustrate that by an example. If we were at some time to occupy a country in which polygamy was lawful it would be a very, very strange thing indeed if we should declare that all marriages in that country were illegal because they conflicted with our Christian ideas and standards of morals. The legal expert, Dr. Pinder,[3] has testified before this court that punishments ordered by the Reich Security Main Office through the administrative determination of guilt were perfectly valid under the German codes of justice and the constitution as they existed at that time. Now an execution may be illegal if it is conducted without color of right, in that case it may be extremely illegal, but that is a distinction which

the prosecution has failed to make in this case. This is intimately connected with the question of the defense of superior orders. The worthy prosecutor defended a case involving superior orders so that I am sure that he is fully conversant with the law in this connection, that even under our strict interpretation of the defense of superior orders it is not correct to say that superior orders is never a defense and always only mitigation. Superior orders is mitigation when the order which was to be executed was flagrantly illegal in itself, but superior orders is a complete defense when the order given has the color of right and appeared to a reasonable person to have been a reasonable order.

For example, in the case of the six or seven Italians, these accused were subject to military control and were ordered to perform an execution which in all its appearances and trappings had the obvious flavor of a perfectly legal military execution. Superior orders in that case under our own law is a complete defense. Unless by some means those involved were put upon a warning that the execution flavored[4] of illegality superior orders must be a complete defense to this case. Now if the camp commander had come to one of the accused and said, "I am giving you an order to strangle a prisoner tonight in the dark when he comes around the corner of this house," and if that accused had executed the prisoner in this manner, superior orders would not be a defense to that type of execution because, by its very nature, by its very essence, it is not clothed with any color of right or with any semblance of that right. Those distinctions are important. The prosecution has accused us of making fine distinctions and, in our opinion, they are very important distinctions, and that is something which the prosecution does not do, and it is one of the fatal errors of their presentation, that they did not make distinctions but threw everything together in one pot and tried to come out with a total answer for everyone. If the court please, it is not possible to administer justice in that way.

Now as to whether or not the executions which were ordered for Dora were legal or not legal it is not difficult for us to say. We can say that the burden is on the prosecution to prove that they were not legal. Since they were colored with every vestige of that right and were trapped with all the panoply of that right, the burden is on the prosecution to show that they are illegal. There certainly was ample justification for them, if the court pleases.

The evidence before this court is clear that there was an armed and violent resistance movement at Dora. There is no question in anyone's mind on that. The people possessed weapons and possessed explosives and they intended to use them.

A question came up which I should like to discuss. That is whether an execution is justified when the sabotage is a mere plot and threat but is not actually committed. It must be evident to the court that in a top secret project such as the V-weapon plant, plotted sabotage, whether actually committed or not, was a severe offense. It is more than ample justification for a death sentence.

I would like to call this court's attention to a case which occurred in the United States with the avowed intention of committing sabotage of our war plants. These people never got any further than the beach before they were arrested. They did possess papers which showed their avowed aims and it was possible to prove that they intended to sabotage the war effort in America. The court will recall that by the fair and complete judicial process of the United States these people were tried and sentenced to death and they were executed. They never committed an act of sabotage and they never got as far as inside or near a top secret project. I dare say that if they ever did get near the atomic bomb plant with their plans they would have also been executed promptly.

Now in connection with the executions we should consider the subject of the mercy shot. It is an accepted, established military procedure and has never been considered or construed as an act of crime. It is what the name implies, an act of mercy to someone who has been been tried, sentenced and executed but who, for some reason, has not been completely killed, perhaps, by the act of execution. The only question then is whether the execution was legal in the first place. If the execution was legal then the act of mercy must also be legal, so we come back in a circle to the question of the legality of those executions and, if the court please, in view of the evidence, in view of the fact that the sentence was already read, in view of the fact that the witnesses were always present, a doctor was always present, an interpreter was always present, and they had all of the semblance of a legal execution, the burden of proof is upon the prosecution to show that those sentences under execution were illegal and that the accused knew of it or had reason to know. As to the

extra rations which were issued in connection with those executions, about which so much fuss was made, I believe the court has heard sufficient evidence to know that those were normal rations issued in the Wehrmacht as a matter of general custom and tradition to all persons who participated in the executions for the alleged reason to be able to counteract after a shot. It was not a war crime by any means but a custom and tradition.

Legality of Corporal Punishment

Now a similar misconception arises on the subject of beatings and corporal punishment. The defense readily admits that beatings and corporal punishment are abhorrent to our Anglo-American system of justice, although England used flogging to a very recent time as a method of punishment and still does so in the armed forces for some offenses. Some of our own southern states recognize corporal punishment as a proper means of discipline even at this date. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that in the overall picture the Anglo-American system abhors this subject of capital[5] punishment. This naturally creates a prejudice in our minds against any such act. However, we must come back to the subject, which is similar to the one of executions, that the Europeans have and have had a different attitude towards corporal punishment. There is a distinction, a very definite distinction, that we want to make between beatings and beatings.

There are beatings which were made for official reasons, for punishment prescribed by the Reich Security Main Office. The court has heard evidence that there were even forms which were made out and had to be signed by the physician. Now we certainly cannot quarrel with that system of punishment. We may not like it, we may not want to adopt it, but we cannot call it illegal just because we do not like it. If it was legal during the time it was perpetrated then it was legal. Further, there are differences between beating a person with a weapon and merely beating with the hand. There are very distinct differences which we make in our law between assault with a deadly weapon and assault and battery and simple assault and battery. Those are important distinctions and we do not want to make[6] them.

Thus we saw, for example, that the beatings which the accused, Buehring, admitted administering to those prisoners

during the course of these interrogations were authorized by Berlin as a means of breaking up this resistance movement and they were perfectly legal at the time, and the fact that we do not like them doesn't make a war crime out of it by any means. Furthermore, we must remember that these beatings were made under superior orders so that the accused Buehring, for example, had the double defense of the legality of the punishment he was administering and the fact that it was administered by superior orders and directly under the supervision of his superior, who was physically present or in the vicinity at all times. There has been evidence that in administering those punishments there were strict orders that no fatal injury should be inflicted and it was only natural in the course of these interrogations, as a dead witness was not a good witness. It is only natural that they should want him to live and not to injure him to the point of causing his death. The evidence has proved that the deaths which occurred in the bunker such as the death of Skinter and the four Russians, which were admitted by everyone in this case, were definitely proved to be committed by other people, and without the authority and consent of Sander, and in no way involved any of those accused in this case.

We have some curious quirks in our minds about this subject of beatings in connection with these war crimes. In war crimes courts in the past, the ability to show that an accused had been carrying a club at all times or at some time was equivalent to a conviction. If the court would care to cast its eyes around this room they will see at least two guards, American guards, with clubs in their hands. I dare say if these prisoners became unruly our American guards would use those clubs to keep them in line. So it is not, again, the carrying of a club which is wrong in any way, it is not equivalent to a conviction to show that a man carried a club. The question is, how did he use that club and on what occasions did he use that club, and that must be proved by individual acts and by witnesses testifying to individual acts and not by simply making a sweeping accusation because a person carries a club, therefore he is a beater and he should be convicted.

Also, an interesting thing in connection with these cases has to do with the developing of testimony in this case. In the early cases, when the courts were giving very severe sentences for

beatings, witnesses would get on the stand and testify as to beatings. The courts began to get weary[7] about this type of testimony, and they usually demanded, in order to give a severe sentence, that the element of death be involved as a result of such beatings. Immediately the testimony changed. The witnesses would get up on the stand and they would always have been witnesses to a beating which was so severe that they resulted in a person being carried to the dispensary and he was never seen again. The testimony always followed whenever the courts required it to get a conviction. Now we must remember, if the court please, that the penalty for even an aggravated battery with a deadly weapon in our own American courts would hardly ever merit more than a 10-year sentence.

The same type of misconception develops with the subject of cremation. Cremation always seems to be connected with something abhorrent and horrible. The prosecution has made a great case against the accused Maischein because he was supposedly present at cremations. Nothing is the matter with a cremation, if the court please. The finest cemeteries in America use cremations as a perfectly legal means of disposing of the remains of deceased individuals. Whether it is secret or whether it is public—what difference does that make, if the court please? If the person is dead and he is cremated it is not a crime. It can be no war crime to cremate anyone. The question must be, how did that person die, not how he was cremated. If any of the accused had something to do with the illegal death of an individual then he may be guilty of a war crime, but participation and attendance at a cremation in and of itself can certainly be no war crime or a crime of any kind. As we say, these distinctions are important.

Individual Responsibility

We have also been of the opinion at some time or another in the course of our lives that in concentration camps all prisoners were victims and martyrs and that all SS men spent all of their time swinging clubs beating prisoners brutally like sadists and that all of the prisoners were innocent victims. Well, the prosecution has made some statements about the fact that some of the guilty participants, in our opinion, are prominent prisoners.[8] We do not wish to shift any of the blame which any of the accused may have over to the prominent

prisoners, but we do believe it is important to the court in arriving at a just decision in this case to realize that not all is just the way it appears on the surface, but that there were feuds between the greens and the reds,[9] that these resulted in secret murders and resulted in secret courts which these prisoners themselves had, that everything became a racket in these concentration camps, that there was favoritism and bribery at every hand, that many prisoners lived at the expense of other prisoners, that the favored prisoners were assigned to cushy jobs such as in labor statistics and the dispensary, and that as a result a very vast black market arose in these camps.

Now perhaps it could be said that the SS are responsible for the system. That is true. We do not deny that. The persons who made the policies of these camps are certainly responsible. Pohl[10] and others who made the policies of these camps are certainly responsible. Pohl and others who made the policies for these camps and were tried at Nuremberg are undoubtedly responsible for a policy which would throw into the same camp individuals of varying nationalities and backgrounds, habitual criminals and political prisoners. It is obvious that under such a system a terrible situation would develop, but to say that and to say that these individual accused, the highest ranking of whom is a first lieutenant, are responsible for this system and are responsible for the conditions which arose as a result of this system—that, if the court please, is an entirely different matter. These people had very limited authorities. They could certainly not abolish the system. They could not say, "From now on the green prisoners will be in one camp and the red prisoners in another, and we will segregate these people." They could not stop the black market any more than we could stop the black market in Germany with the entire resources of our occupation army behind us. We cannot stop it. Those things arise as a result of conditions and once they arise the people in it cannot put a stop to it. They can try, and so these accused did try, but they certainly cannot be made to bear the entire brunt of the system as it existed.

We will leave the subject of the misconceptions which have arisen and I believe are important for the court to bear in mind. We must realize, just to summarize briefly, that the operation of a concentration camp or an internment camp, is

not illegal per se, that executions which were not illegal according to the laws and the constitution of the country at the time they were perpetrated could not become illegal by subsequent occupation of that country, and lastly that a large proportion of the unsavory picture of a concentration camp was brought about by the acts of prisoners themselves. If the court would keep these things in mind in arriving at their decisions they would have gone a long way towards eliminating the common misconceptions.

Importance of Dora to the War Effort

Let us consider, if the court please, the organization of Dora and Mittelwerke, and what the V-weapon program meant to Germany. It was the last hope of Germany. Goering's Luftwaffe had failed in its proud boast that not one bomb would fall upon German soil. The German armies were in full retreat in Africa and Russia. This resulted in a struggle for power between the high ranking officials in the German government, among them Speer and Himmler. It was obvious that if the war was won by means of this secret weapon, this V-weapon, the individual who could hold himself as responsible for successfully bringing this weapon to bear would have earned the undying gratitude of the German people and would have assured himself of a position as successor to Hitler. This resulted in a struggle for power over this weapon. There is no question about that. Officially the V-weapons belong to Speer, the Minister of Armaments, but Himmler had an ace up his sleeve in connection with this program. He had at his command a source of cheap labor, and cheap labor in the then German Reich, which had already scraped the bottom of its manpower barrel, was at a premium, so, using this cheap labor as a wedge, Himmler was also to get a stranglehold on the production of the V-weapons, and, although not officially, nevertheless through the means of men like Kammler and Sawatzki[11] he was able to get a dominant position in the V-weapon production. The Speer minister,[12] who appointed Rickhey, very definitely was being pushed into the background and into second place. It was Himmler's men who really pulled the strings and called the pace.

Now, this was a very important program. The policies for this program were not made by people such as these but were made by the top men in the German Reich. To say that for a program of this kind a technical sergeant was going to be

made responsible for all labor allocation is ridiculous, if the court please. Or the same is true of construction: to say that a master sergeant like Jacobi was to be placed in responsibility for all construction in a project of this kind is completely ridiculous. The evidence has shown that there were frequently inspections from Berlin, medical inspections, all types of inspections. Kammler came over often. Everything that came off in this camp as far as policy making was concerned was of the utmost interest to the top men in the German Reich. These people here were small fry. They were all placed in the position where they had to carry into effect these policies, and that is always an unenviable position for anyone. To say that a man like Detmers, who was a first lieutenant, had the power to declare executions and punish and disipline the prisoners, is like saying that some little security officer in the atom bomb plant would be given the authority to punish violators of security rules at his discretion.

Wartime Conditions

Now these policies which were made at top levels resulted in some very bad conditions. The defense has willingly admitted that. We have never claimed Dora to be a sanitorium, no question about it. It was a high priority project. German resources were pushed to the utmost to get this program started and as a result of that there was constant rush, they were in a hurry, and these bad conditions resulted, especially at the inception, because of the rush and hurry. But it is another thing to say that these bad conditions existed and another thing to say that because a certain individual was placed in the midst of these bad conditions he is responsible for them. Another lack of distinction. It is a very nice technique to make such a lack of distinction, no question about it. Prove bad conditions, that is the thing to do. Show that things are in a terrible state, then find a scapegoat for it and say, "He was there, therefore he was responsible." The court is expected to make the necessary logical connection between the two things, but is the connection there? That is the question which the court must ask itself. It is a funny technique. Hitler used it. That was exactly Hitler's technique to show that the Jews after the last war were responsible for all the evils which befell Germany. There were very bad conditions in Germany. The Jews were present. They made a

good scapegoat. You keep hammering away at that subject long enough and eventually the listeners will make the necessary connections. The Jews will be responsible. We say the prosecution has not met that burden of proof. It is not only necessary to place two things together and to assume that there is a connection; the connection must be proved. A very insidious note crept into the prosecution's case in this connection, in my opinion. It was stated and the court was led to believe that it was not only a matter for this court what the accused did or did not do, but what they should have done. That is the thing, the prosecution said, which condemns these people—what they should have done. Well, if the court please, that is a rather noble approach to any judicial problem. Unfortunately the principles of American criminal law do not support such a contention by the prosecution. A person is not guilty of a crime merely because his conduct is reprehensible or because he fails to act. He must have a duty to act, a very clear and definite duty to act. If he fails to act he may be a normal heel, but he is not a criminal. That is the law; it is very clear. I can see a beggar in the street in the most desperate condition of hunger and I can pass by without giving him a second look. Clearly, morality would demand that I help him, but I am not a criminal because I fail to do so. Some of the so accused did do a great deal towards helping prisoners, but if any of them had failed to do any of that, they certainly would not have been war criminals because of it. It so happens that a man like Fuchsloch followed his moral inclinations and did try to help. But he is not under absolute duty to do so by any means. The fact that he did do so is more to his credit, but so long as he would act within his proper sphere of duty and so long as he would refrain from a criminal act, that should be the determining factor before this court as far as any of these accused are concerned. They are under no legal duty to go out of their way and become proclaimers of the welfare of the human race. The law does not demand that of you, it does not demand that of me, and we should not demand that of these accused.

Now, the prosecution tried desperately to show that Dora was an extermination camp. Well, unfortunately the evidence just does not hold up. There are no gas chambers at Dora as in an extermination camp. We did not hear any evidence of medical experiments, such as have been put forth in all the

concentration camps practically so far. There were no wholesale executions at Dora such as Commando 99. The executions which took place at Dora were a result of this resistance movement and were not merely an attempt to exterminate in any way. Well, the reason is obvious, if the court please. I think Rickhey put it better than I could possibly do when he said it would be impossible to produce the weapons and destroy the workers. This was an important program. I do not say that it was not an extermination camp out of the good heart of the people who were making the concentration camp policies. It was a selfish thing of course, but it was not an extermination camp. It is true that in its inception bad conditions existed. There is no doubt about that. We are willing to concede that at any point in our argument, at any point in the case we are willing to concede that in the inception conditions were very bad, but I believe we should try to understand the normal point of view at that time. This project was a matter of vital military necessity. Under the guise of military necessity, a commander does not hesitate to send his own men to death if neccessary. When it becomes a question of national survival we do not stop to ask fine questions. The prisoners were asked to make sacrifices, definitely.

They were put into a place where the work was hard. It was mining work, work which is hard even under the best situations of freedom. If the court would care to examine the insurance risk rates for miners, underground workers, it would realize that it is always hazardous work, and I am not here to defend the morality or legality of demanding sacrifices from these prisoners. That is beside the point and not an issue in this case. I am simply trying to show the court why these bad conditions existed, and I do say that showing these bad conditions in itself is not enough, nor is showing why they existed enough. These accused did not make the policies which created these bad conditions. It is furthermore extremely necessary for the court to distinguish another distinction, between the period of early construction of prisoner work and the latter period when production got under way. The two things are very dissimilar and more and more different in more than one respect. The prosecution, of course, has attempted to show that it is all the same thing, but it is not.

So, if the court please, before passing on the next subject we have seen that certain misconceptions were prevalent as to the operation of all concentration camps in general, and I have tried to give the court a brief background of the operation of Dora, of the importance of the V-weapon project, and the reasons which caused the German state to embark upon such a project, and I have attempted to distinguish between the periods of time in the operation of this project, which the court should keep in mind.

Witness Bias

Now, I would like to discuss briefly, if the court please, the questions of the factors which affect the credibility of the prosecution witnesses. That question, of course, in the last analysis is the function of the court, but what criterion, what yardstick should the court use? Well, certainly a careful review of the testimony of the witnesses is called for, and examination of the motives of their testimony is certainly called for, and I believe we should consider briefly the principles of scientific criminology dealing with the unreliability of the human memory when testifying as to events which took place in the distant past.

Let us consider first the motives. That the witnesses for the most part were prejudiced I assume the court takes for granted. Is it possible for former prisoners to testify against their former jailers and not be prejudiced? Of course we can sympathize with them. I would be prejudiced myself. I am sure every member of the court would be prejudiced. But, if the court please, we must not let that affect the justice of the case. We must sympathize with them, yes, but the court must look upon this through the eyes of justice, not through the eyes of sympathy.

There is another element which is quite important in this case and quite evident, that is, the element of nationalities. Even under the best of conditions it is very difficult for a European of one nationality to testify against a European of another nationality and maintain a balanced attitude. It is difficult for us to realize the prejudice which existed in these countries—national hatred, biases, suspicions. We in America do not know anything about that. It is difficult in coming into a situation like this to understand the power behind such prejudice and bias. However, these war crimes courts must

ask themselves: Are we instruments of justice or are we instruments of national discriminations? Now in these concentration camps, these national hatreds were fomented. Prisoners from all countries in Europe were thrown in together in a dog-eat-dog situation and, unfortunately, these hatreds which grew up during the period of these concentration camps have not been allowed to subside, but former concentration camp inmates have formed themselves into organizations which, under the guise of being societies for mutual aid, actually have as their avowed purpose the preservation of these hatreds, this rancor which grew up before these concentration camps and during these concentration camps. These societies have a quasi-official status in a good many of these countries. Their officials hold key positions in the government of some of these countries, such as France and Czechoslovakia. We have seen some examples of these societies exercising pressure upon their members in testifying before courts where their former jailers are involved. They bring personal pressure, economic pressure and political pressure to bear on these witnesses. In America we would call that intimidation. In Europe it is realism. We saw during the trial the example of one witness who was intimidated to the point where he would not even testify before this court. I had asked this same witness to come back and had requested his presence through proper channels when we thought we would put on a rebuttal in this case. I received a letter from him of which I have a certified translation here. It is addressed to me, and he says:

> When I left Dachau on 20 November 1947, I was handed a written information by the defense reading that I was to report back as a witness to Dachau on 7 December 1947.
>
> I cannot appear as a witness for the following reasons:
>
> My passport was valid until the end of November 1947 only, for this reason I had to apply to the "Commission for the Investigation of War Crimes" at this place in order to obtain a recommendation for the Prague passport department to issue me a new passport valid until the end of December 1947.
>
> The "Commission for the Investigation of War Crimes" of this place, however, found out that I intended to go to Dachau as a defense witness. Since the above-mentioned commission is not in the least interested in these witnesses who go there to testify for the defense, it took a negative point of view as of the issue of my passport and did not give me the recommendation.

Consequently, the passport department did not issue me that passport without this recommendation.

For the above reasons I cannot come, and ask you to kindly arrange for the issue of my passport with our governmental agencies.

Hoping you will be so kind as to comply with my request, I remain

Very truly yours,
Josef Silvestr.

There we have an example of these national prejudices and how they have been used. It is only natural, I suppose, that these things would be as they are but nevertheless we must consider them. The prosecution witnesses have no such difficulty in appearing before this court. Two important things in my mind, if the court please, are that these societies condemn the accused not for their individual crimes but simply for the reasons of being Germans and having belonged to a certain class, the class who were their jailers. That to my mind is the insidious thing about them, not that they are prejudiced against individuals, that is only a natural thing when an individual has been guilty of some act of barbarism against you, but simply that they make these sweeping decisions that all of the people who belong to that class, regardless of innocence or guilt, fall within that prescribed category. Now, of course, these sweeping prejudices against people because of belonging to a class is one of the abhorrent principles of Hitlerism.

People like Cespiva and other officials of these societies do not know anything about sportsmanship. Hitler didn't invent this theory of condemning entire classes by reason of nationality or by reason of race or creed. He applied what was already a favorite European position. In addition to these national rancors, which resulted in matters such as the one I brought before this court, there is also this certain enmity that grew up in these camps as a result of membership in certain cliques in these camps. You either play ball or else you are an enemy. Thus we see that some prisoners who played along with them were placed in easier jobs, such as in labor statistics or in the dispensary.

Let us take Helbig for example. He was a fine man, Cespiva said when testifying against him, "He helped one of my friends," he testified. On the other hand Dr. Kahr testified

against Jacobi viciously because Jacobi hadn't played ball when Dr. Kahr wanted to furnish himself with a swanky apartment and Jacobi didn't want to let him have the materials. These things are retained in their minds, and petty minds bear petty grudges for a long time.

Witness Reliability

In addition to the prejudices which I have already named, that is the prejudice of former prisoners of their jailers, the national hatred and these prejudices which arise by reason of membership in societies destined to foment national hatreds, and membership in camp cliques, we must realize that very little credibility can be given to the prosecution witnesses by reason of the fact that all the events that they testified to happened a very long time ago. The fragility of the human memory has almost been commented upon by the prosecution when the prosecutor admitted that five minutes after an incident had occurred it would hardly be remembered afterwards, and with him all psychological criminologists are in complete agreement.

I am sure this court is familiar with the classroom experiment, the classical experiment in which the professor is droning away, lecturing to the class and suddenly two men burst into the room. One flashes a gun, another has a knife. There is a great commotion. The two men leap out of the window. The professor is knocked down on the floor. Then immediately thereafter he arises and explains to the class that this was all prearranged, and then a set of questions is asked of the class as to just what happened. "Describe the men. Describe what they did." Well, I have seen the results of such an experiment myself and I know that these members of the court who have seen the results of such an experiment would remember the amazing results, the amazing discrepancies. Some people will answer that there were three women involved, and others will say the professor was the one who drew the knife. Completely unbelievable answers. The reason for that is very simple.

I should like to read just briefly to the court volume 29 of *The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, page 371. There is a report of a carefully controlled experiment in which a crime is staged and a large number of witnesses were immediately divided into a smaller number of groups. Each group is asked that they make a report which consisted of

answering questions similar to the ones they would have to answer if they would appear in court to testify. Each group, however, was questioned at different intervals of time. The purpose was to test the effect of the passage of time on the powers of observation and memory. Among the scientific conclusions quoted in this journal are the following, and I quote:

> The number of correct answers to all types of questions was decidedly low, irrespective of the time elapsed between the event and the reporting thereof. However, testimony given seven weeks after the event was much more variable than that given one week after. Of the factors tested, the ability to recollect who the participants in the crime were and to describe them was the least reliable and the most likely to be effaced by the passage of time.
>
> If justice in our courts is to depend upon the testimony of witnesses, that testimony must be brought in early and even then accepted with wide allowance for error explainable in terms of faulty sense perception and memory. In our present system, days, and even months sometimes intervene between an accident or crime and the witnesses' appearance in court.

End of quote.

To which, if the court will permit, I would like to add, too, the events about which the prosecution witnesses testified did not happen days, weeks or months, but years ago, and yet we have had prosecution witnesses sit in this chair behind me, and they have identified accurately individuals whom they have seen only once, and they describe everything in detail, exactly what he did, what he said.

Well, the legal authorities, the psychological scientists, the sociologists all have given their earnest effort and study to this problem, the unreliability of witnesses' testimony after the passage of time. I could cite authority to this court for hours on end and all of them would be unanimous in saying to this court: "Beware the testimony of witnesses who purport to remember with any degree of accuracy events which happened two or three years ago."

Here is an extract from volume 28 of the *American Sociological Society Publications*, page 45, and I quote:

> Nearly all studies indicate that memory loss is greatest within the first few hours after observation, and that two-fifths of the personal experiences are totally lost in a two week period.

Robert M. Hutchins and Donald Slesinger, writing in the law review of the Law School which our worthy prosecutor attended, in an article entitled "Some Observations on the Law of Evidence," 41 *Harvard Law Review*, 860, stated their conclusion at page 864 as follows:

> Turning now to past recollection recorded and the psychological theory of the fallibility of memory on which it rests, we discover the psychologists, like the judges, emphasizing the importance of the time between an experience and its report both agree that as time goes on an experience is forgotten until little remains in most cases but conjectures and surmisals.

Now, doesn't that describe the testimony of the prosecution witnesses—conjectures and surmisals?

The distinguished psychologist William H. Roberts, writing on the subject of memory, says, and I quote:

> When we try to recall past experiences our images are limited in most of us to items to which we have given definate attention. That is one reason why testimony in court is so often inaccurate. The witness has rarely had any warning that something important was about to happen. He has not been instructed for what he should watch; so very often he fails to observe the crucial point. No determination to tell the truth (very often he fails to observe the crucial point), no agonized going over the scene again and again can recover the essential point that the witness simply cannot recall because of faulty observation and faulty recollection.

Then Mr. Roberts quotes Mr. Wigmore. Mr. Wigmore is perhaps the world's greatest authority on evidence. He wrote the evidence section in our *Manual for Courts Martial.* He says:

> In the last analysis, as Mr. Wigmore so often says, the reliability of the testimony of a witness depends on two factors: "Does the witness want to tell the truth, and can he tell the truth?" The first depends on the bias, interest and prejudices of the witness, the latter depends on psychological laws of observation which are entirely beyond the control of the witness. Memories play strange tricks on witnesses. Details are both lost and added. Sometimes they honestly remember things that never happened. Honest witnesses before trial often say "I do not know whether I actually remember this, or only think I do, because I have been told about it so often." Interesting stories frequently grow with successive tellings, though witnesses have no intention to embellish them.

And I close the quote.

Now, I take the liberty of putting this question to the court: Taking into consideration the elements which I have discussed, the obvious[13] and which are set forth before the court after a long interval of time from the events about which the testimony deals with . . . [*Sic*].

Use of Hearsay

Well, as if these factors were not enough to make this testimony unreliable, we here in War Crimes have opened the door wide to the greatest perverters of justice—our friends here say "evidence."

In ordinary trials before American or English courts the dangers of fabrication and invention and perjured testimony are to some extent restrained by making a witness testify only what he personally knows. Centuries of trial have shown the wisdom of these courts. It has been said that this hearsay rule has been relaxed in administrative cases in America, and therefore, it should be perfectly proper to relax it in this case. If the court please, that could not deal with criminal matters, in the first place; and in the second place, lives of men are now at stake. Every civilized country in the world requires in a murder case that at least the death be proved by first-hand official evidence. This is the so-called and much misused phrase *corpus delicti*. You must show that a death occurred, and hearsay evidence in every civilized country in the world is not admissible to show the death.

In these courts prejudice, bias, passage of time, hearsay, are combined to encourage a witness to rationalize, to invent testimony. The way that rationalization works is very simple. Just assume for a minute that I am a Polish witness and I am called upon to stand and testify against Jacobi, let's say. Now I don't remember Jacobi. I only saw him once, but I do remember something about the construction details of Camp Dora. There were such details. I remember that beatings occurred. I remember that somewhere along the line two or three of my friends had been beaten in the course of his detail. Naturally, I am prejudiced. Centuries of national hatred are in me, and with some reason. I don't like Germans in general, and I don't like SS men in particular; so it is a very simple matter to rationalize. I know that Jacobi was in charge of these construction details. He must have beaten somebody. I can sit

on this stand and say "Yep, definitely, Jacobi beat one of my friends." Well, of course, I have to make the story good, so, "He beat them so they fell down. He was taken to the dispensary, and I never heard of him again." Oh, my conscience may bother me a little at nights, that I testified against an individual who perhaps was innocent, but after all, he is an SS man, he is a German. Maybe if he didn't do that he may have done something else which was just as bad.

Now, that is the way people rationalize these things. Is there any doubt that many of these stories have been concocted just that way? And unfortunately, I have not only heard witnesses talking that way, but I have heard American officers talking exactly the same way. That may be mass-scale revenge. It is not justice—the individual innocence or guilt of one of these accused.

Now, in any trial which was conducted before an American court, the rules of evidence which pertain in the Anglo-American system, this story could be checked. It wouldn't stand up for the simple reason that they couldn't prove that the death ever occurred. But in War Crimes trials our Polish witness, whom I used for my example, is perfectly in the safe. He can spin his yarn with complete impunity. Does he have to describe with exactitude the cause of the death? No. Is it necessary for him to even have seen the body? No, certainly not. Does he even have to know the name of the victim? Oh, no, just his nationality, and he knows that because he is a Pole. The gates are wide open and prejudice and faulty memory can run rampant. You can chalk up one more hanging in the game of hate and revenge. It has been suggested that it would not be possible to get convictions without admitting this type of evidence. I say to the court "Do we seek convictions or do we seek justice? Must we sell our birthright? Must we emasculate our legal system in order to convict a few men and obtain revenge?" This choice, this choice, if the court please, with convictions at any price, "Are they worth dispensing without judicial safeguards?," is as old as the history of tyranny.

Every policeman who has ever aspired to become a dictator has urged that criminals will escape if the safeguards are not swept away. It is exactly the same thing which the Gestapo and the GPU and the NKVD urged and continue to urge today. It is the very thing that these war crimes trials were set up to condemn. Now, this court can't change the ground rules upon which these courts are held, I realize that, but it can exercise

its God-given right to recognize the insidiousness of such hearsay proof, and to reject the evidence based upon them as worthless. I say you not only can, you should, you must refuse to become the instruments of revenge, and maintain your integrity as instruments of justice. If there are any lengthy doubts in the mind of any member of this court as to the worthlessness of this type of hearsay evidence, we can dispel them by saying in this trial, "where it was possible to test this hearsay evidence, we did." We had such cases in this very trial. I will mention only a few.

Zwiener said that he had heard from Finkenzeller that Rickhey had given capos[14] orders to beat prisoners. It was possible for the defense in this case to bring Finkenzeller on the stand. Did Finkenzeller remember any such thing? No. Bouda said that he heard from Kurzke that Kurzke was the doctor who had treated the two men who died as a result of a shot from Helbig. Kurzke got on the stand and didn't remember saying anything like that to Bouda. He never treated anybody who died. Why he saw Helbig at Belsen, but completely failed to substantiate Bouda's testimony. There are many other cases, but I won't burden the court with them at this time; but in every single case in which it was possible during this trial to pin down the sources of hearsay evidence, it failed to pass the test completely. Is there any doubt, if the court please, that fabrications based on these elements, national prejudice, faulty memory, and supported by hearsay evidence should be thrown out of this court, as they should be thrown out of any court in the land which pretends to dispense justice.

There is one thing about this testimony that is doubly dangerous. It is not like pure fiction, it is more like a historical novel, because it has a certain foundation in fact, and thereby it gets a certain amount of credibility attached to itself. These witnesses do know the conditions, general conditions, they do know the place, they know the time, they can give, in general, evidence which sounds credible, so it isn't pure fiction—it is a historical novel. That terminates my discussion of the factors which affect the credibility of the prosecution witnesses.

Credibility of Individual Witnesses

This consideration, however, of these factors enables us to classify these witnesses, as the prosecution attempted to

classify the defense witnesses, drawing those contrasts which the prosecution attempted to draw. First of all, in classifying the prosecution witnesses, I would say that we would have to come to the deliberate liars, of whom there were some.

Maubert – "There were no beds in the TB block." A conscious, deliberate lie for the purpose of revenge.

Rozin – Heinrich was supposed to have beaten people to death. Of course he made two mistakes. He mistakenly coupled that testimony with the fact that the air-raid shelter was under construction, and it was possible to prove that the air-raid shelter had been built for several months; and also, he made an important mistake. He forgot the nationality of these people, he said they were Hungarian Jews. Well, if the court please, the law on the question of the nationality of these victims is quite clear. In the review of the parent Dachau case, the reviewing authorities said the following: "Be it noted that this testimony is general, and we are only concerned with cases where Allied or co-belligerent nations were subjected to offenses against the laws of war."

Here it must be said that an error was definitely committed by the court in taking judicial notice of the fact that Hungary and also the Gypsies were at war with Germany. Furthermore, the question of whether given victims were subject of Allied or co-belligerent powers was not properly considered by the court on many occasions, since it took notice of the war between Germany and other powers, some of which, such as Austria and Czechoslovakia, had disappeared as sovereign states.

So our witness Rozin didn't get the right nationality because Hungarian Jews, if the court please, cannot be considered as proper victims in these war crimes cases. They are outside the jurisdiction of the court because they still maintain their Hungarian nationality; because Hungary was an ally of Germany, and not a co-belligerent or an ally of the United States.

And then we come to the third deliberate liar, Drung. After the man had been proved a perjuror, the prosecution still maintains that he was their star witness, the man who sat here and mocked the justice of this court by telling deliberate lies under oath. The prosecution says that this man who sat here for three days and whose every answer was "Ja, aber –" gave very clear and succinct answers, a deliberate liar without a shadow of doubt.

Doctor Kahr, another deliberate liar. Of course his motivation was slightly different. He said that he had never interrogated witnesses. We confronted him with a record of his interrogation of an accused. He, of course, was buying his life and he had to do it with lies. He knew that he and Doctor Kurzke personally had selected thousands of people on these transports, and it was only by reason of the fact that he had purchased his liberty that he was not sitting in the dock.

Doctor Kurzke, of course, deliberately lied about some points, but this particular witness was not malicious. He was just afraid, testified from fear.

Doctor Cespiva, the deliberate liar. We must classify him as such. That witness feels a compulsion to destroy any witness who was present at the times he betrayed his Russian comrades. His position in Czechoslovakia demands this. He can't afford to have witnesses alive who knew he was guilty of betrayal of those Russians. He showed his true color when he tried to intimidate and interfere with the defense witnesses. He went a little too far.

I am not going to attempt to list all these witnesses by class, but just give outstanding examples.

The second class I call "the exaggerators." Not deliberate liars, they are just dramatists. They dramatize their concentration camp experiences. They were martyrs, heroes. All their accounts are surrounded by an aureola and glamor of fiction, and to a large extent that is what it is, too, fiction.

Jay, the Englishman. He was dying of thirst. He had to drink urine. For the first six months nobody had anything to drink. No one could take a bath. All this matter is completely contradicted by the prosecution witnesses at a later time.

Ackermann, the pseudo-doctor. He had performed thousands of autopsies, Ackermann had. He could tell by looking at the cell tissues whether a man died of exhaustion or not, a feat which even the finest histologist with all the resources, with all the resources of a well-equipped laboratory would find difficult to do.

Michel, a man of iron. He was beaten over the head with clubs by two men, kicked in the genitals, his spine was broken, lay a cripple, beaten until he was bloody, when he walked by himself without any help for over 500 meters, which is about half a kilometer into the tunnels.

To this class also belongs Kassimatis, the Greek. He went everybody a little better. Not only weren't there any trials at these executions, there weren't even any interrogations, nothing. A man was caught with a piece of wire on his shoe laces and he himself saw two SS men string them up from a beam which does not exist in the ceiling.

Cespiva himself falls into this class of exaggerators and dramatists. He was attacked by this ferocious dog Ajax, which turns out to be a puppy who went around pulling people's cuffs.

There is another example of these exaggerators and dramatists, and that is my worthy co-religionist, Brother Birin. This man, cloaking his hatred, his national hatred, under a hypocritical air of Christian charity, indulged in the wildest speculation, in flights of fancy, that it has ever been my privilege to hear. He gave accurate testimony of the death rates for the first six months of Dora. Of course, he arrived in March 1944, by his own testimony. We present him with a copy of the prosecution's exhibit on death rates, and he promptly pronounced it false.

Of course, minor inconsistencies never trouble the mind of a man who is intent on producing, not inconsistent facts, but fiction. I would like to read to you just a brief excerpt from this little book written by friend Birin. It is called *Sixteen Months of Imprisonment.* It is widely circulated in France. It is in French. It tells about his experiences in Dora. The part that I have selected is the part in which he describes roll calls at Dora. He says:

> During roll calls, the wives of the SS also selected their victims and they did so with even more cynicism than their husbands. They sought beautiful human skins artistically tattooed. In order to please them, a special roll call was often held on the roll call square at which all prisoners had to be present, dressed like Adam. Then these ladies passed in review through the ranks making their selections as in a fashion show. One could hear their titters, their exclamation, their small laughter of satisfaction. They would murmur, "Das ist schön," and they would point their fingers at the object of their choice.
>
> The prisoners thus selected had to leave the ranks and soon thereafter their skins were adorning the living rooms of these ladies or were added to the camp collection.

Now that is a verbatim translation. This book was written by friend Birin, that exaggerator and dramatizer. Now, we have

heard voluminous testimony in this case. Certainly if any such a thing would have happened in Dora it would have been presented to this court. Most of us recognize the Ilse Koch incident at Buchenwald, and he passes it on as Gospel truth in France, and they read this book and they have it on the same level as the Gospel of St. Mark.

I ask the court what credibility can be given to the testimony of such witnesses who put such stuff like that out as fact? It shows what a clever dramatizer can do. This is just an example of the dishonest testimony of this witness. The book is full of them, and it is recommended reading for this court.[15]

The next class that I would like to mention are the guilty ones. These people who were so guilty themselves that they felt compelled to come before this court and accuse the people in this dock in order to satisfy their own sense of guilt. We come to some of them, Drung, Cespiva—very definitely in an attempt to pass off their guilt on to these accused. Mittermüller, who had to be dragged out of the Dachau jail in order to testify before this court. Müller, known as the Tiger of Eschnapur, given 25 years by another war crimes court, Wyglondaz, known in Dora as Aunt Johanna, notorious spy for Sander.

And Doctor Kahr again, very definitely trying to hide his guilt by assisting the prosecution in obtaining convictions. We just have to look at one testimony of Doctor Kahr to see the extent to which he will go. That was the testimony in regard to the conditions of the transports which were sent from Buchenwald to Dora. In the Buchenwald case, where he was still trying to buy his liberty, it was Buchenwald's fault; ninety percent of the people who were sent to Dora were so far beyond recovery they were destined, doomed to die. It was well known that Buchenwald was the principal source of prisoners for Dora. If that was so, then the death rate of Dora is completely exonerated. These accused can't be held responsible for a death rate in a camp where ninety percent of the people who were sent to them were already dying. The Dora case is entirely different. These people arrived in fine condition from Buchenwald. Only subjected to the torturous hours and the hard work at Dora is why they developed a high death rate and died. It was the work in the tunnels that killed them. You see, gentlemen, it just depends on which case you testify for—a witness like that.

The next class of witnesses for the prosecution is the ignorant, the confused, little man who had no sense of perspective, no background, no education. Ordinarily we would speak of them as having a worm's eye view, but in the case of the prosecution it was more a snake's eye view.

These people are not deliberate liars. They just can't tell the difference between truth and falsehood. You just can't blame them for not testifying accurately, but I certainly blame an intelligent and enlightened prosecution for encouraging such types to appear before a court and give testimony as to matters entirely beyond their possible knowledge. Look at their names: Seidel admitted, punch-drunk – admitted he was confused in three languages. Bloch and Stern, two nice Jewish boys, cooked up their story on the train coming down. Bernhardt, he was certain that Brinkmann was the official hangman. That was the point he had. No other witness ever saw Brinkmann acting as official hangman during the time he was at Ellrich. Junk, from his exalted position in the kitchen, testified as to all the inner workings of the Mittelwerke, all of the secret work that went on in the Gestapo office, knew exactly what Rickhey was doing every period of the day. This type of witness can testify with great authority about all the secret works, the exact details of administative channels as high as Berlin, thus demonstrating their ignorance.

Another class of witnesses, those which were compelled by just pure national hatred such as Bouda, a Czech who was known as "Lucy" in Dora, showed that he was prompted by hate and malice. The same is true for the French witnesses. Rozin, Maubert, and Chamaillard, the latter being the witness who was so blinded by hate that he definitely identified the accused Ulbricht as being one of the perpetrators of the Gardelegen affair, though, fortunately, we were able to prove to the contrary.[16] That is not always possible with this type of witness. We can't always do that. In this particular case we were able to bring documents and witnesses to show how completely wrong he was. If it hadn't been for that, I am sure he would have had Ulbricht as being at this Gardelegen massacre. It shows the danger of accepting the statements of any of these witnesses at their face value.

Well, there they are, if the court please, the witnesses for the prosecution on parade, the deliberate liars, the exaggerators, the stupid, the ignorant, the guilty ones who are trying to hide

their own guilt, these who are blinded by national hate. It is not a very pretty picture. "Let he who is without sin throw the first stone." But candor compels and justice does require that we recognize a small residue of the prosecution witnesses. They are at the rear of the parade. They are not very glamorous. They have the exotic virtue of trying to tell the truth. These men showed themselves to be men of balance by their attitude, by the positions which they have acquired after they have been released from the concentration camp. They are not out for revenge. This residue is insignificant, it is true, in numbers; but by contrast, it emphasized the worthlessness of the rest of the prosecution witnesses. I will refer to just a few. Colonel Leschi, who is now chief of the radio communications for all of France. The Polish witness Vincent Hein, the Polish reparations commissioner, Dr. Groenveld, the Mennonite. The religious steadfastness of this man compelled him to tell the truth as far as he knew it.

Dr. Groenveld even accused himself as being responsible for selecting prisoners to go on transports, which he did. He also accused himself of keeping his friend Ives in the hospital for the major part of his time in Dora when only[17] other people who were really dying were kept out, because of friendship. This witness was making an attempt to tell the truth.

The interpreter Patzer, now at the University of London, this man confirmed that not one single death occurred as a result of interrogations in the bunker.

Now I implore the court to review carefully the testimony of that type of witness for the prosecution—they at least made attempts to present a balanced and sane picture. Of course they were mistaken in many cases. We have already seen what the frailities of human memory will do. We must conclude, if the court please, that except for a small residue of prosecution witnesses, this court should reject as mistruth the testimony of the remainder because of the fact that they were prejudiced, because of the fact of faulty memory and of the time which has elapsed, because most of the testimony was based on hearsay, most of them either deliberate liars, exaggerators, guilty themselves and covering up, guilty and confused, or blinded by national hate. All of these above factors in connection with the incredibility of prosecution witnesses should be considered.

Prosecution Errors

But there is even more. There are fatal errors in the manner in which the prosecution presented its case, which must throw very great doubts on the testimony presented. In the first place, it is evident that the prosecution was over-zealous in presenting its case, to say the least. I think, as Bühring so aptly put it, the prosecution was interested in hearing accusations, not the truth. I won't review for this court the ways in which the statements were obtained from these accused. The court heard enough about that from Bühring during the trial, the witnesses who were permitted to, who were interrogated, and explanations which were omitted.

Now the prosecution also withheld favorable evidence when it is the duty of the prosecutor to present all of the evidence in order to give a clear picture. Of this there can be no doubt. On several occasions when due to our objections the prosecution inadvertently was forced to present a subject as the Gardelegen report, it presented to the court an entirely different picture from what the prosecution was trying to make. It showed where the real responsibility for the Gardelegen incident lay. It showed that Brauny certainly could not be held as the principle character for that incident, if at all.

In the case of Brauny, of course, it is a case of "Damned if you do, and damned if you don't." If he stayed with the transport and massacred them you were guilty, then you couldn't win. If you left them, then you are a coward. You shouldn't have left them. That is a position in which I hope no member of this court or I want to be put.

That the prosecution indulged in over-exaggerations, is, of course, evident to everyone. He maintained this position during the entire case and maintained this position yesterday in his argument. According to the prosecution every single one of those accused is a mass murderer, every one of them, without any qualification, for one reason or another.

If the court please, that weakens any case. When a man makes up his mind to hang every individual, then he is going to fall into some fatal errors in his presentation, and the prosecution did just that. The prosecution took the attitude that they should make no attempt to differentiate between places and names, in order to use casual words like "tunnels" to include construction sites, the "Mittelwerke factory"—every

place where prisoners worked were "the tunnels," they made no attempt to distinguish between dates.

Even yesterday in its final argument it was said that Rickhey's witnesses were complaining about the long roll calls, and therefore that showed that Koenig was guilty.

The court knows very well that Koenig was in the motor pool at the time Rickhey came to the Mittelwerke. Rickhey came to the Mittelwerke in May, and at that time Koenig had been in the motor pool for four months.

No attempt to distinguish Jews, and an attempt to show up a smoke screen of accusations—this constant repetition of an error. That is a theory—constantly repeat an error and eventually that makes it true. That was Goebbels' technique. Keep piling up accusations—no matter whether they are true or false. Eventually they will be believed.

Now, accusations are easy to make. They are very difficult to disprove. Just keep calling the accused a murderer over and over again. That is the way to do it. This shows how easy it is to make sweeping accusations, if the court please. The same thing is true with the way they couple prejudicial matter which is entirely irrelevant. The horror picture of the bombing victims of the Boelke Kaserne, deliberately introduced to build up a prejudice against the accused Schmidt, in the hope that somehow the accused Schmidt would be found to have some participation in these deaths, which were actually the result of our own bombings.[18]

It is this desire, if the court please, this desire to exaggerate, at all costs, to present evidence at all costs, no matter how worthless it is, that led witnesses such as Zwiener to appear before this court and testify invented testimony.

Now, the prosecution, of course, claims that they had no connection with the testimony which Zwiener invented, that they had nothing to do with his inventing that testimony, but I believe an interesting parallel can be drawn here. Very briefly, I would like to draw this parallel. The prosecution says, "We are completely innocent of having participated in inventing testimony." I do believe it. I know the court believes it. But we must recognize that a much stronger case could be made against the prosecution to prove that they did assist in inventing this testimony than any case that they have prosecuted against any single one of those accused, and that shows the danger of just making accusations and it should

show the prosecution the danger and how easy it is, by hearsay testimony and by appearances, to show that a guilt exists.

Let us look at the facts. The facts are as admitted before this court. The prosecution and Zwiener were in contact through Mr. Aalmans—that is admitted. Zwiener told another member of the accused of his inventions, of what he intended to do and if the Big Four didn't hang, that then the little prisoners would hang. Zwiener did, in fact, manufacture the testimony. He passed it—actually that is admitted by the prosecution through Captain Ryan. Zwiener made other attempts to pass this information to the prosecution. Then, when the prosecution brought this testimony forth in open court through the accused, Zwiener, by means of a very clear and smooth presentation on direct examination that the prosecution made of Zwiener, in cross examination it was very evident to every member of this court.

There it is—a much stronger case than anything that has been presented by the prosecution against any of these accused. If the prosecution is innocent, as I am sure it is, one may well judge how easy it is for a miscarriage of justice to occur and how easy it is to be thought guilty on evidence based upon accusations of prejudiced witnesses, which is buttressed by hearsay. All the elements are there and admitted, just as the prosecutor said yesterday before this court, that all the elements in Helbig's case were admitted because he was present at Belsen, because he had a pistol in his hand, because he was seen by Dr. Kurzke—every single element is present.

A Plea for Justice

I would like to close now, if the court please, with a sincere plan for the court to give those accused justice in this case. I do not want to make a plea for mercy because justice metes out the punishment that is deserved, no more, no less. The defense is not so naive and has not been so naive during this entire case as to claim that all of these people were completely innocent. We do not so claim now. Many of them have been guilty of criminal acts. Many of them have admitted it before this court, such as beatings, but they are not all murderers. Some of them are completely innocent and we respectfully request this court to take into consideration in bringing in

their verdict these exaggerations that have been presented against these people—against these people who have not received a fair trial.

Now, I do not want to be misunderstood. I am proud to say that every one of these accused has had a fair hearing before a court which has been scrupulously fair, but in our Anglo-American system, a fair hearing before a fair court is not an entirely fair trial. It is only part of a fair trial. What goes on before the trial is just as important as a fair hearing before a fair court. We cannot speak of a fair trial, when accused are denied the elementary rights—pre-trial rights I am speaking of—which any gangster or any common criminal would enjoy before an American court. What takes place before the trial and the type of evidence admissible at the trial are just as important as a fair-minded court. The argument that if the positions were reversed and that if we were being tried by them, we wouldn't get as fair a trial as they did, is cowardly as an answer. Two wrongs have never made a right. It is just the pot calling the kettle black. Regardless of what they would have done, it is not justified of us to do likewise. How can we demand, if the court please, the strictest standard of conduct and morality which the prosecution has said we must use in judging these men? How can we demand these standards which we have inherited from our free laws and our free institutions and at the same time deny them the fundamental rights which our free laws and our free constitution give to people who must live by these strict standards? These people didn't learn their standards of conduct in baseball fields or cricket fields or the football fields of free countries. They learned them in an atmosphere of terror. We refuse to take this into consideration and if we do so, we then are consciously lowering our standards of justice in order to get a transitory revenge on a few suspected criminals.

Duty to History

In these War Crimes trials, this being the last one, we are writing history. We forget this—it is easy to forget in the daily grind, the routine, the heat of the case—it is easy to forget that we are writing international law and history in these trials. I ask this court to rise above the daily grind, to separate themselves from this particular trial and the day-after-day hearing of this evidence and to see itself in the position and the perspective which history gives to it. The precedents that

we set in this court will outlive every member of this court. The lives and the fortunes of those accused are unimportant. The great cases in the law which have assured our great rights have always involved little people, little people who have long since departed from our field of view. The right of redress against a sovereign state was laid down in the Winslow Case, the case of a small boy who was accused of stealing some postage stamps from another boy; the case which upheld the freedom of the press was the case of an obscure publisher in the colonies of a magazine which has long since ceased even to be read in the United States. The freedom of religion was upheld in a case in which an obscure sect was involved, whose name is no longer even known.

I dare to utter a prophecy to this court. The decision to try these War Criminals, under rules which offered them less protection than those which we extend to our own citizens when accused of crime, established a precedent in international law which will live to haunt the world.

The argument is made on the basis of expediency. It is said that those people could not be tried if we did not deprive them of these safeguards. To this, the wise men of the law have always answered that expediency is not a substitute for justice. Expediency is always the first step on the road to totalitarianism. This philosophy that the ends justify the means—that is the philosophy of Machiavelli and of Hitler.

I am most grateful for the opportunity to be able to stand before this court and repudiate this philosophy as abhorrent to our free institutions, which have been nurtured by our Anglo-American tradition and our American system. I do not believe in one law for our friends and a different law for our enemies. I hold no personal grief[19] for these men. They were my enemies for[20] a short while ago. What their fate is, is entirely immaterial to me, but historically such distinction results inevitably in invasions of our most precious liberties. The law means the same for all. We must extend the same protection to the criminal, to the innocent, to the citizen, to the alien, to the Christian, to the Jew. A denial of these basic rights to any group on whatever grounds, expediency or otherwise, in order to produce quick results, destroys the foundations of the law and its strength. I say I am happy to have the opportunity to repudiate this theory before this court because I know that as surely as we deprive this group today of the basic safeguards which we grant our own citizens, tomorrow we

will deprive it from the Jew or from the Catholic, as I am, and I oppose it with all my strength.

Historically the law did not become a shield or sword for freedom until it became a way which was common to all men, to the prince, to the pauper, to the Jew, to the Christian, until it became known as "The Common Law," without distinction as to race or creed or the fact that they were former enemies.

These small perversions which are introduced and which have been introduced into these War Crimes Trial cases may seem unimportant. Suppression of liberty always brings with it small invasions of basic rights. The Nazi whom we are trying in Germany today began in that way, by invading a few basic rights to a very insignificant extent, as any German can now tell you—before they knew it, their entire system had snowballed into a murderous avalanche which buried freedom. I report, when we consciously abandon our strong moral position as a democracy by laws in order to assure a few convictions, then we, and not the accused, are on trial, are the real betrayers of our system and our ideals. I report,[21] I don't care what happens to those accused. I have no personal grief[22] for them of any kind but I, you and everyone here do have very high stakes in the birthrights which this court is here to guard and to preserve and to enforce. I feel inadequate to impress upon this court the importance of these principles. I wish that I could summon up the wise men of the law who have preceded me. Coke and Allenborough and Marshall and Holmes, and have them appear before you and and say these things to you in a way far superior to anything which I can utter. I wish that I could summon the conscience of the American people, the voice of their conscience, to speak through me to tell you these things.

The defense is often accused of flagwaving. I am not a flagwaver. A flagwaver uses hypocritical patriotism to cloud the real issue. Here the real issue is not clouded. It is clear, it is expediency or justice. The strength of our democracy lies in the very fact that I, an American, am called upon to defend, through no personal desire of mine, these Germans, my former enemies, and that I can criticize the case which has been presented against them. But it also lies, if the court please, in the ability of each court member to follow the dictates of its own conscience. This court cannot give these men a fair trial. I have made that plain. But they can give

them—and I know they will give them—a fair decision. Your duty is very simple. It may seem complicated but it is simple. Just ask yourself—would you be willing to be placed on trial for your life and would you be willing to stake your life upon the type of evidence that has been presented by the prosecution before this court? Would you be willing to have your citizens, citizens of your own country, appear before a court martial or before an American court, and subjected to the kind of prejudice and perjured evidence which has been presented against these accused? Do you consider that the evidence produced by the prosecution against each of these accused would find them guilty beyond reasonable doubt before an American court, using the system and the principles of our Anglo-American free system of laws? Using that criterion, if the court please, it is clear that nearly all the accusations of the prosecution must fall below such standards of proof.

Notes

Major Poullada's final plea in the Nordhausen-Dora trial (U.S. vs. Kurt Andrae, et al. File number 000-50-37) is on record in the National Records Center, Suitland, Md. Record Group (RG) 338, Vol. 86, (Dec. 23, 1947), pp. 7723-7769. It is also on microfilm at the National Archives, Washington, DC. RG 338, Roll 11, 1079/ 7723-7769.

1. Probably "attempt."
2. Top U.S. officials, including Franklin Roosevelt and Dwight Eisenhower, did refer to the American wartime camps for Japanese-Americans as "concentration camps." See: Michi Weglyn, *Years of Infamy: The Untold Story of America's Concentration Camps* (New York: 1976), pp. 74, 114, 175, 217, 314, 316.
3. Possibly should be Stephen Pinter. He considered the story of six million exterminated Jews to be a myth. See Arthur Butz, *Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, p. 47.
4. Probably "savored."
5. Probably "corporal."

6. Probably "mistake."
7. Probably "wary."
8. Apparently a reference to "Prominente," or well-known individuals who were held in custody in the concentration camps, generally under privileged circumstances.
9. "Greens" were ordinary criminals. "Reds" were political prisoners, mostly Communists. These designations referred to the colored indentification badges they were obliged to wear in the camps. "Greens" and "Reds" struggled for internal control of the camps. By the final year of the war, Communist ("Red") inmates had wrested from the SS complete mastery of the day-to-day internal operations of several of the most important concentration camps.
10. SS Obergruppenführer Oswald Pohl was head of the SS-Wirtschafts- und Verwaltungshauptamt (WVHA) (Economic and Administrative Main Office of the SS), to which the inspectorate of the concentration camps was transferred in 1942. Despite Pohl's efforts to ameliorate prisoner conditions and to minimize deaths, above all in the interests of wartime production, he was convicted by an American military tribunal and hanged in 1951.
11. SS Gruppenführer Hans Kammler, head of Amtsgruppe C, the construction department of the WHVA, was in charge of the entire V-2 development and production program. Albin Sawatzki was Arthur Rudolph's superior at the "Mittelwerk."
12. Probably "ministry."
13. Perhaps "which are" instead of "the."
14. Usually "Kapo." Although the origin of the term is disputed, it was generally used to describe prisoners who were appointed by the German camp command to supervise prisoner labor, and often extended to other members of the official prisoner hierarchy.
15. Frère Birin's testimony is dealt with at length by Paul Rassinier, who knew him at Dora/Nordhausen, in *The Holocaust Story and the Lies of Ulysses*, pp. 121-129 (available from IHR for $12.00).
16. The notorious incident at Gardelegen, in which several hundred concentration camp inmates being evacuated from Nordhausen were locked in a barn and burned to death, had been presented by the prosecution as the deed of defendants Ulbricht and Brauny, but the defense was able to show that they had not been involved. The massacre was evidently carried out by members of the *Volkssturm*, the wartime militia,

at the order of a local party official. Claims by the prosecution and by later writers that the atrocity had been in response to an alleged order by Heinrich Himmler to liquidate all concentration camp inmates on the approach of the Allied armies have never been substantiated. As with a presumed Hitler order to exterminate the Jews and an alleged Himmler order in 1944 to stop the extermination program, no such Himmler liquidation order has ever been found.

17. Perhaps "all the..." instead of "only."
18. Boelke Kaserne, a sub-camp of Nordhausen, was bombed by Allied planes in April 1945, killing several hundred prisoners who worked in a munitions factory.
19. Probably "brief."
20. Probably "before."
21. Probably "repeat."
22. See note 20.

continued from page 66

at the Nordhausen-Dora concentration camp complex. Major Leon Poullada's informed, thoughtful, yet impassioned plea to the American officers who sat in judgement on the case in Dachau is noteworthy not merely for its impressive marshalling, just two years after the war, of arguments and insights which even the most informed Revisionist can profit from today, but also for its evidence that an American officer of unquestioned patriotism and probity made a case for which, in its essence, men and women of good will are being witch-hunted and scape-goated in Europe and America today, nearly 45 years later.

Frequent *JHR* contributor Bill Grimstad, a practiced journalist and long-time observer and connoisseur of the outlandish and inexplicable, from flying saucers to Zionism, considers a new look at the "occult roots of Nazism," and gives it qualified approval. Here at last, it seems, is an author, Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke, who, despite his own "metaphysical" leanings and reflex anti-Hitlerism, does a measure of justice to the Führer's alleged "Ariosophist" influences and who leaves the "Spear of Destiny" to molder in the impotent obscurity to which he properly consigns it.

We wish to apologize to our subscribers for the belatedness of this issue of *The Journal*, which is due in some part to an imminent trial, occasioned by the complaint of Mel Mermelstein, who claims to have proved the Holocaust took place and has found a second judge to decree that event need not have been proved at all: it is simply beyond dispute. Nevertheless, we at IHR are confident, resolute, and determined to combat this renewed attempt to torpedo historical dissent to the best of our ability. Despite the approaching trial, we promise to be back on schedule this summer.

—Theodore J. O'Keefe

Book Review

THE OCCULT ROOTS OF NAZISM by Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke. Wellingborough, Northamptonshire, U.K.: Aquarian Press, 1985. Hardbound, 293 pages, illustrations, $23.50, ISBN 0-85030-402-4.

Reviewed by William Grimstad

Although the gas chamber mythos has been the centerpiece of ongoing Establishment efforts to diabolize the Third Reich, there has been a parallel attempt to remove that epoch from objective consideration by casting it in a less homicidal but more bizarrely demoniacal light. Linking National Socialism to occultism has served several purposes: making the Hitler period look spooky, or at least a bit "kooky"; alienating people of traditional religious outlook, and not least, cashing in on the lucrative bookselling fad of recent years sometimes called the "occult explosion."

Such books as *The Morning of the Magicians* or *The Occult and the Third Reich* first broached the notion that the National Socialist era, in addition to its multifarious other evils, had actually been conjured up by wicked wirepullers behind the visible leaders. We were introduced to the enigmatic figures of Rudolf von Sebottendorf and other supposed adepts of the fabled Thule Society, which now have become household words among even casual students of the period; and behind them an earlier strain of philosophers who, shockingly enough, had erected a religious worldview upon "Aryan" racialism.

Conveniently, the German regime's avowed pro-Aryan policies now could be faulted not only as leading to the Holocaust. They also became the butt of ridicule for travestying science or of opprobrium for trying to harness powers of evil. Still better, the always awkward fact of broad electoral support for the National Socialist program in one of the world's most advanced countries likewise could be explained: an entire nation had been mesmerized by baleful cultic Svengalis.

Goodrick-Clarke's book was published several years ago in England, but has begun finding its way into the book trade here. As it represents a substantial research effort, one naturally wonders about the author's inclinations. Little

biographical information is furnished, but the acknowledgements do contain a couple of names of interest. The first one thanked is Ellic Howe, a leading personality within the United Grand Lodge of England, reputedly the world's predominant Masonic organization. Howe writes frequently in *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, the controlled-circulation research journal of the lodge, whose enmity to National Socialism is glaring.

The author next salutes Norman Cohn, the British Holocaustorian who has made a career of microscopically analyzing the sensational *Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion* as a literary impetus for the later Holocaust. On the strength of such thinly veiled pro-Zionist essays as his *Warrant for Genocide*, Cohn worked his way to the top of the historical hierarchy at Oxford, and there supervised Goodrick-Clarke's studies, where the present volume began as a Ph.D. thesis.

Revisionists may raise eyebrows at such auspices, but my impression is that Goodrick-Clarke generally avoids the tendentiousness of his mentors. Although marred by annoying knee-jerks and tics of minor residual bias, this remains a thorough and levelheaded inquiry into a topic severely mauled by hacks. It also offers, for the first time known to me in English, a window into the amazingly extensive and frankly quite fascinating German nationalist literature of the period.

His subtitle, "The Ariosophists of Austria and Germany, 1890-1935," refers to a body of ideas which once had a substantial following in the German-speaking world. The ideas centered on the writings of two Austrians, Guido von List (1848-1919) and Jörg Lanz von Liebenfels (1874-1954). Ariosophy is used by the author as a generic for this "lore of the Aryans" that was expounded by the two men.

Guido von List (the aristocratic *von* was self-assumed) was raised a Catholic but early took interest in Nordic paganism, which he coupled with a profound attraction to nature. An ardent rebel against modernity, which he associated with the spreading metropolis of *fin-de-siècle* Vienna and all its decadent ways, List's happiest moments came on rambles through the Austrian countryside, and he began his literary career with newspaper pieces on the rural scene, depicted as highly spiritualized. He was concerned to furnish an ideological backdrop to the pan-German movement led by such nationalist politicians as Georg von Schönerer and Vienna Mayor Karl Lueger.

Later, List worked out what was essentially a clairvoyant reconstruction of the distant past, elaborating a vast mythology of an ancient Wotanist priesthood, the *Armanenschaft.* They supposedly held sway in Europe until the Christian conversion, but now were confined to clandestine status, perpetuating the ancient Aryan lore through a small élite, among whom he numbered himself.

Eventually, List built up a fairly wide readership and a Guido von List Society, sponsored by prestigious people, was established. With the coming of the First World War, the appeal of such a philosophy grew greatly, especially in Germany, and List also found a wider field for analysis of the destructive elements arrayed against the Central Powers. He dubbed these the Great International Party, in a fair anticipation of the World Zionist Organizations and Trilateral Commissions of our own day.

Adolf Josef Lanz also was born in Vienna, of middle-class Catholic parents. Like List, he assumed an aristocratic pedigree and the pompous Jörg Lanz von Liebenfels moniker, although his claim to this title was never disproven. He was inspired by List and became one of the older guru's early backers, but Lanz's Ariosophical interests were different. As a young man he had entered a Cistercian abbey as a novice monk, and although he left after a time, he remained enthralled by medieval Catholicism.

Lanz was disinterested in Listian oracular recreations of the German past, but he did have his own candidate for an ancient Aryan secret priesthood that supposedly had survivors in the modern era: the Knights Templar, a Catholic order suppressed for heresy in the 1300s. He founded his *Ordo Novi Templi* (Order of the New Temple) around 1907 in the medieval castle of Burg Werfenstein, which perched dramatically above the Danube with a swastika and *fleur-de-lis* flag over its tower. Goodrick-Clarke is much perturbed at the racialist slant of this literature. Actually, such material was commonplace in many Western countries at that time: imperial Britain had its "white man's burden" ethic purveyed to a huge audience by poet Rudyard Kipling; and here in America, anthropologist Lothrop Stoddard could publish a best-selling book entitled *The Rising Tide of Color.*

As the author's exhaustive analysis, if not his own conclusions, makes clear, however, Ariosophy played only a

very incidental role in the rise of National Socialism. Although Hitler may have known of List, there is no proof of it, and only an indication that he had read Lanz's *Ostara* magazine as a young man. He was not impressed, to judge by his ridicule of "*völkisch* wandering scholars" and antiquarian cultists in *Mein Kampf*.

Of far greater import in the political arena was Baron Rudolf von Sebottendorf von der Rose (born Adam Alfred Rudolf Glauer in 1875), although his role too has been distorted. Goodrick-Clarke has done an excellent job of analyzing the available material on this colorful international adventurer. Once again, however, Sebottendorf's involvement with Freemasonry, Muslim dervishes and the Turkish revolution cannot be convincingly tied to his pan-Germanism, except that they may have predisposed him to backstage activism. What he does deserve credit for is having the political savvy, virtually alone among a welter of confused nationalists and anti-Communists in southern Bavaria, to see what was needed in Germany and the conviction to stake his personal resources on that.

After joining the moribund *Germanenorden* in 1916, Sebottendorf quickly revived the Bavarian section and began using the nominal cultural society as a center for political action during the brewing Marxist revolution, adopting the Thule Society name as a "cover" to divert Red suspicions. He purchased the *Beobachter* newspaper (later the National Socialists' *Völkischer Beobachter*); stockpiled weapons; schemed to kidnap the Communist leader, Kurt Eisner; infiltrated spies into the Communist cadres, and organized the *Kampfbund Thule* paramilitary group which joined with other Free Corps units in the successful attack on Munich's Communist government on April 30, 1919.

Most important, of course, was Sebottendorf's recognition of the need for a new type of worker-based party to deal with the unprecedented Red threat. He founded the German Workers Union in 1918, the most active member of which was Anton Drexler, who went on to start the German Workers Party, which was joined, taken over, and renamed the National Socialist German Workers' Party by Adolf Hitler in 1919.

Meanwhile, Sebottendorf's political career ended abruptly that same year, when Communists seized seven Thule Society

members and executed them on April 30, triggering international outrage and at last galvanizing the Munich citizenry to aid in ousting the Marxists. Sebottendorf was blamed for having allowed the Thule membership list to fall into the Reds' hands, although there were those who suggested that this was his Machiavellian intent all along, as the ensuing creation of martyrs played a key role in the nationalist victory.

In any case, Rudolf von Sebottendorf was in no way a puppet-master of the much later Third Reich, which indeed treated him with some hostility. Rather, he was an unusually shrewd political operative at a critical formative period, whose personal courage kept him battling in Red Munich long after many others had retreated. One wonders exactly what situation would have awaited the inexperienced Hitler had Sebottendorf not laid this groundwork.

* * * * *

Anyone trying to arrive at a rational understanding of this important period has been painfully aware of the jabberwock literature that has held the floor since the Second World War, ranging from popular novels through journalistic exposés to solemn histories, and treating of everything from "Holocaust studies" through postwar "Nazi war criminal" skullduggeries.

Although it may seem extreme to link a Lucy Dawidowicz with the latest Hitler-is-alive tabloid tale, the fact is that they are on a continuum of literature which enforces a Manichean, total-evil view of the National Socialist era, from the academic down to the comic-book levels, a peculiar situation that does not exist in any other known area of inquiry.

Moreover, it is not that the literary establishment simply neglects to repudiate this trashier output. In fact, it has actively promoted it. The books in question are published by major houses, and get conventional review and promotional attention. Such a state of affairs would never exist in regard to sensationalized titles critical of Israeli Zionism, for example. Clearly, then, a Revisionist laying to rest of this material is long overdue; the present book, despite its lacks, is a start.

Goodrick-Clarke traces the origin of the Lovecraftian school of Third Reich historiography to the self-proclaimed German rocket engineer, Willy Ley, who emigrated here in 1935 and spent the ensuing years working on Hollywood science fiction films. In 1947, Ley wrote an article for a "pulp" fantasy

magazine ridiculing pseudoscience in Germany, which he claimed included a Berlin sect attempting to conjure up the mysterious *vril* force described by British novelist Edward Bulwer-Lytton in his *The Coming Race* (1871), supposedly conveying to its adepts total power over the world.

This was sufficient to spark off, in 1960, the first and probably most enduring of the genre, *The Morning of the Magicians* by French journalists Louis Pauwels and Jacques Bergier. A vast farrago of misquotations, sheer fabrications and exclamation points, this opus touched base on the major points that were to become standard for the type:

- The rise and early success of National Socialism were due, not to sober choice by the German electorate, followed by hard work of a capable people, but to supernatural forces;
- The forces are described as either discarnate, like Bulwer's *vril*, or as the doings of godlike "ascended masters" in some remote and exotic location, usually Tibet;
- It is possible to get into contact with this power, identified by Pauwels and Bergier as "the Master of the World or the King of Fear," and as it were plug in on the current for one's own ends in the mundane world;
- Such liaison was a top-priority project of the German government, despite its other distractions;
- The government's channel was the Thule Society, which in turn was the creature of the two evil geniuses, the playwright and early Hitler friend, Dietrich Eckart, and a professor of geopolitics at the University of Munich, Dr. Karl Haushofer. They used the Thule Society to control the state through Hitler, who is invariably described in the canon as a semihysterical "mediumistic" personality.

Later savants, such as Dietrich Bronder in his *Before Hitler Came* (1964), with its title rather crassly lifted from Sebottendorf's 1933 memoir, introduced the Ariosophical dimension of List and Lanz, including the pair in the Thule clique, along with Hitler, Mussolini, Göring and a who's who of Axis luminaries. With this, the menu was complete and numerous others could begin rehashing it, most notably Michel-Jean Angebert, *The Occult and the Third Reich* (1971);

Trevor Ravenscroft, *The Spear of Destiny* (1972), and J.H. Brennan, *Occult Reich* (1974).

Placing his magnifying glass on the "MOM" genre, Goodrick-Clarke reports as follows:

- There was no Vril Society or "Luminous Lodge," as the fabulists call it, although there was a "Lumenclub" in Vienna for some years after 1932, acting as a front for the banned National Socialist Party;
- Prof. Haushofer did endorse a thrust to the east, into Soviet territory, but strictly for obvious geopolitical reasons; his alleged goal of reaching the ascended masters in the Orient is "entirely false," according to Goodrick-Clarke;
- Dietrich Eckart (who died in 1923), along with the young Alfred Rosenberg, attended a few early Thule meetings as guests but there is no evidence linking other Party leaders, or List, Lanz or Haushofer, with the group;
- The Thule Society was disbanded around 1925 because of declining membership and was never reorganized.

We certainly owe something to Goodrick-Clarke for so expertly skewering this pernicious nonsense, which has even tripped up major-league historians like Joachim Fest, although he does not follow through on the truly important question. The inimitable Holocaust, spotlighted by all these "schlock" authors as the result of the national demonic posession, still sits enshrined in its increasingly shopworn hideousness, even here.

About the Contributors

ROBERT FAURISSON'S status as (tenured) Professor of French Literature at the University of Lyon-2 in France has, at this writing, been overturned by bureaucratic fiat, a procedure unknown in France since the German occupation. Professor Faurisson 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.* His forthcoming collection, *Faurisson on the Holocaust*, will be available from the IHR this year.

WILLIAM GRIMSTAD, a professional journalist, has written for four major American newspapers, and been editor of *Georgetown Today*, the official magazine of Georgetown University. His two books, *Anti-Zion* and *Six Million Reconsidered*, often regarded as classics in the field, are available from IHR.

LEON B. POULLADA was born in New Mexico in 1913. He was graduated from San Diego State University (B.A.) in 1936 and earned the LL.B. at Southwestern University in Los Angeles (1940). From 1939 to 1948 he served in the United States Army, rising to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. A fluent speaker of Spanish and French who traveled widely throughout Latin America, Leon Poullada died in 1987.

JOHN TOLAND is one of the world's best known and most widely read historians. His works of history include *Battle: The Story of the Bulge, But Not in Shame, The Last One Hundred Days, No Man's Land, The Rising Sun, Adolf Hitler* and *Infamy*. Several of his books have been highly acclaimed best-sellers. Among his numerous honors, Mr. Toland was awarded the 1971 Pulitzer prize for general non-fiction. He lives in Danbury, Connecticut, with his wife and collaborator, Toshiko.

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Errata:

Please note these corrections of errors in the Spring 1991 issue of *The Journal*: The Birkenau crematory facility building in the illustration on page 72 should be Krema II, and not III as indicated. The plan on page 73 was taken from page 512 of Pressac's book about Auschwitz. On page 82, line seven, the word "has" should be "had."

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Table of Contents

Volume Eleven, No. 2 *Summer, 1991*

Articles

Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers—Part II — 133
Robert Faurisson

Neither Trace Nor Proof: The Seven Auschwitz "Gassing" Sites — 177
Enrique Aynat

An Official Polish Report on the Auschwitz "Gas Chambers" — 207

"Jewish Soap" — 217
Mark Weber

Reviews

Turner Pictures, Inc., *Never Forget* — 229
Tom Marcellus

Elizabeth Loftus & Katherine Ketcham, *Witness for the Defense* — 238
John Cobden

Historical News and Comment

A Brief Introduction to Holocaust Revisionism — 251

A Request for Additional Information on the Myth of the "Gassing" of the Serbs in the First World War — 254

About the Contributors — 256

From the Editor

This issue continues, and completes, the *JHR's* exploitation of that marvelous godsend from the Klarsfelds and their monied supporters, Jean-Claude Pressac's *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers.* Pressac's massive study is the first attempt by Exterminationists to come to grips with the Revisionists' technical arguments against mass murder at the Auschwitz crematoria. As three previous treatments (by Mark Weber, Carlo Mattogno, and Robert Faurisson) have demonstrated, however, Pressac's lucubrations have if anything made the Revisionist case against homicidal gassing at Auschwitz more powerful than ever.

In Part II of his review of the Pressac book, Dr. Robert Faurisson concludes his masterful dissection of Pressac's attempts to shore up the gas-chamber thesis. More than just a demolition of Pressac's errors and a harvest of the windfall of the new evidence for Revisionism that the French pharmacist has unwittingly provided, Faurisson's study, which first appeared in the French Revisionist journal *Revue d'Histoire Révisionniste* (no. 3, November-December 1990-January 1991; address: B.P. 122, 92704 Colombes Cedex, France), bristles with new evidence from Faurisson as to what really happened at Auschwitz during the Second World War.

Then Enrique Aynat, who, like Dr. Faurisson, is a frequent contributor to the *JHR* as well as a member of its Editorial Advisory Committee, comes at the Pressac book from a slightly different direction, meticulously analyzing Pressac's evidence—documentary, technical, and testimonial—at each of the seven Auschwitz sites claimed by Pressac and other Exterminationists to have served as homicidal gas chambers. Aynat's study is a concise, state-of-the-art debunking of not merely Pressac, but every Exterminationist who contends that the famous crematoria and the elusive "bunkers" of Auschwitz were used for murder by gas.

As noted above, *The Journal* plans no further studies of Pressac's *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers* for the near future. With this issue we shall have devoted more than 160 pages to this book, which was hailed by its publishers (and in the pages of the *New York Times*) as definitive, technical proof—at last—of the Exterminationist gas chamber thesis. So far as we have been able to determine, the *JHR's* coverage alone currently exceeds the total space given Pressac's important study in all other scholarly journals combined: an indication not merely of the import of Pressac's book for Revisionism but of the reluctance, if not inability, of Exterminationist scholarship to grapple with the physical and technical properties of the Auschwitz crematoria and their alleged gas chambers.

(*continued on page 176*)

Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers Or, Improvised Gas Chambers & Casual Gassings at Auschwitz & Birkenau According to J.C. Pressac (1989)

Part II

ROBERT FAURISSON

The Lessons of a Soccer Field and a Swimming Pool

In 1983, Klarsfeld and Pressac published a French version of the *Auschwitz Album* (published by Seuil).[8] Pressac drew up a misleading plan of Birkenau (p. 43) on which, in particular, he obscured the surroundings of the large Birkenau crematories. Specifically, he concealed from his readers that, immediately next to *Krema III*, there was a *Sportplatz* (playing field) which served as a soccer pitch for the inmates, and that right next to the *Sportplatz* there was a large hospital area. These simple topographical specifications (about which Pressac is rather discreet in his large book) render absurd the thesis that the crematoria were supposedly the culmination of a horrible extermination process accompanied by cries, fire, flames and the smell of burning flesh. Can you imagine teams of soccer players and crowds of spectators at the various matches, just a few steps away from those horrors?

Pressac is careless when he challenges the Revisionists to prove that in the central camp the swimming pool was used by the inmates. I will let a former Auschwitz prisoner answer for me. He was a professor in the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Strasbourg who, while affirming in a rather vague way the homicidal gassings at Auschwitz, was just as willing to write about the distractions available to the inmates:

> On Sunday afternoons, there were soccer, basketball and *water polo* matches [my emphasis] to the ardent cheers of the spectators: people need very little to distract them from the dangers that threatened them! The SS administration allowed regular amusements for the prisoners, even on weekdays. A movie theater showed Nazi newsreels and sentimental films and a very popular cabaret gave presentations often attended by the SS authorities. Finally, there was a very creditable orchestra, made up originally only of Polish musicians and replaced later by a new, high-quality group made up of musicians of all nationalities, mostly Jews (Marc Klein, *Observations et réflexions sur les camps de concentration nazis*, taken from the journal *Études germaniques* (No. 3, 1946), 1948, p. 31).

I could cite many other examples of such activities, but I shall refrain from doing so, because where human beings are so "concentrated," life becomes unbearable in spite of all; promiscuity, epidemics, the struggle to live and to gain individual advantage make such an existence frightful, especially in time of war. But we must not add false horrors to the real horrors. Furthermore, the camps run by the Soviets, including the ones they "liberated" in Germany before filling them again with their political adversaries (beginning with the National Socialists), were even more horrible, according to the statements of people like Margaret Buber-Neumann, who experienced them both.

Pressac entitles one of his chapters "Auschwitz According to the Revisionists. Photographic Exhibition of the Famous Holiday Camp, KL Auschwitz" (p. 507). The irony and the slanderous insinuation here conceal his embarrassment at reproducing photographs which are not consistent with the various kinds of horrors supposedly found in the camp. He tries to cast suspicion on certain of these photographs by pointing out that they come from "Revisionist sources." He is obviously unaware that many of them are from the album kept by Dürrfeld, an engineer who was one of the leading executives in the factories at Auschwitz. The file reference "DUE" (for DUERRFELD) ought to have alerted him: the Dürrfeld trial is well-known to historians of Auschwitz, but apparently not to our pharmacist-turned-amateur-historian.

Involuntary Contributions to Revisionism

Here and there throughout the text, one finds information (very often in the form of photographic documents) which

tends to reinforce the position of the Revisionists. Here are some samples:

- The story of one Rablin, a prisoner employed in disinfecting with Zyklon B, proves just how dangerous this terrible gas was to use. Rablin, only slightly exposed to the gas, was hospitalized and took two months to recover (p. 25); it is paradoxical that the Germans tried to cure of gas poisoning a man whom, the story goes, they should have killed with precisely that gas;
- The deposition of inmate Joseph Odi describes the procedure for using Zyklon B in the disinfestation gas chambers, a procedure that has often been described by the Revisionists and that shows the dangers of the operation. Although suitable for clothing, this method would not work with human beings. Above all, the witness reveals that the cases containing the cans of Zyklon B were stored in the *Theatergebäude* (theater building) and that transporting it from there to the gas disinfection gas chambers was done with a Health Service vehicle standing by. The Revisionists know all this, but it is interesting to see Pressac's book reminding us of two points which should help clear both the Carmelites of Auschwitz and the Red Cross of the charges too often made against them. Today the Carmelites are reproached with occupying a place in which the Germans are supposed to have warehoused gas used to kill human beings. In reality, the gas was used to kill lice and thereby to protect human health. The Red Cross vehicle was there to protect against the accidents that were always possible with Zyklon B. It played no role in murder; it, too, was there to safeguard men's health (p. 41); it is noteworthy that J. Odi is precise when he talks about the disinfection gas chambers and very vague on the subject of the homicidal gas chambers; besides, he believes that men were gassed in the disinfection gas chambers!;
- The beautiful photograph showing an impressive complex of eight disinfestation gas chambers in that part of the Birkenau camp traditionally called "the Gypsy camp" (*Entwesungsanlage Zigeunerlager*) contradicts the thesis that the Germans intended to exterminate the Gypsies (p. 63);

- An astonishing photo taken in the *Zentral Sauna* shows a group of naked inmates, apparently in good health, carrying their shoes from a vast shower room (50 shower heads) to the "drying room" on the "clean" side of the disinfection area (*Trockenraum, reine Seite*): an unthinkable scene in an "extermination camp (p. 80; see Part I, p. 26 in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1991.
- One photograph shows some inmates in their striped uniforms employed in disinfecting clothing in front of a battery of three autoclaves; here the disinfection is done by steam; elsewhere, it may be done by warm air, with Zyklon B, or even with other gases; the true concern of the Germans was to exterminate vermin, not men, by any and all means (p. 82). Enough can never be said about their obsessive fear of typhus; "there were in fact about 25 Zyklon-B delousing chambers of different sizes operating in the camp" (p. 550), and a great number of disinfection chambers that operated in other ways, without using gas;
- A sheet of operating instructions for coke-fired incineration furnaces points out that the furnace fire bars must be cleaned of clinker and the cinders removed every evening; these ovens, Pressac tells us, could only operate 12 out of every 24 hours, not 24 hours a day as claimed by the believers in the extermination myth (p. 136, 224, 227);
- To replace *Krema I*, the Germans had considered constructing a "new *Krema*," to be built a short distance from its predecessor, near the SS hospital and the *Kommandantur*. Pressac acknowledges that this "new *Krema*" had no homicidal gas chamber. He says that the construction was finally transferred to Birkenau and that *Krema II* and *Krema III* at Birkenau were, in effect, replicas of what had originally been planned for Auschwitz I; the plan remained the same. As a result, *Krema II* and *III* were designed *without* homicidal gas chambers (p. 33, 140-143);
- Page 143 is particularly interesting. Pressac sees only inoffensive *Leichenkeller* in this plan, but when the same plan serves for the construction of the Birkenau *Krema*, here he arbitrarily dubs the *Leichenkeller* either

"disrobing rooms" for the victims, or "homicidal gas chambers." As a matter of fact, the existence of this plan proves that in the minds of the Germans and, in particular, of Walter Dejaco, *Krema II* and *III* at Birkenau, simply replications of the *Kremas* that had originally been intended to be near the *Kommandantur* and the SS hospital in the main Auschwitz camp, could not have had any homicidal purpose (this is confirmed on page 200, where we read that *Krema II* and *III* were "designed without homicidal gas chambers");

- A surprising photograph, dating probably from May 1945, proves that the roof of *Krema I* was used as a dance floor, decorated with a red star and hammer and sickle as well as the Polish and Russian flags; people, says Pressac, danced on the roof of the "gas chamber"; I suggest that, if at that time anyone had given credence to the myth of the gassings, such a profanation would not have been permitted. Some months after the liberation of Auschwitz, evidently, the myth of the gas chambers had not yet taken the form in which we know it today (p. 149);
- Pressac reproduces a whole series of documents from the Weimar archives relating to engineer Kurt Prüfer, responsible for the design and construction of the "Topf & Sons" ovens; Prüfer was arrested, imprisoned, and interrogated after the war; nothing, in either his papers or his interrogations, provided the slightest proof of the existence of homicidal gas chambers in the crematoria (p. 93, 94, 191, and 371); if the documents that Pressac used contained so many criminal traces, Kurt Prüfer and other members of the firm's staff could have been easily been broken down;
- On 12 August 1942, Commandant Höss distributed 40 copies of a *Sonderbefehl* (special order) drafted as follows:

A case of indisposition with slight symptoms of poisoning by hydrocyanic gas which occurred today makes it necessary to warn all those participating in the gassings (*Vergasungen*) and all other SS members that in particular on opening rooms used for gassing SS not wearing masks must wait at least five hours and keep at a distance of at least 15 meters from the chamber. In addition, particular attention should be paid to the wind

direction.—The gas being used at present contains less odorous warning agent and is therefore especially dangerous.—The SS garrison doctor declines all responsibility for any accident that should occur in the case where these directives have not been complied with by the SS members (p. 201).

The word used to designate the disinfection gassings is *Vergasungen*. The above directive confirms what the Revisionists have constantly said about the danger of using Zyklon B. If at Auschwitz incessant and massive gassing operations had been carried out, especially under such conditions as we have been told, accidents involving the SS personnel would have been innumerable. Neither the camp commandant, nor the chief medical officer responsible for the garrison, nor the other doctors, nor the SS would have tolerated such accidents (p. 201); and if we must look at it from the point of view of the legend, the "homicidal gassings" could not have gone off normally inasmuch as the Jewish personnel would not have been able to accomplish the task of entering a cyanide-treated space to drag out thousands of cyanide-impregnated corpses; and the criminal enterprise would immediately have ground to a halt for lack of personnel to carry it through successfully;[9]

- A telex dated 18 December 1942 reveals that during the month of December the work of both the inmates and the free civilian laborers had to be interrupted several times for delousing and disinfestation (*Entlausung und Entwesung*). The camp had to be isolated, and civilian workers had not been able to leave for six months. A period of leave from 23 December 1942 to 4 January 1943 was therefore essential (p. 210);

- In the archives of the Yad Vashem Memorial in Jerusalem, there is an album of 397 photos, taken by the Germans themselves during the war, which show construction at Auschwitz, including that of the crematoria. This is the most important information in Pressac's book. It is outrageous that this album has been kept hidden for so long, and that the publication of the

photographs is being done in driblets, so to speak, as was the case with the photos from the *Auschwitz Album*. The album of which I speak is the *Bauleitung Album* (the Construction Office album). The photographs therein confirm that Auschwitz was a prison or internment camp with nothing out of the ordinary about it. Pressac acknowledges that all the inmates we see at work appear to be as healthy as the civilian workers (p. 331, 339). Is he perhaps concealing from us photographs from this album which would give us a clearer idea of what went on at Auschwitz, or which would correct what we think we know about each room of the large *Kremas* and about the changes eventually made in those rooms?;

- Regarding a time sheet indicating the make-up of a crew constructing a chimney for *Krema IV* or *V*, Pressac comments that "the composition of the gang employed is typical, with 12 civilians and 20 prisoners working as bricklayer's laborers" (p. 412); so there was no possibility of secrets on that side either;
- One plan proves that the Germans planned to construct an enormous hospital sector covering all of the section of Birkenau known as "Mexico." Pressac says this fact is "a real godsend for the Revisionists." He admits that "there is an INCOMPATIBILITY [his capitals] in the creation of a health camp a few hundred yards from four *Krematorien* where, according to official history, people were exterminated on a large scale" (p. 512). And his commentary continues in the same direction. We await his parry. It does not come. Pressac's embarrassment is plain to see. He thinks perhaps he can manage to get out of the difficulty by saying that we ought not to underestimate the capacity for "doublethink" of the SS hierarchy, which blindly executed orders even when they were totally contradictory. I note that, as I said above (p. 133), Pressac is silent about the existence, near the crematoria, of a large hospital area containing 18 barracks[10]; more important, in his large book he persists in concealing the existence of this hospital area. A site plan dated 21 June 1944 shows that the Germans planned to construct, alongside the Birkenau railroad ramp, a total of six vegetable halls, each with a capacity of 930

cubic meters in size—a curious initiative in an "extermination camp" (p. 533-534).

The Bankruptcy, According to Pressac, of Traditional History

Pressac draws up a bankruptcy report: no one before him has been able to prove the existence of homicidal gas chambers at Auschwitz and Birkenau. He recognizes that the historians, the judges, the Soviets, the Poles, the arraigners of the "war criminals" as well as the accusers of the Revisionists have accumulated false proofs and worthless arguments (the Revisionists, too, are supposed to have failed in their endeavors). He writes at the end of his study, just before the appendices:

> This study already demonstrates the complete bankruptcy of the traditional history (and hence also of the methods and criticisms of the Revisionists), a history based for the most part on testimonies, assembled according to the mood of the moment, truncated to fit an arbitrary truth and sprinkled with a few German documents of uneven value and without any connection with one another (p. 264).

The celebrated work of Eugéne Aroneanu, which has for so long been a sort of Exterminationist bible (*Camps de concentration*, preface by Jacques Billiet, director of France's War Crimes Information Service, Office français d'édition, 1946), he calls "an historical monstrosity," "an incoherent and self-contradictory whole" (p. 15). On the post-war trials, he writes that "the tons of Zyklon B ordered by the camps were attributed to homicidal use without any verification." And, as I mentioned above (Part I, p. 38 in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1991), he makes the following remark, which will likely upset his Exterminationist friends:

> By far the greater part [of Zyklon B] (over 95 per cent) was destined for delousing (effects and buildings) while only a very small quantity (less than 5 per cent) had been used for homicidal gassings (*Ibidem*).

He is of the opinion that the American-conducted trial of Bruno Tesch, one of the officials of the Degesch company and thus responsible for the production of Zyklon B, was a "masquerade"; the court was not concerned with the technical

question, merely with the verbal testimony of one of his employees. In 1946, Pressac writes, simple malicious gossip could easily lead to someone being hanged. That was the case with Bruno Tesch (and, I should add, with his associate, K. Weinbacher) (p. 16-17); see in this regard the revealing article by William B. Lindsey, "Zyklon B, Auschwitz and the Trial of Dr. Bruno Tesch," *The Journal of Historical Review,* Autumn 1983, p. 261-303.

The Soviet film *Chronicles of the Liberation of the Camp, 1945* shows a gas-tight door as belonging to a homicidal gas chamber; in view of its location, says Pressac, it was a door to a disinfection gas chamber (p. 41). Further on, he talks about the work of the Soviet Commission of Inquiry as a "completely put-up job" and an "'historic' [*sic*] montage" (p. 46); the unfortunate thing is that the Nuremberg Tribunal "took judicial notice" of that work in the name of Article 21 of its charter.

At Birkenau, the vast hall of the *Zentral Sauna*, where the inmates disrobed (*Auskleideraum*) before showering, possessed an impressive number of tubular radiators. The Poles removed those radiators because, according to Pressac, this concern for the comfort of the inmates conflicts, in the minds of present-day visitors, with the location of the ruins of *Krema IV* and its "gas chambers," only 100 meters away (p. 78). He might have added that the Poles had dealt in the same manner with the "arrest cells" in Block 11, which the tourists visit in great numbers. I'm the one who called Pressac's attention to this mania of the Poles for removing heating apparatuses, whether for their own use or to give a crueler impression of the conditions under which the inmates are supposed to have lived.

At the Nuremberg Trial, a perfectly ordinary German document dealing with the crematory ovens was presented as proof of the extermination. Pressac sees there an example of "the stupid way in which the documents of the defeated were 'evaluated' by a tribunal of the victors" (p. 106).

A certain reconstruction by the Poles after the war is "far from being a faithful reproduction of the original state" because of its exaggerations and its simplifications (p. 108).

The fact, according to Pressac, that at a given time in 1942 the Germans used 2 to 3 per cent of the Zyklon B for murder and 97 or 98 per cent for disinfection "totally invalidates" the

interpretation of certain documents by the "the traditional historians" (p. 188).

Sometimes naming him and sometimes not, Pressac underscores the errors or the deceptions of Georges Wellers. The latter's argument based on the ventilation system of the *Leichenkeller* is, for Pressac, contradicted and indeed completely demolished by the facts (p. 289). Wellers' "quite erroneous" and "quite unfounded" interpretation deceived the lawyers of LICRA (the International League against Racism and Anti-Semitism) who pleaded against Faurisson (p. 355). In citing transcriptions of eyewitness testimony, Wellers has made cuts when those testimonies contain improbabilities, without any indication to the reader that he has done so (p. 479). The plan he gave of Auschwitz (*Les Chambres à gaz ont existé/Des documents, des témoignages, des chiffres*, Gallimard, 1981, p. 12-13) is of "a very mediocre quality as regards many details," although Pressac doesn't go so far as to use the word "falsification" (p. 165-166). What is striking is that this was the plan which hung for all to see in the courtroom at the Frankfurt trial and which Hermann Langbein reproduced in his book about that trial (*Der Auschwitz Prozess, Eine Dokumentation*, Frankfurt, Europäische Verlaganstalt, 1965, p. 932-933 [not 930-931 as Pressac mistakenly indicates]).

The supposed camouflage around *Krema II* and *III* is, according to Pressac, a product of the imagination of the "traditional historians" (p. 341).

Jan Sehn, the Polish investigative magistrate who prepared the trials of Rudolf Höss and of many other SS men, "made a change" in a German document while reproducing it as a copy allegedly identical to the original (p. 454). Nevertheless, Pressac is careful not to be too harsh with this investigative magistrate, to whom we owe a hundred lies about Auschwitz—to name one, the lie of the "nearly 60,000 persons in 24 hours" gassed at Birkenau (Jan Sehn, *Le Camp de concentration d'Oswiecim-Brzezinka*, Wydawnictwo Prawnicze, Warsaw, 1961, page 132). It is also to Sehn that we owe the "gigantic ditches" in the open air (as many as eight?) where, "in August 1944, the figure of 24,000 incinerations per day was attained" (with or without the crematoria?) (*Ibid.*, page 148). However, the aerial photos taken by the Allies on 25 August 1944 show absolutely nothing of the kind (D. Brugioni and R. Poirier, *The Holocaust Revisited*, Washington, CIA, February 1979, pages 9-11).

In 1981 I was brought to trial in Paris by the LICRA and many other organizations. The principal lawyer for the LICRA was Maître Bernard Jouanneau. From the pages Pressac devotes to this trial and to this lawyer it is evident that the author believes that many of the documents which they used against me do not, in reality, prove the existence of the homicidal gas chambers in the least. Not one of the eyewitness testimonies that Maître Jouanneau introduced had any real value. As for the technical arguments offered by Jouanneau, all of them were worthless, and sometimes "disastrous." Lastly, the lawyer outrageously abused the theory according to which the Germans, to hide their crime, used a "code" or "camouflage" (p. 554-556).

Pressac's inconsistencies have their amusing aspects. He remarks the dishonesty or incompetence of the Exterminationists but, at the same time, wants at all costs to save the Exterminationist theory. Thus he is reduced to flattering his friends for qualities that supposedly make up for their faults. And when he flatters, he doesn't do it by halves—he bootlicks: Maître Jouanneau's demonstration was based on a mass of errors but it was . . . "superb" (p. 556).

Manipulation of Testimonies

In a work that professes to be technical, one ought first to describe the scene of the crime, then examine the weapon used in the crime and the material proofs of the crime, in order, finally, to review the testimonies. Pressac, who has no understanding of method, opens all of his chapters with . . . the testimonies. It must be said that this is a way of clouding the reader's normal capacity for judgment, since these "testimonies" posit the existence of the homicidal gas chambers as a basic principle.

The quality of the testimonies that Pressac invokes is pitiful. Sometimes he acknowledges that himself, but he often seeks to save these testimonies from discredit, by means of the most oversubtle devices.

Rudolf Höss is presumed to have written *Commandant at Auschwitz* and Miklos Nyiszli supposedly wrote *Auschwitz: An Eyewitness Account of Mengele's Infamous Death Camp,* two testimonies offered as essential. Höss lived for several years at Auschwitz, and Nyiszli supposedly lived there for six months as an inmate. But what these two "witnesses" write, for example, about the ventilation of the homicidal gas

chambers, constitutes, according to Pressac, an enormous technical error. On this point they told the opposite of "the truth" (p. 16).

Alter Fajnzylberg, Filip Müller and Rudolf Höss affirm things that are "practically impossible," or "not corresponding to the facts," that "cast a doubt," are "wrong," "contrary to reality," "unlikely" (p. 126-127). The "errors" committed by Höss "throughout his autobiography" have an explanation which Pressac brandishes proudly and emphasizes in bold-face type: **He was present, without seeing** (p. 128). But, if that is the case, he wasn't a witness! How could he be present and not see? How can one be the commandant of an "extermination camp" and not see the instrument of "exterminating" at least a million (?) people? How was this commandant able to stress the dangers of Zyklon in 1942 (see above, p. 137-138) and then in 1946 decree that the dangers were non-existent (see below, p. 172-173, note 9)?

As for the eyewitness testimony, so often invoked, of SS man Pery Broad, the form and the tone of it, Pressac tells us, "sound false." Broad's writings, which we owe to the Poles, cannot be sincere. They are "colored by a rather too flagrant Polish patriotism." The Broad manuscript is not known. It has all been "slightly" reworked by the Poles (his quotation marks around "slightly" imply that the rework was not slight!). But what does it matter, asks Pressac: despite the discrepancies between the various witnesses, some homicidal gassings did take place in *Krema I*—that is an established fact (p. 128). "Established"? By whom? By what? He does not say.

The testimony of Szlamy Dragon elicits the following commentary:

> This is physically impossible [. . .]. I do not think that this witness was intentionally misleading, but he was following the tendency to exaggerate which seems to have been the general rule at the time of the liberation and which is what gave rise to the figure of 4 million victims for K.L. Auschwitz, a figure now considered to be pure propaganda. It should be divided by four to get close to reality (p. 171).

In 1972, at the Dejaco/Ertl trial, witness Dragon showed "total confusion" (p. 172; see Part I, p. 60, in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1991).

The testimonies of Pery Broad, of Rudolf Höss, Dr. Johann-Paul Kremer, and of SS man Hölblinger (which Pressac writes

as Höblinger) on the several *Bunker* are subject to reservations expressed in the following terms: "entirely imaginary," "physically impossible," "impossible to situate this scene" (p. 174).

The testimony of Nyiszli would be valid providing . . . that his figures be divided by four—but not always. Pressac speaks of Nyiszli's "number four," and says that his figures are "worrying" (p. 179).

In 1980, a great fuss was made about Filip Müller's book, *Trois ans dans une chambre à gaz d'Auschwitz* (Three Years in a Gas Chamber at Auschwitz), foreword by Claude Lanzmann, ed. Pygmalion/G. Watelet. [The English version, *Eyewitness Auschwitz: Three Years in a Gas Chamber at Auschwitz*, New York, Stein and Day, 1979, is somewhat different than the French edition.] In France Jean Pierre-Bloch awarded the book the LICRA prize. Filip Müller was one of the star witnesses at the Auschwitz trial (1963-1965), and in the film *Shoah*. In reality, he was a mythomaniac, which even Pressac realizes, for he writes:

> [in his book, Müller] has accumulated errors, thus making his account historically dubious. The best approach is to read it as a novel based on true history (p. 181).

If the members of the *Sonderkommando* affirm that 5 or 7 or 12 bodies were burned in a single muffle of a crematory oven at one time, Pressac suggests that this is an exaggeration, and that probably only three bodies at a time could have been incinerated, and skinny ones at that (p. 229). He says that today's tourist, "after a silent prayer" (*sic!*) in front of *Krema I*, must surely realize that "We find here the famous multiplying factor of four used by Dr. Miklos Nyiszli" (p. 483).

At Auschwitz visitors can see in the former "Block 4" a model that professes to show a *Krema* in the midst of a gassing. This reconstruction, it must be said, inadvertently demonstrates the physical impossibilities of the homicidal gassings, in particular the cramped premises and the congestion that would have resulted from the first "gassing." Add to that the fact that documents which have subsequently come to light, especially the aerial photos taken by the Allies in 1943/44 and published in 1979, underscore the "faults" of this model. Of small import to Pressac, who sees in the reconstruction the "powerful evocation of a mass gassing" (p. 378).

Beginning on p. 459, the author attempts to save from disaster the absurd *War Refugee Board Report* of November 1944, sometimes known as the *Protocols of Auschwitz.* Just the criticisms of it that Pressac himself is obliged to make totally discredit this mendacious work, which is due largely to Rudolf Vrba, today a professor of pharmacology at a university in Vancouver (see Robert Faurisson, "The Zündel Trials (1985 and 1988)," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1988-1989, p. 420-421).

The drawings of one David Olère are in favor with Pressac, who knew the artist personally, but these drawings, altogether grotesque, seem inspired chiefly by a sort of sex-shop anti-Nazism. Pressac considers them "masterpieces of authenticity" (p. 554) but . . . he has reservations as to their documentary worth and about the sincerity of the witness (p. 493-497, 554-556). Playing the prude, he goes so far as to refrain from reproducing certain drawings (p. 498). This same David Olère asserts that the SS made sausages they called "*Kremawurst*" (crematorium sausages) out of human flesh (p. 554). His memory suffers from a certain "deterioration" (p. 493), and he is subject to what Pressac calls the "*Krematorium delirium*" (p. 556).

The author's favorite witness is the Jewish shoemaker Henryk Tauber. But this witness, too, tends to use "the famous multiplying factor of four" (p. 483). *He has never seen a gassing but either he was told about it* (*Ibid.*) or else he has seen the bodies of those whom he calls gassed (page 489). One day, through a window, he saw an SS man pouring Zyklon B into a gas chamber (p. 494). If over so many years he saw nothing more than that, it was because during the gassing operations the SS systematically locked up the members of the *Sonderkommando* in . . . the coke store. This is also Alter Fajnzylberg's explanation. The SS wanted to conceal the existence of the gassings but not the existence of the people gassed!

Tauber tells the story of a Jew named Lejb. One day, the Germans hung Lejb, hands tied behind his back, from an iron bar above the firing hearths, for an hour. Then, after untying his hands and feet, they threw him into a cold crematorium furnace. Gasoline was poured into the lower ash bin and lit. The flames reached the muffle in which Lejb was trapped. A few minutes later, they opened the door of the furnace. The

condemned man came running out, covered with burns. Next, he was ordered to run round the yard shouting that he was a thief. Finally, he was forced to climb the barbed wire fence, where he was killed with a gunshot!

Tauber speaks also of an open-air pit filled with human fat. The fat ran from the corpses into a separate reservoir, dug in the ground. This fat was poured over the corpses to accelerate their combustion. One day, the SS men threw a man into the boiling fat, then pulled him out, still alive, and shot him. "The next day, the corpse was brought back to the crematorium, where it was incinerated in a pit [!]" (p. 494).

Tauber says that around 2,500 bodies a day were incinerated in a single crematorium. Here is Pressac's commentary:

> This figure is unrealistic (and it is connected with the propaganda of the immediate post-war period), [. . .]. Here we find almost the famous multiplication factor of four, of which Dr. Miklos Nyiszli made such abundant and lamentable use in his book that his credibility was long contested. Henryk Tauber is far from being the only witness to say in substance "I don't know the number of dead" or "I think it was so many" and then coolly say one or two sentences later, that after due consideration, we do arrive at the (standard) figure of 4 million victims in all. This type of imposed falsehood has to be excused, I would stress, because of the political climate of the period 1945-1950 (p. 494).[11]

In just one passage on page 498, Pressac, to qualify the assertions of his favorite witness, uses the words "dubious," "incorrect" (twice), "not certain," "[made up] story," and "pure myth." And if at the end of his testimony Tauber is so weak and so vague about *Krema IV* and *V*, no one can reproach him for this, says Pressac, who supposes that the witness "must have been exhausted by the end of his deposition" (p. 502).

In short, all these witnesses seem to be suffering greatly, just like David Olère, from what pharmacist Pressac calls *Krematorium delirium* (p. 556).

Pressac has no criterion for distinguishing the true and the false witness from one another. His witnesses can pile up the worst errors or the worst insanities, yet they will find favor in our man's eyes the moment he decides to make authentic witnesses out of them.

A witness meticulously describes the room called a gas chamber, and sees three pillars when there were really four:

Pressac tells us it's because he didn't go clear to the end of the room. The same witness speaks of an entrance door and an exit door, when there was only one door to the room, with no other exit: this error, Pressac says, can be explained by the route taken by that witness during his visit (!). The witness talks about ten cremation ovens when there were five (each with three muffles): Pressac says that's because "probably he had not walked the entire length of the oven room but instead remained at the west entrance." The number of victims that the witness gives is incredible: that, Pressac reassures us, is because here it's a question of an "inflated number" given by an SS man who served as the witness's guide; or there, it's an "SS propaganda figure" (p. 239).

If a witness sketches the crematory room while forgetting to note the presence of rails, Pressac says that since the rails served no purpose, the witness's "visual memory did not retain them" (p. 229). Let the same witness commit four grave material errors, and it's because "the visual memories of a survivor deteriorate with time" (p. 493). If this witness adds imaginary details to his sketch, no matter: it was done "to make it better" (*Ibid.*).

Throughout his book, Pressac does his utmost to discover excuses for the innumerable "errors" of his witnesses, errors in the location, the color, the material, the form, the distance, the number of whatever is being discussed.

But his favorite explanation is that all these "errors" are the fault of the SS and "the usual SS exaggeration" (p. 108), and that, if in their confessions taken by the Allies, the SS confessed to enormities, it was as due to "professional pride" (p. 161).

Thanks to this method, Pressac's witnesses, Jewish or otherwise, win incessantly, while the SS men can only lose every time.

Pressac's Involuntary Drollery Apropos M. Nyiszli

At this point I would like to return to a case already mentioned, that of Dr. Nyiszli. One of the best known false testimonies in the concentration camp literature, next to Martin Gray's *For Those I Loved*, is that of Dr. Miklos Nyiszli: *Auschwitz: An Eyewitness Account of Mengele's Infamous Death Camp*, translated and adapted from the Hungarian by Tibère Kremer (New York: Fell Publishing Co., 1960).

Paul Rassinier often denounced this forgery (see *The Holocaust Story and the Lies of Ulysses* (Costa Mesa, CA: The Institute for Historical Review, 1988, p. 244-250), as has Carlo Mattogno. Neither the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (1971), nor the recent *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust* (1990), mentions Nyiszli's book, which has been long been discredited.

Nevertheless, at the recent trial of the Revisionist Michel Konen at Meaux, Hubert Heilbronn, president of the Lazare Bank, had the effrontery to mention only one testimony in support of the existence of the Auschwitz gas chambers: that of Miklos Nyiszli (*Le Figaro*, 6 July 1990, p. 8).

Pressac, too, resuscitates Nyiszli. But I think it's fair to say that in so doing he has, in his comments on Nyiszli's testimony, inadvertently written two exceedingly funny pages (p. 474- 475). I'll let the reader be the judge.

Miklos Nyiszli, a Jew, allegedly lived for six months in a Birkenau crematorium serving as an assistant to Dr. Josef Mengele in the dissection room. Pressac selects from Nyiszli's book only Chapter VII, in which this witness supposedly describes a gassing operation in *Krema II*. At first Pressac affirms that this description is "entirely accurate, EXCEPT for certain FIGURES which are very WRONG indeed [Pressac's capitals]" (p. 473). Next, he comments on the text, and here one realizes that, even for a Pressac, almost all the data in Nyiszli's book, whether numbers or physical details, are erroneous.

The witness declares that the gas chamber was 500 feet (150 meters) long; but, Pressac says, a plan (which this writer discovered and which is borne out by the building's ruins) shows that the length of the room under discussion could not have exceeded 100 feet (30 meters). How to explain? It's simple, says Pressac: the witness told the truth, but he used a multiplier of five.

The witness states that the undressing room was 200 yards (about 200 meters) long; well, says Pressac, everything shows that room measured 50 yards (around 50 meters) in length. For here, according to Pressac, Nyiszli has used a multiplier of four.

Since the average of the various multipliers is four, Pressac, proud of his discovery, gets to talking in his book, whether regarding Nyiszli or other affirmations and testimonies, of the "famous multiplying factor of four" (see p. 483, 494).

Accordingly, following our pharmacist, if we wish to find the real figures, it behooves as we read to *divide* all the numbers by four.

As for me, I should say that by that reckoning, every false witness would be in the clear. Supposing a "witness" states that in six months (the duration of Nyiszli's stay in Auschwitz) he saw four men who were all 7 meters tall and 200 years old. We can assume that anybody would dismiss such a witness. Anybody but Pressac, who, applying the rule of the famous divisor of four, would say: this witness is telling the truth: he saw one man, who was *1.75 meters* tall and *50 years* old.

But Pressac's gymnastics don't end here. I have made a critical review of his comments on the Nyiszli testimony only re the short passage that Nyiszli has written on the gassings. Here we have, on the one hand, the multipliers Pressac says Nyiszli used; and, on the other hand, a sampling of Pressac's comments regarding such and such a fact, physical reality, or figure reported by Nyiszli (p. 474-475):

–PRESSAC'S COMMENTS ON NYISZLI'S COEFFICIENTS:

1. Nyiszli, says Pressac, has divided by 2.
2. Nyiszli, says Pressac, has multiplied by 3; by 5; by 4; by 2.5; by 6.7; by 4; by 4; by 2.5; by 4; by 2 to 3.

–PRESSAC'S EVALUATIONS OF NYISZLI'S STATEMENTS:

Wrong
Wrong
Wrong
Wrong
Wrong and deliberately misleading [. . .]. Whom is Dr. Nyiszli trying to mislead and why?
Lack of familiarity with the premises
"War story" pure and simple
Pure invention
Legend

. . . (and let us add that, when the witness talks about "concrete," we must read "wood"; when he talks about "chlorine," we must read "hydrocyanic acid").

Pressac's conclusion is delectable. He proudly entitles it "The Multiplier." Here Pressac, far from dismissing his witness for his exaggerations and fables, discovers in the use of the multiplier 4 (the average of the various figures is 3.8) the

sign that Dr. Nyiszli, for all his not being scientific and rigorous, is manifestly an academic who bears the stamp of intellectual training of the most serious kind. He writes:

> The average of the different multipliers is almost exactly four.[12] If we apply this to the official total of 4 million victims we arrive at a figure much closer to reality: 1 million. This calculation is by no means scientific but it shows that DOCTOR NYISZLI, a respected ACADEMIC, TRAINED IN GERMANY, multiplied the figures by FOUR when describing the interior of *Krematorium II* and when speaking of the number of persons or victims (p. 475).

In short, Pressac understands that the "credibility" of Nyiszli's book has been "long contested" (p. 494); that was due to "the famous multiplication factor of four of which Dr. Miklos Nyiszli made such abundant and lamentable use" (*Ibid.*). But fortunately Pressac has arrived; he has discovered the key needed by anyone reading Nyiszli's book and, thanks to that key, everything is deciphered. There is no longer any reason to challenge the credibility of an honorable academic, educated in Germany. Pressac has saved Nyiszli.

But the reader, on seeing any figure at all from the pen of this astonishing witness, can never know whether the number is to be considered exact, or whether it is necessary to multiply it or divide it, and if so, by exactly how much.

"Faurisson and His Clique" (p. 12)

I shall forgo counting the number of times that Pressac attacks the Revisionists in general and me in particular. Mark Weber writes:

> Pressac does not seem to be a psychologically sound person. For example, he confesses that he "nearly" killed himself in the Auschwitz main camp in October 1979 (p. 537). His relationship with Dr. Faurisson and French Revisionist publisher Pierre Guillaume—to which he devotes several pages—changed from a kind of admiration to bitter personal animosity. He cites nothing about Faurisson's treatment of him that would justify such visceral enmity, even granting the intensity of his disagreement about the Holocaust issue. The emotional and even vicious nature of Pressac's furious hostility towards Faurisson suggests an insecure and unstable personality ("Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1990, p. 231-237).

Here I must provide an explanation. Pressac has a specific reason for not liking me: in the early 1980s, I was led to show him to the door of the home of Pierre Guillaume (where he had come to see us once more without announcing his arrival beforehand). That is the kind of humiliation which is not forgotten, especially by someone who, afflicted with a sense of inferiority, seeks approval, fishes for compliments, offers his services insistently and wishes to be taken seriously. Pressac ended up exhausting my patience. His obsequiousness, his mental confusion, his panicky fears, his horror of clarity and of unequivocal positions, his propensity to lie and to cheat made his visits more and more undesirable. He makes no allusion to that humiliating episode in his book; on the contrary, he states that in March or April 1981 he took the initiative and "broke completely with Faurisson" (p. 554). That is quite simply false. He was ushered to the door, and, I must say, in no uncertain terms.

Jean-Claude Pressac was an admirer of Hitler, of Degrelle and of militaria. He had a bust of Hitler in his home, in a place of honor, and, fearing our reaction at the time of a visit to his home, had forewarned Guillaume and myself about it, not without some apprehension. He had dreamt of writing a novel showing the victory of his hero and the triumph of National Socialism (see, in this regard, p. 541). He had been educated at the military academy of La Flèche and, according to Guillaume, himself a former student at that establishment, had in 1959 received a reprimand from the school's administration due to a sketch of Nazi inspiration that he had displayed at the time of a school celebration. He said that he was a supporter of Pierre Sidos, a French far-rightist. The extreme right, or what is called that, has, side by side with strong personalities (as in the case of Leon Degrelle), poor wretches who admire force since they are weak. Such was the fact with Pressac who, moreover, had certain medical problems which, I must say, increased my pity for him.

Guillaume devoted several pages to Pressac in his book *Droit et histoire* (La Vieille Taupe, 1986, p. 118-125). I recommend reading those pages, which are both lively and penetrating.

Before meeting us, Pressac believed in the gas chambers. I showed him my documentation. He was staggered by it, and recognized his error. Believing he knew how to read the plans that I had discovered in the archives of the Auschwitz

Museum, he offered us his services. Half-serious, half-mocking, we took to calling him "Schliemann," from the name of the discoverer of the ruins of Troy. Pressac had a peculiar habit: at each encounter, his first words were: "I've blown it." He "blew it"—he made a mistake—repeatedly. Easily influenced, easily anguished, he perpetually changed his opinion on details and each time adopted the most peremptory tone in articulating his thesis of the day. Another of his eccentricities: as soon as the simplest question put him in a quandary (and his life was a perpetual quandary), he would answer: "Yes/No." Not: "Yes and no" but, in a single breath: "Yes/No." And it was impossible for him to clarify his answer, which served him as a refuge, as with a child caught being naughty. He had the irritating habit of pretending, from one minute to the next, that he hadn't said what he had just said. I invited him accordingly to record our conversations with a tape recorder to avoid misunderstandings. With childish fear, offering no explanation, he refused to be recorded.

But he no longer believed in the gas chambers. He began to feel called to be a Revisionist; wishing it is not enough, however. My life and that of Pierre Guillaume became more and more difficult. Pressac grew frantic. The cumulative effects of the trials and of the attacks of all sorts, the progressive deterioration of my physical health, our financial problems, a general atmosphere of doom (it should be recalled here what happened at the time of the blast on the "Rue Copernic," much worse than that of the "Carpentras cemetery"[13]) left our neophyte more and more feverish and hesitant. He pleaded with me to give up so dangerous an enterprise. For his part, he began to take his distance from us. "Jewish friends" had made him understand that there were limits to skepticism which could not be transgressed (p. 548). Upon reading the plans of Auschwitz and Birkenau that I had furnished him in abundance, he saw well enough that the gassings were impossible. But, you never know, he began to say, perhaps there really did take place here and there a few small homicidal gassings, discreet, furtive, improvised: what he called "casual," or "itty-bitty," gassings.

Before his first departure for Auschwitz, following our meeting, he had asked me what research he could undertake there for me. I had told him that I was interested in the

question of the cremations: the officially recorded number of the bodies incinerated; status of persons cremated (inmates/guards/German soldiers and officers and members of their families); number of employees assigned to cremation of corpses and to the incinerations in the rubbish ovens; the duration of the cremations; time cards, etc.). I thought, as a matter of fact, that those numbers alone would be enough to demonstrate the impossibility of the stupendous number of cremations that would have been required by the gassing of hundreds of thousands of victims, over and above the cremations necessitated by the ravages of the epidemics in the camp.

On his return from Auschwitz, Pressac told me with an air of embarrassment that he had not found the time to occupy himself with the question that interested me. He had had too much work to do, and then, he added, a young Polish girl had taken a great deal of his time: innocent boasting by the timid.

Before his second journey to Auschwitz, he asked me the same question and I gave him the same answer. Upon his return, he again stated that he had not had the time to undertake the necessary research. Let me note here parenthetically that in his large book Pressac *continues to evade my questions* (see, below, Appendix 2, "How Many Cremations a Day in Krema II?," p. 166-167).

Pressac wound up by telling us that he no longer wanted to take sides between the Revisionists and the Exterminationists. He said he wished to have relations with both camps and to content himself with purely technical work. I encouraged him in that path and, in a dedication the text of which he reports (p. 554) but the context of which he distorts, I urged him to seek, to discover, to be cold, impartial and materialistic. But that was too much to ask of him. Finding that he was unable to buckle down to methodical and austere work that would have let him put a bit of order into his thoughts, I sent him on his way. I had introduced him to the study of the supposed gas chamber at Struthof (Alsace). Later on, he published, under the auspices of Serge Klarsfeld, a small book in English—poor and confused—on the subject. I see that, in his large book, he treats the subject anew. But he takes care not to reveal a discovery I had made virtually in his presence when, at the Palace of Justice in Paris, together with Pierre Guillaume and Maître Eric Delcroix, we examined the archives of the "Struthof trial," archives provided at LICRA's request by the

headquarters, in Paris, of the Gendarmerie and Justice Militaire. In those archives I found a document revealing that in December 1945 Professor René Fabre, Dean of the faculty of pharmacy at the University of Paris, had signed an expert report of the greatest interest. The professor had successively examined the scrapings done around the chimney of the alleged homicidal gas chamber and, in the public hospital of Strasbourg, the well-preserved corpses of the persons supposedly gassed. His finding in both cases was negative: there was no trace of gassing.

In reality, that particular gas chamber, which was only relatively air-tight, had served chiefly for the training German army recruits in the wearing of gas masks; in that case, the gas presented nowhere near the same danger as hydrocyanic acid (Zyklon B). Pressac had been happy to be able to demonstrate that for us. He had gone to take some photos of a training session in a French army gas chamber not far from Paris. I have a set of those photographs.

Three Little Secrets of Jean-Claude Pressac

A legend that is dear to the heart of Elie Wiesel, Filip Müller and Georges Wellers maintains that the Germans dug gigantic pits at Birkenau in which they burned thousands of bodies in the open air. I had drawn Pressac's attention to the fact that the Birkenau camp was located in an area of vast marshes alongside a tributary of the Vistula River and that, despite their drainage work there, the water table continued of necessity to rise to just a short distance below ground level[14]. It was difficult, therefore, to imagine such pits being dug, and I added that in any case it must have been complicated to burn corpses in pits due to the lack of oxygen. Then Pressac, whom I was always advising to get physical verification, dug a small hole in his garden and tried to incinerate the body of a rabbit. He never succeeded. When we visited the site of his "incineration ditch," he was full of quips about the myth of the "incineration ditches" at Birkenau, and the tale of the rabbit became for us a standing joke.

Visitors to Struthof can see, on the one hand, the Natzweiler camp itself, with its crematorium and, far from the camp, a small building containing the supposed homicidal gas chamber. Pressac pointed out to me that, *if they had decided to lie about Natzweiler as they had lied about Auschwitz* (*sic*), they

could have made people believe there was a homicidal gas chamber in the crematorium. To prove it, he made up for me a sort of false plan of that building, based on the true plan that we had discovered in the archives of the Gendarmerie and the Justice Militaire. I still have that false plan, drawn by Pressac and bearing his explanatory notes. He doesn't breathe a word of this little job in his large book.

I also have, by Pressac, a two-volume study which he entitled *Auschwitz, architecture paisible* (Auschwitz, Peaceful Architecture). It concerns *Krema IV* and *V*. It is extremely disordered and has never been published. My copy is marked No. 2. The dedication page is laughable: Pressac, offering his services to all comers, launches into flattery addressed to certain Exterminationists as well as certain Revisionists. I come in for my share of these compliments, which are laid on too thick to be sincere.

A Few Borrowings and A Few Lies

In his shorter studies, as in his big book, Pressac has plundered my work outrageously. He is indebted to me for a large part of the plans, documents and photographs that he has published; the reminder comprises, most of the time, plans, documents, and photographs from the same source or of an identical character. Only the photos from the *Bauleitung Album*, which is in the possession of the Israelis, are an original contribution.

The baseness of Pressac's attacks on me, his deceptions and lies in the presentation of certain facts, would oblige me to correct far too many of his allegations than I am able to here. I am described as a coward, too afraid, "of course," to appear at my trial (p. 554); but he knows I was seriously ill at the time. He says that one day, in 1982, he telephoned me and found me a "human wreck"; he writes: "I was shocked and disgusted to find [Faurisson] had reached rock bottom, dragging his family down with him" (p. 558). It is true that in 1981 and 1982 I believed I had reached the depths of physical, moral and financial distress, and that my wife and children shared that distress with me; I did not for all that speak of my "martyrdom" (*Ibid.*) and I do not see what is "shocking" and "disgusting" about my fighting as I did to the limit of my strength. I frightened Pressac. I had always frightened him by my fierceness in defending myself and by my refusal to bow my head.

He ventures to write:

> Confronted with the new evidence, Faurisson and Guillaume had a moment of indecision, seeing the possibility of throwing in the sponge and officially declaring that it did appear that some homicidal gassings had taken place at Birkenau (p. 554).

Here, he lies and he knows that he lies, at least as regards me. He never presented me with the slightest proof of what he called the "casual gassings"; and I personally have never considered the possibility of a retraction of any kind.[15]

Pressac knows that the trials that were forced on me and that brought me condemnations unprecedented in the contemporary history of France were nothing but stage productions, and that the documents with which they tried to crush me were valueless. He knows it and he says it, whether explicitly, as when he alludes to the role of Maître Jouanneau, the LICRA lawyer, or implicitly, when he happens to analyze a "proof" used against "Faurisson" at the time of a trial and admits that said "proof" does not possess the value attributed to it in the slightest (p. 49, 554-556).

Questions Evaded

Pressac has evaded a good twenty essential questions of a technical nature which have been posed by the Revisionists. I shall cite only a few of them:

- *Krema I:* How can one explain the presence of a homicidal gas chamber using Zyklon B (an explosive gas) that opened onto a room where six crematory ovens were in operation, sometimes reaching temperatures of 800 degrees? How could the supposed gas chamber have had a fragile door, one fitted with glass and without a bolt and which, opening as it did to the inside, would have been blocked by heaps of corpses? How could the daily ventilation process have been carried out just twenty meters away from the windows of the SS hospital?
- *Krema II* and *III*: Since it would appear that the victims came in batches of 2,000[16] persons, and it took an hour and a half to incinerate one body in each of the 15 muffles, at the end of this period of time there would still have remained 1,985 bodies to incinerate. Where were they stored in the meantime? How could the ventilation be done from the floor to the ceiling (Zyklon is lighter than air) when everything was set up for ventilation in

the opposite direction? Where did they store the bodies of those who, day in and day out, died of natural causes? In general, how do we reconcile the scanty dimensions of the premises (the little elevator!) with the immensity of the massacres to be carried out there?

- *Krema IV* and *V*: What were coal stoves doing in the gas chambers?
- Where were the crowds waiting to enter the crematoria able to gather, considering that the aerial photos taken by the Allies never show even the slightest trace of such crowds; and that the area around the crematoria, far from having been trampled by any crowds, was occupied by well-laid-out gardens?
- How is it that the gas slaughterhouses would be located right in the middle of such a variety of other facilities, which, in striking contrast to killing centers, include: a soccer field, hospital buildings, decantation basins, and buildings for showering and disinfection?
- Where are the countless scientific, technical and medical documents which prove that before, during and after the creation and operation of those chemical slaughterhouses (unprecedented in the history of science and technology) the Germans supposedly prepared, constructed, and surveyed those pharaonic undertakings for the terrible purpose alleged, at a time when circumstances required people to get written authorizations and submit detailed budgets to get even a screw or a brick or a kilo of coal?

Deliberate Omissions

It will be remembered that the only task I assigned to Pressac was that regarding documents relevant to the cremations (see above, page 153-154). Neither at the time of his first sojourn at Auschwitz, nor during his second stay, it appears, had he been able to find time to study the matter. Now that his book has appeared, his continued silence on this point is striking.

One will note that he is very careful not to say that such documents do not exist. He knows all too well that they do exist. He prefers to avoid talking about them. Why does he conceal from his readers the existence of a host of documents which prove that a record was made of each cremation?[17] In

the case of teeth extracted from a corpse before its cremation, the usual German attention to detail went so far as to demand the completion of a printed form, with the heading "Dental Station of the Auschwitz Camp," supplying the date of cremation, the complete identity of the internee, his registration number, the number of teeth (right, left, upper, lower), etc. (see *Contribution à l'histoire d'Auschwitz*, Auschwitz Museum, 1968, the photograph of the document between pages 80 and 81).

Why does Pressac not mention this type of document, or a single one of the documents required by the Auschwitz chancellery on the death of anyone, with or so twenty signatures for deaths from natural causes and about thirty signatures for deaths from non-natural causes (Dr. Tadeusz Paczula, former prisoner, "The Organization and Administration of the Camp Hospital in the Concentration Camp Auschwitz I," International Auschwitz Committee, [Blue] *Anthology*, Vol. II, Part I, Warsaw, 1969, p. 45)?

Why does he not make the slightest mention of the "death registers" in which the Germans collected, with a separate page for each decedent, all information relevant to each death? The Revisionists had pointed out the existence of two or three volumes of those *Totenbücher*, or *Sterbebücher*, in the Auschwitz Museum, and of forty or so in Moscow: all of them, naturally, inaccessible to independent researchers. It was only under pressure from the Revisionists, notably at the time of the Zündel trial in Toronto in 1988, that the decision was made in 1989 to reveal the existence of the registers to the general public. Pressac was unlucky. His book, *in which he conceals the existence of the registers*, was no sooner finished than the Soviet Union revealed that, for its part, it retained a large number—but not all—of these precious documents, which strike a lethal blow to the extermination legend. Pressac, by failing to mention that there were also two or three of these death registers in the archives of the Auschwitz Museum—to which he had free access—lied by omission.

Regarding the amount of coke necessary for the cremations and incinerations, Pressac's vagueness is such that I find it suspect (see microfilm 12,012 mentioned on page 87, the table on page 224, and the remarks on page 227). It is evident that the consumption of coke was certainly ridiculously low in comparison to the amount that would have been required for the gigantic cremations spoken of by the legend, but Pressac

has so muddled everything that it is not possible to get a precise idea of it. It is probable that each muffle burned no more than an average of 6 or 7 bodies each day, like the oil-fired furnaces at Buchenwald (p. 106), and it is plain that the German document of 28 June 1943 indicating an incineration capacity of 4,756 bodies a day for Auschwitz (with the ovens operating 12 hours each day) is unacceptable. Moreover, Pressac does not hesitate to justify a figure just as extravagant (340 for *Krema I*, 1,440 for *Krema II*, 1,440 for *Krema III*, 768 for *Krema IV* and 768 for *Krema V*) and, by a method dear to him, he puts these exaggerations down to the "bragging" of the SS men, who, at any rate in similar instances, must have "multiplied the real figures by a factor of 2 to 5" (p. 110).

But his most unforgivable lie by omission concerns the *daily activity* of the Auschwitz and Birkenau crematoria. The reader who has just finished his book may believe that the five crematoria were devoted to the cremation of . . . people who had been gassed. Day after day, however, these crematoria received the bodies of victims of various epidemics, of persons who had died of natural causes, of inmates, guards, soldiers, civilians. And if, for example, *Krema I* was near the SS hospital, that was, in the first place, to cremate the SS dead. Dr. Popiersch, the chief surgeon, died of typhus and was cremated at Auschwitz. The same was true of the wife of SS man Caesar, who was in charge of agricultural work, and of Alma Rosé, the German Jewess who conducted the women's orchestra of the Birkenau camp and, if we are to believe Fania Fénelon, was accorded an extraordinary funeral (Fania Fénelon, *Playing for Time*, New York, Atheneum, 1977, p. 208). Pressac never tells us how the normal activity of the crematoria could be combined each day with the activities surrounding the alleged gassings: transport to the morgues, storage of the bodies, cremation, collection of ashes, transferral to urns, dispatch of the urns, etc.

Conclusion

In 1982, I reviewed Pressac's study on *Krema IV* and *V* at Birkenau. I entitled that review:

The Myth of the "Gas Chambers" Enters Its Death Agony

To this review, which I wrote in 1990, I could give the following title:

The Death of the "Gas Chamber" Myth

In the media, this myth manages to survive somehow or other; in academic or scientific circles, it is dead. Our "suburban pharmacist," as Vidal-Naquet calls him, had offered himself as a savior; his magic potions, in 1982, aggravated the patient's condition; and in 1989, that is, seven years later, they have finished him off.

I know Revisionists who, confronting a thesis so disastrous for Exterminationism, wonder whether Pressac could be one of their own, and working undercover, have hoodwinked the Klarsfelds. I don't believe that in the least. Pressac is a neophyte, an autodidact, an innocent crossed with a fox. His personality is unstable; he is inconsistent, a weathercock that turns with every wind. He argues illogically and does not know how to express himself either in speech or writing—a deficiency that would be merely annoying in the exposition of a coherent thesis, but which here, with an incoherent and hybrid thesis, becomes absolutely catastrophic. Pressac isn't wearing any mask; it is his real face which we find disconcerting. For their part, the Klarsfelds lack discernment; they are even blind. They find it "normal" that, in certain cases, persons who displease the Jewish community should be killed or seriously injured (*Radio J*, 17 September 1989, Agence France Press, 1:36PM; *La Lettre télégraphique Juive*, 18 September, p. 1; *Le Monde*, 19 September, p. 14). The anguish of Serge and Beate Klarsfeld at the rise of Revisionism—despite their awareness that it has access neither to money nor to the public forum—is causing them to lose their judgement and their self-control. To the Klarsfelds, all means seem justified; every assistance is welcome; any media operation can serve. Pressac, driven away by Faurisson, dismissed by Wellers, went on to offer his services to the Klarsfelds. He was hired. This tedious tome must have cost them plenty. But, if friends of the Klarsfelds paid for it dearly in money, its results will cost them even more, which will be fatal for the Exterminationists and providential for the Revisionists.

In 1979, Pierre Vidal-Naquet and Léon Poliakov proclaimed, with thirty-two other French historians, that it was unnecessary to ask questions about the technique and the operation of the homicidal gas chambers. They stated precisely:

> It is not necessary to ask how, *technically*, such a mass murder was possible. It was possible technically since it took place. That is the necessary point of departure for any historical inquiry on this subject. It is our function simply to recall that truth: there is not, there cannot be any debate about the existence of the gas chambers (*Le Monde*, 21 February 1979, p. 23).

In my "Response to a Paper Historian" (*The Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1986, p. 24), I spoke of the silliness of that declaration, and I added:

> [. . .] The text in *Le Monde* had been conceived to ward off a very pressing problem. In the confusion that was provoked by my article on "The Rumor of Auschwitz" [*Le Monde*, 29 December 1978, p. 8], Vidal-Naquet and Poliakov hastily drew up a manifesto, and then took it some signers, saying to them: "We say there cannot be any debate, but it is very clear that you must not pay any attention to that phrase and that you all have to get busy replying to Faurisson." That is how Vidal-Naquet ingenuously puts it on page 196 of [*Les Juifs, la mémoire et le présent*, Maspero, 1981] when he writes: "A good number of historians signed the declaration published in *Le Monde* on 21 February 1979, but very few got busy, one of the rare exceptions being F[rançois] Delpech."

Vidal-Naquet, Poliakov, and the other survivors of the "declaration" of the thirty-four historians have thus had to wait ten years (1979-1989) to see appear at last an attempt at refutation of my *Le Monde* article on "The Rumor of Auschwitz." Had my article been based on mere foolishness, its refutation wouldn't have required so long a time, nor so voluminous and, as we have established, so feeble a response as that made by Pressac.

Pressac has put his name to a masterpiece of inanity. His intellectual capacities did not permit the hope of anything better. His propensity for deception and for manipulating documents, already so remarkable in his presentation of the *Auschwitz Album* (Le Seuil, 1983) is here confirmed.[18]

But the pharmacist from La Ville du Bois is only a miserable wretch. Pierre Vidal- Naquet and the Klarsfelds are cut from a different cloth.

These are people who had time enough to determine just how empty-headed their "suburban pharmacist" was. They used him nonetheless. But could they have found better? In any case they have brought discredit on their cause. Now they are burdened with this monstrous book, totally unusable, and

nothing to be done about it. Let any journalist in search of a scoop ask them, as did Richard Bernstein of the *New York Times*, to point out a single page or a single photograph in this wearisome tome which rebuts the Revisionists: Vidal-Naquet and the Klarsfelds will be unable to offer anything at all.

I see hardly anyone but the Revisionists showing interest in Pressac and his masterwork, and then only as scientists would do, musing over a phenomenon of teratology, a monster. The "Holocaust" religion has certainly given birth to more than one monstrosity; Jean-Claude Pressac's misshapen work is one example.

In his paper presented at IHR's Fourth International Revisionist Conference in 1982 ("Context and Perspective in the 'Holocaust' Controversy," reproduced as "Supplement B" in recent editions of *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, p. 335-369), Arthur Butz put the Revisionists on guard against one danger: that of wasting their time in idle technical discussions that make us fail to see the forest for the trees. If we become preoccupied with such details as Zyklon B or crematory ovens, we may end up forgetting the essential point, which is that an extermination so gigantic would have left behind a superabundance of physical and documentary proofs, not merely infinitesimal traces of domestic tinkering and puttering. Our adversaries, Butz added, will seek to enmesh us in cabalistic discussions since, on the level of establishing basic facts, they know they've already lost. As Butz also pointed out, however, a Revisionist must nonetheless show himself capable of confronting the cabalists right down to trifling details. Whatever the ground chosen, the defenders of the "Holocaust" thesis must realize that all avenues of escape are closed to them. It is thus that they find themselves today in a total impasse. Their gang plank to safety—Pressac's book—is made of rotted wood.

The Jewish community has had some bad shepherds. It should have jettisoned the dogma of the Auschwitz gas chamber a decade ago. In December 1978, *Le Monde* published, at the same time as my article on "The Rumor of Auschwitz," several articles which were supposed to refute me. I think that certain French academics, of Jewish origin, immediately perceived that a grave event had just occurred: in a few lines, I had just reminded them, like previous Revisionists, that the emperor was wearing no clothes. Confronted with this, a group of Establishment historians

endeavored, in vain, to pretend the contrary. On 16 January 1979, *Le Monde* published my "right of response." That would have been a fitting time, I think, for the Franco-Jewish academics to have urgently prepared a "declaration of historians" stating that there *could* and *must* be a debate on the existence or nonexistence of the Auschwitz gas chambers.

Fate decided otherwise. On 21 February 1979, then, appeared, the "declaration" drawn up by Pierre Vidal-Naquet and Léon Poliakov. By it the Exterminationists ratified their ruin. Ten years later, with this book by Jean-Claude Pressac, they are reaping the fruits of their blindness. They appear to me to have been inspired by an altogether too narrow conception of their self-interest. They ought to have looked farther ahead, to have given thought to their obligations as historians and to the interest, truly understood, of the Jewish community. Then, instead of dogging the heretics with press campaigns, physical attacks, and the police and the courts; instead of staging one incestuous colloquium after another; instead of churning out an endless stream of bad books (Pressac's being the worst), they ought to have opened their minds and hearts to discussion and reflection.

They would have done well to have done some work.

The Revisionists have been at work. It's a pity the Exterminationists haven't followed their lead.[19]

APPENDIX I

Pressac Versus the Leuchter Report

At the end of 1988, Serge Klarsfeld published, in *Jour J/La Lettre télégraphique juive*, a study by Pressac of the Leuchter Report. The title was: "Les carences et les incohérences du "Rapport Leuchter" ("The Deficiencies and Inconsistencies of the "Leuchter Report").

"Deficiencies" and "Inconsistencies": Pressac is a master there! The sole proof he could find of homicidal gassings in *Krema I* he owes to . . . this report (see Part I, p. 34, in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1991)! His study, plainly hurried, mixes blends emotive reflections about Fred Leuchter with an exposition on the Auschwitz gassings, a summary on the Auschwitz crematory ovens, and a final discussion on Majdanek. On Auschwitz, he repeats what I call his theory of "molecules with homing devices" (see Part I, p. 38-39 in *The Journal of Historical Review*), a theory which tries to explain

the absence, so embarrassing for Pressac, of ferric-ferrocyanide stains there where so many human beings were supposedly gassed.

About Majdanek, I believe it's not too much to say that Pressac does not believe in the existence of homicidal gas chambers in this camp. He writes:

> Lacking any precise technical study, those gas chambers remain poorly known (p. vii);
>
> The use of [such places] as homicidal gas chambers with HCN appears difficult and remains risky [. . .]; the technique would seem possible, but an actual use is risky (p. viii);
>
> [There were some] modifications [. . .] after 1945 [which give a] false impression (p. ix);
>
> a regrettable confusion during the 1950s results in the shower room often being presented as a homicidal gas chamber (with toxic gas thought to be dispersed through shower heads)[20] (*Ibid.*);
>
> The use of this place for homicidal purposes is only conceivable under two conditions: the removal of a fanlight that could have been broken by the victims and the addition of a mechanical ventilator (*Ibid.*);[21]
>
> the homicidal function which the author [Pressac] cannot presently discuss (*Ibid.*);
>
> the deputy director of the Museum told the author [Pressac] that this gas chamber had very, very seldom been used, which really means that it had not been used at all. That fiction is maintained in order not to shock popular belief which wants it that way [. . .] (*Ibid.*);
>
> etc.

In his big book, Pressac manifests the same skepticism. He considers that no one has yet undertaken a "serious study" of the Majdanek gas chambers (p. 184). Writing of Auschwitz, he lets slip a remark that implies that Majdanek was perhaps not really "criminal" (p. 218). Denouncing the methods of the "officials of the Majdanek Museum," he writes:

> I am sorry to say, and I am not the only one in the West, that the Majdanek homicidal and/or delousing gas chambers are still waiting for a true historian, which is mildly upsetting in view of the fact that the camp fell into the hands of the Russians intact in 1944 (p. 555).

On page 557, a photograph shows the exterior of one of the "disinfection gas chambers thought to be a homicidal gas

chamber." The photograph comes from Maître Jouanneau, attorney for LICRA, who was duped, Pressac tells us, by the camp authorities (the lawyer used this photograph before the Paris court to prove that Faurisson was a falsifier denying the historical evidence).

APPENDIX II

How Many Cremations a Day at Krema II?

How many cremations, on the average, were there per day in the five three-muffle crematory ovens of *Krema II*?

To that question, Pressac ought to give one answer and one answer only, but instead he gives at least five, ranging from 288 a day to 1,500 a day.

- First answer: 960 or 288 or 720! Those three contradictory answers all appear on page 110 where, speaking of a German document dated 28 June 1943 which indicates 1,440 cremations per day, he says that this "official" number, even if reduced by a third (which would be 960 cremations), is barely credible; and he adds that, given the SS penchant for boasting, it is better in general to divide their numbers by "a factor of from two to five" to obtain the truth in such matters. So that would give us a minimum of 288 cremations and a maximum of 720 cremations.
- Second answer: 752! This emerges from page 183, where Pressac writes that the *Krema* in question "functioned as a homicidal gas chamber and incineration installation from 15th March 1943, before its officially coming into service on 31st March, to 27th November 1944, annihilating a total of approximately 400,000 people, most of them Jewish women, children and old men." Pressac does not justify any of his statements. We don't know why he claims that this *Krema* operated in a homicidal manner before 31 March, nor why he declares the final date of operation to have been 27 November 1944, unless because the self-taught Pressac takes at face value the legend that on 26 November 1944 Himmler ordered the slaughter stopped. No matter. Let us take him at his word. From 15 March 1943 to 27 November 1944, there elapsed 624 days, a figure that must be reduced to 532 if we take into account that, because of a repair of its

chimney, *Krema II* is supposed to have halted operations for three months, from May through July of 1943 (p. 227). Over a period of 532 days there would thus have been 400,000 cremations, or 752 per day.

- Third answer: a "practical 'throughput' *being closer to 1,000.*" That is what the author says on page 470 when he judges that the figure of 2,000 cremations that was given by the witness, Dr. Bendel, cannot be accepted (see p. 334).
- Fourth answer: "*between 1,000 to 1,500.*" That is what the author says on page 475 regarding an estimate by Dr. Nyiszli.
- Fifth response: nearly 625. This is derived from page 494, where the author indicates that the number of bodies cremated, according to the witness Henryk Tauber, was about 2,500 per day, concerning which figure he writes: "Here we find the famous multiplication factor of four [of Dr. Miklos Nyiszli]."

In sum, Pressac gives completely divergent answers in this matter; his estimates of the cremations per day in *Krema II*, in ascending order, are as follows:

288, 625, 720, 752, 960, 1,000, and between 1,000 and 1,500.

This *Krema* had 15 muffles, and the crematory ovens, Pressac admits, functioned only 12 hours a day. For each muffle, therefore, the per day would have been, respectively, 19, 42, 48, 50, 64, and from 67 to 100. These figures, varying from 19 to 100 per day, would represent performances beyond the capabilities of our most modern crematoria. They are all the more unacceptable when we consider that Pressac is counting only the corpses of those who are supposed to have been "gassed," to which must be added the cremations of bodies of the inmates, guards, and soldiers who died every day of various causes, especially when typhus was raging in the camp.

APPENDIX III

Pressac's Tricks in the *Auschwitz Album*

In 1983, Pressac and Klarsfeld jointly published a French edition of what is called the *Auschwitz Album* (translated from English by Guy Casaril, Editions du Seuil, 1983, 224 p.). It was

a collection of 189 extremely interesting photos, taken in 1944 by a German from the photographic staff of the Auschwitz camp—possibly Ernst Hoffmann. No one, whether Exterminationist or Revisionist, has contested the authenticity or the veracity of these photographs, which were taken at the time of the mass arrivals of Hungarian Jews in 1944. These photographs supply a providential confirmation of the Revisionist thesis, and it is shocking that we had to wait until the early 1980's to see all of them published. Serge Klarsfeld, embarrassed by what they revealed, could offer but a single parry in response: fabricating a moving account of the pretended discovery of the album by a certain Lili Meier.

Klarsfeld and Pressac went to even greater lengths for the French edition of this album. In a twenty-page typed analysis which I completed in December 1983, but did not publish at that time for lack of money, I described their subterfuges. I showed that in the French edition, which I compared with the two original editions published in the United States[22], Pressac had drastically changed the original order of the album's sections, an order which had reflected a logical sequence of events for the newly arrived inmates of the Birkenau camp. In place of that order, our man had substituted an arrangement which would give one to understand that most of the people pictured would end up dying in the mysterious homicidal gas chambers. He also changed the number of photographs in each section and proceeded to switch photographs from one section to another! He removed one group of photos and then, to restore the original number of sections, he made use of the same caption from the original twice, but gave it two different translations. I wrote:

> Without breathing a word of it to the reader, Jean-Claude Pressac acted like a pharmacist who would surreptitiously change the contents of his bottles, change their number, and switch their labels, not to mention committing two forgeries in the process (p. 7).

But the most spectacular of his manipulations was to be found on pages 42 and 43 of the *Album*. Under the title "The Trickeries of the *Auschwitz Album*," I circulated a short piece devoted to that deceit. I did not fail to send a copy of it to Editions du Seuil. Here is what our pharmacist had devised: in order to try to make us believe that the route taken by certain groups of deportees (women and children) ended at *Krema II*

and *III* and therefore, according to him, in the homicidal gas chambers, he had provided, on page 42 of the *Album*, a plan of Birkenau from which he had made a careful deletion to prevent the reader from seeing that in reality these groups of deportees actually passed between the two *Krema*, staying on the road leading to the large shower and disinfection center called the *Zentral Sauna* until their arrival there. Caught red-handed, Pressac followed a policy of silence for the next six years (1983-1989). To those who had read my article and stubbornly demanded an explanation from him, even to the point of telephoning him, his answer was to feign ignorance: he claimed he knew nothing of my article. Now, with the publication of his big book, he is forced to provide an explanation; by doing so he just makes his case worse.

The plan in which he deceptively made a cut in the route to the *Zentral Sauna* is reproduced on page 421 of his big book. On pages 514 and 515, he tries to explain. He begins by saying that in 1983 he had easily been able to answer my criticism "in an article whose publication was not deemed necessary." He does not reveal to us who decided not to publish it, and why. I suggest that Pressac's answer was quite simply judged dreadful. If I allow myself that suggestion, it is because the response that he finally consents to give us in 1989 in his big book is pathetic and *proves his trickery*. Pressac answers in effect that, in order to draw the plan for which I reproached him, he had used "as a *basis* [emphasis added]" (p. 515) an authentic plan: plan 3764 (p. 514). I don't doubt it: he did take that "as a basis" and *added* to it lines representing the avenues in and around the camp, but taking great care to . . . truncate the route leading to the *Zentral Sauna*, in order to make us believe that the Jewish women and children who took that route could go no farther than the crematoria. The deletion is flagrant. The subterfuge is obvious.

But there's more. In the original version of the *Auschwitz Album*, the American edition, there was a photograph which may be described as follows: in the foreground, a group of four elderly Jews, three men and a woman, are plainly having an altercation, while in the background, indifferent to the scene, a scattered few German soldiers, wearing garrison caps, are walking by. This is photograph 109. Pressac, deciding to make this photograph "speak," moves it to the 189th and last place in the sequence, where it is supposed to

mark the acme of the extermination horror. And here, in his usual jargon, is the explanation of the photograph:

> That photo is unique, terrible, and to be added to the file on the extermination of the Jews as evidence for the prosecution [. . .]. The footpath down which this woman is refusing to go ends at the door of [*Krema*] *V*, leading to the disrobing room and the gas chambers. If the three men who are dragging her do not seem to suspect the fate that awaits them, she knows that the building which she is turning away from, that red brick building with its black roof and its two 16 meter-high chimneys, has become the negation of life and stinks of death (*Auschwitz Album*, p. 204).

In my 1983 article (p. 9), I observed:

> All that pathos cannot blind us to this: there is no footpath, and we can't predict the direction this or that person might take; [Pressac] tells us nothing about the presence and the indifference, or inattention, of the German soldiers; how could the woman know that she is going to be gassed and the men not know that they are going to be gassed? Finally and above all, *it is plain to see that the woman is trying neither to get away from the man on the right nor to resist him: she is clasping his hand in her own left hand.*

On page 421 of his big book of 1989, the subject of this review, Pressac has altered his commentary on the photograph, writing:

> As for the woman's attitude, it could simply be that she, with no illusions about what is to happen and having seen the SS photographer, suddenly turned away, saying in effect: "I don't want that [bastard of an] SS to photograph me!" Such a reaction would not be surprising, for some of the Jewish children, less polite and more spontaneous than their parents, instinctively feeling that the SS wished them no good, pulled faces at the photographers.

In other words, for one story Pressac substitutes another, and his entire interpretation of the *Auschwitz Album* collapses, since the photograph deemed to represent the acme of horror has been reduced, according to our manipulator himself, to showing us an old woman who . . . doesn't want her picture taken!

Pressac reproaches me for not saying that the scene takes place near *Krema V*. As a matter of fact I did say so, since I quoted his mention of that. And I find it interesting that there is nothing secret about the place: as in many other

photographs, both in that album and in his large work, we see small groups of Jews, Germans and civilian workers all peaceably rubbing elbows with each other.

Pressac leaves unanswered in *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers* all the other rebukes of his trickery I addressed to him in 1983 apropos the *Auschwitz Album*. He thus compels me to repeat my accusations today.

APPENDIX IV

The Truncated Testimony of Hanna Reitsch

Pressac takes note of the testimony of the German air ace, Hanna (and not Hannah) Reitsch (1912-1979) as though it were evidence of the existence of the gas chambers (p. 486). In reality, Hanna Reitsch, at the end of 1944, saw an Allied pamphlet that mentioned gas chambers; she didn't believe it. *After* the war, she came to believe it. By the end of her life, she no longer believed; Pressac is either ignorant, or pretends not to know, of this last development. The details of the case are interesting.

In October 1944, Peter Riedel, an aviator friend of Miss Reitsch, who was then working in the German Embassy in Stockholm, received an Allied propaganda pamphlet which touched on the gas chambers. Deeply affected, he brought it up to Hanna Reitsch at the "Aviation House" in Berlin. The latter, furious, told him that it was obviously a war propaganda fabrication comparable to the enemy propaganda lies about the Germans during World War I. Riedel urged her to speak to Heinrich Himmler about it. She went to see Himmler, who leafed through the brochure without registering the slightest emotion. He asked her: "And you believe this, Frau Hanna?" She told him no, but added that countering it was imperative. Himmler told her she was right.

Pressac specifies that the English version of Hanna Reitsch's memoirs (*Fliegen—mein Leben*) stops there, but remarks that in the French version the text continues: "A few days later, the information was denied in one of the main German newspapers. I learned from Peter Riedel that the same denial had appeared in a Swedish newspaper. It was only after 1945 that I found out, and with what horror, that Himmler had lied to me, and that the awful news was true."

If Pressac had pursued his investigation a little further, and especially if he had read Gerd Honsik's *Freispruch für Hitler?*

36 ungehörte Zeugen wider die Gaskammer (Acquittal for Hitler? 36 Unheard Witnesses Testify Against the Gas Chambers) (Burgenländischer Kulturverband Wien, Postfach 11, 1142 Vienna, 1988), he could have discovered that (p. 132-138):

1. Himmler also said to Reitsch concerning that Allied accusation: "That [the gassing accusation] is the rope they'll hang us with if we lose"[23];
2. Hanna Reitsch had so far returned to her good sense that at the end of life she supported the efforts of the Revisionists and, in particular, those of an Austrian (whom she called "the courageous Friedl Rainer") "against all the terrible atrocity lies" (letter dated 15 September 1977, reproduced by Gerd Honsik on p. 138 of his book).

According to David Irving, the State of Israel is holding the manuscript of Himmler's memoirs. If that is true, why is this document being shielded from the curiosity of historians and researchers?

Notes

8. See Appendix III, p. 167-171.
9. This order from Höss likewise confirms what I have said about the Höss "confessions" (interview in *Storia Illustrata*, reprinted in Serge Thion, *Vérité historique ou vérité politique?*, La Vieille Taupe, 1980, p. 203, note 10). Höss "confessed" that the members of the *Sonderkommando* entered the "gas chambers" immediately after the "gassing" and pulled out the bodies, eating and smoking all the while—in other words, without wearing gas masks, something which would have been absolutely impossible. On 2 April 1946, in his jail cell at Nuremberg, Höss gave the following answers to his American interrogator, S. Jaari:

   Q: But was it not quite dangerous work for these inmates to go into these chambers and work among the bodies and among the gas fumes?

   A: No.

   Q: Did they wear gas masks?

   A: They had some, but they did not need them, as nothing ever happened. (John Mendelsohn, editor, *The Holocaust*, 1982 vol. 12, page 113; *Pretrial Interrogation of R. Höss*, 2 April 1946, page 17)

   The order of 12 August 1942, signed by Höss and showing the considerable danger of a gassing operation, demonstrates that Höss, when he was interrogated by the Americans four years later at the

Nuremberg jail, gave some rather clumsy answers; he had been broken, as I have also been able to show, by his initial jailers and interrogators: certain Jews from British military security who tortured him before sending him to Nuremberg. Höss feared more than anything being turned over to the Polish Communists (see Robert Faurisson, "How the British Obtained the Confession of Rudolf Höss, Commandant of Auschwitz," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1986-87, p. 389-403).

10. Hospitals continued to exist in German cities, but to a large extent they were "evacuated" to the countryside where they took the form of medical barracks on the model of those that were built in the concentration camps. On page 513 Pressac reproduces a plan of a hospital barracks at Auschwitz, giving as his source the Center for Contemporary Jewish Documentation in Paris. In fact, this is just another of the many documents he owes to me: it comes from the U.S. National Archives and bears the Nuremberg file number NO-4470.

11. The shame is that during the immediate postwar period this type of "imposed falsehood," or imposture, became law in the exact sense of the word; and today, once again, it carries the force of law for the French courts by virtue of the anti-Revisionist provisions of the Fabius-Gayssot law promulgated, under the signature of François Mitterrand, in the *Journal officiel de la République française* on July 14, 1990.

12. Here Pressac forgets that, according to him, Pressac has also used divisors! And what is the meaning of "almost exactly"? Lending his imprimatur to Pressac's number-cooking, Vidal-Naquet writes: "The fact that today it can be stated that the statistics given in so important a testimony must be divided by four is a scholarly finding that we would be very wrong dismiss. One doesn't diminish the crimes of the Nazis by rejecting false figures. The question of the exact number of victims is not essential. Arno Mayer says this, repeats it, and on this point I can only agree with him." (From Vidal-Naquet's preface to the French edition of Arno Mayer's *Why Did the Heavens Not Darken?: La "Solution finale" dans l'histoire*, ed. La Découverte, 1990, p. viii-ix).

13. On the night of 3 October 1980 an explosion in front of a synagogue on the Rue de Copernic in Paris killed three persons and wounded a dozen more. On 9 May 1990 graves in a Jewish cemetery at Carpentras in the south of France were violated in a particularly lurid manner.

    The French "far right" was accused of having perpetrated both attacks in each instance it was at length admitted that the rightists were blameless. In the Rue Copernic case, it is universally conceded that the attack was carried out by a member of a Palestinian faction. As to the Carpentras incident, numerous articles, even in the Jewish press, have subsequently described how the affair was distorted and blown out of proportion; all agree that the graves were desecrated, not by rightists, but by politically indifferent youths or by Jewish families desirous of "teaching a lesson" to the liberal Jews of Carpentras (the most serious violation was that of the corpse and grave of a Jews who had married a Catholic).

14. It was due precisely to the proximity of the water table that the *Leichenkeller* of *Krema II* and *III*, instead of being completely underground beneath the crematory room proper, were only half below ground, adjacent to the crematory room.

15. Nevertheless, I can reveal here for the first time that at the end of 1978 I considered abandoning all further efforts at publication when I witnessed the ferocity with which the entire press, the academy and the courts denied me so much as the right to carry on a normal life. The Conseil d'Etat went so far as to declare, in October 1978, that I was a university professor with no publications to his credit, and that I had even confessed as much! My isolation was complete. The situation has changed a lot since those heroic days . . .

16. This is the figure of the "traditional historians," as Pressac calls them; Pressac himself gives no clear indications on the matter.

17. "The shift boss (*Vorarbeiter*) wrote in a notebook the number of corpses incinerated per charge and the head of the *Kommando* (Kommandoführer), an SS man, checked these entries" (the testimony of Henryk Tauber, according to Pressac, p. 495).

18. The book opens with an impressive lists of patrons, beginning with "the Commission of the European Communities; the Socialist Group of the European Parliament; Mrs. Simone Veil, former President of the European Parliament" (p. 8), as well as political figures such as Jacques Delors.

19. See Appendix III, p. 167-171.

20. As we have remarked, Pressac's book constitutes a godsend for the Revisionists. The latter have already produced several reviews, and are working on more:

—Mark Weber, "*Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers*, by Jean-Claude Pressac," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1990, p. 231- 237;

—Jack Wikoff, "*Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers*, by Jean-Claude Pressac," *Remarks* (P.O. Box 234, Aurora, NY 13026), p. 1-9;

—Carlo Mattogno, "Jean-Claude Pressac and the War Refugee Board," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1990-91, p. 461-485;

—Enrique Aynat Eknes, "Neither Trace Nor Proof: The Seven Auschwitz "Gassing" Sites," see this issue of *The Journal of Historical Review*, p. 177.

The magazine *Instauration* has announced its attention to publish an article on the Pressac book. I suppose that eventually Fritz Berg will publish his ideas. Berg is the author of three important technical studies, all published in *The Journal of Historical Review*: "The Diesel Gas Chambers: Myth Within a Myth" (Spring 1984, p. 15-46); "The German Delousing Chambers" (Spring 1986, p. 73-94); "Typhus and the Jews" (Winter 1988-89, p. 480-481). It is thanks to Berg's savoir-faire that I was able to get a copy of Pressac's book in January 1990.

21. Which, in plain English, means that this place could not have been a homicidal gas chamber since it did have a fanlight and since it lacked ventilation of any kind.

22. 1) *The Auschwitz Album/ Lili Jacob's Album*, edited by Serge Klarsfeld, mimeographed, distributed, "free of charge, to more than 1,000 libraries and Jewish organizations" [S. Klarsfeld, August 5, 1980]. 2) *The Auschwitz Album/ A Book Based upon an Album Discovered by a Concentration Camp Survivor, Lili Meier*, text by Peter Hellman, New York, Random House, 1981.

23. Compare the report of Norbert Masur, an official of the Swedish branch of the World Jewish Congress, who met Himmler on 21 April 1945, a few days before the end of the war. They had a long conversation. Heinrich Himmler told Masur: "In order to contain the epidemics, we were forced to build crematoria where we could burn the corpses of countless people who passed away because of these diseases [typhus]. And now, they want to put a noose around our necks" (Norbert Masur, "My Meeting with Henirich Himmler," *Moment* [a Jewish monthly magazine published in Boston], December 1985, page 51, which is a partial translation from the Swedish book *Ein Jude Talar med Himmler* [A Jew Talks with Himmler], Stockholm, Albert Bonniers Vorlag, 1945).

(*continued from page 132*)

Further evidence of the implacable advance of Holocaust Revisionism is provided by a translation into English—the first to be published in America—of a forensic report on the purported Auschwitz gas chambers, undertaken by the Institute of Forensic Research in Krakow, Poland, at the request of the authorities of the Auschwitz State Museum. This translation, the result of the efforts of several technical experts with native fluency in Polish, whose efforts were coordinated and checked by *JHR* Associate Editor Mark Weber, gives implicit corroboration to the findings of gas-chamber expert Fred Leuchter in 1989, as presented in the *Leuchter Report*, the first expert, quantitative study of the alleged gas chambers at Auschwitz. Furthermore, as the director of Krakow institute, Professor Dr. Jan Markiewicz, confirms in a letter to the Institute for Historical Review which appears immediately following the translation of the report, the Polish investigation was undertaken in response to Leuchter's famous report. The IHR and *The Journal* welcome Prof. Dr. Markiewicz's cordial response to our inquiry, and hope that it augurs a determination on the part of honest scholars in Poland and elsewhere in the former Soviet bloc to cooperate with Revisionists in working to bring history into accord with the facts in a spirit of civility, tolerance and objectivity sadly lacking in academic circles in the West.

Next, Mark Weber has delved again into the Second World War's tawdry soap story, the lie that the Germans made soap from human remains, chiefly those of Jews. As Weber shows in this study, to our knowledge the most thorough yet of the soap canard, its obvious derivation from similar propaganda lies of the First World War did not prevent Jewish organizations, and then Allied governments, from giving it the seal of authenticity in the press and at Nuremberg. Of particular value is Weber's demonstration of the bad faith underlying recent attempts by historians who subscribe to the orthodox version of the Holocaust to distance themselves from the soap lie by representing it as nothing more than a "rumor," rather than the "established fact" (by the International Military Tribunal) that it, most embarrassingly for them, has been since 1946.

Revisionists themselves often make, as well as revise, history. Making history has mostly been the province of such active researchers and combatants as, for instance, Robert Faurisson, Ernst Zündel, and Fred Leuchter, but every once in a while it falls to someone at the Institute itself to play a role, as did IHR Director Tom Marcellus in the first Mermelstein suit. Since the recent docudrama *Never Forget*, Ted Turner's TNT distortion of the suit and its settlement, gave Director Marcellus (among IHR's staffers) the lion's

(*continued on page 249*)

Neither Trace Nor Proof: The Seven Auschwitz "Gassing" Sites According to Jean-Claude Pressac

ENRIQUE AYNAT
Translated by Tom Kerr

The French author Jean-Claude Pressac has written a monumental work—564 pages in large format, with hundreds of photographs, plans, sketches, drawings and reproduced documents—on the creation, utilization and destruction of seven Auschwitz-Birkenau installations which supposedly once housed execution gas chambers.

J.C. Pressac carried out an exhaustive on-site investigation. During the course of fifteen visits between 1979 and 1987, he spent some three months in Oswiecim (the present name of Auschwitz). He had complete freedom of research in the State Museum of Auschwitz, as well as the full collaboration of the museum authorities, in particular that of the chief archivist, Tadeusz Iwaszko, to whom his book is dedicated. Pressac further obtained the support of Beate and Serge Klarsfeld, who wrote the introduction to his book and who conducted research for him in the archives of the USSR and the German Democratic Republic.

Pressac's book is ostensibly a "scientific rebuttal of those who deny the gas chambers" (p. 12) and is in effect directed against the Revisionists, whom he describes as "maniacs who spend their lives trying to demonstrate that something never existed" (p. 16). Despite his pretensions to cold objectivity, the author's animosity towards the Revisionists is in constant evidence throughout the book. He goes so far as to assert that the judicial actions brought against Revisionists, which he himself admits "smacked of witchhunting" (p. 556), are the only "defensive option open to the people who felt they were being 'attacked' by Faurisson's thesis" (p. 556).

The present piece does not pretend to be an exhaustive critique of Pressac's voluminous work; that would require a book of the same dimensions. This article will deal briefly with

the supposed execution gas chambers which, according to Pressac, were to be found in seven distinct locations in Auschwitz-Birkenau (Crematoria I, II, III, IV and V, and Bunkers 1 and 2) and which he claims killed a million Jews. My article focusses in particular on Pressac's arguments concerning the "technique" and "operation" of the gas chambers, which are precisely the aspects that figure in the title of his work.

In fine, the aim of my article has been to ascertain whether or not Pressac's book provides anything at all with which to shore up the faltering thesis that there were execution gas chambers at Auschwitz. We must emphasize the great importance of the French author's work in this connection, since if the answer to the above question is no, it would be clear that, 44 years after the war, and after examination of all available documentation, there exists no single solid or valid piece of evidence establishing the reality of any such homicidal installations.

Crematorium I of Auschwitz

Crematorium I was installed for the purpose of incinerating the corpses of inmates who died of natural causes, a matter, therefore, of a sanitary installation. According to the official thesis, at the end of 1941 the mortuary of this crematorium was transformed into an execution gas chamber.

Pressac acknowledges that there are very few German documents relating to Crematorium I and that none of them provides any formal proof of homicidal gassings in its mortuary. So that "as evidence to establish the reality of homicidal gassing there remain only the testimonies of the participants" (p. 123).

The testimonies selected by Pressac to prove the existence of a homicidal gas chamber in Crematorium I are as follows:

a) Alter Fajnzylberg, a former prisoner at Auschwitz and a member of the *Sonderkommando* (a group of prisoners charged with transporting and incinerating the corpses).

In his statement made in 1945, after the liberation of Auschwitz by the Soviets, this witness made no allusion to a gas chamber. According to Fajnzylberg, the place where it was supposedly to be found was a "mortuary" (Leichenhalle) which in fact served for storing corpses and also on occasion for the execution of prisoners by means of firearms.

Moreover, in the brief text reproduced by Pressac (p.124), there are two gross errors relating to the dimensions of the place and the capacity of the crematory ovens. These errors, as the French author himself admits, demonstrate "the general tendency to exaggerate at that time (in the years 1945-50)" (p. 126).

In a new statement made before a notary in 1980, Fajnzylberg declared that he "saw" a gassing in the *Leichenhalle* of the crematorium, even though a bit further on he contradicts himself by admitting that he and his companions had been locked up in a coke bunker (pp. 124-125). In this declaration, Fajnzylberg repeated exactly the same dimensions for the gas chamber that he had given in 1945, which for Pressac is "a proof of the sincerity and authenticity of his statements" (p. 126).

b) Filip Müller, former prisoner of Auschwitz and member of the *Sonderkommando.*

In the brief commentary that Pressac devotes to Müller's testimony (pp. 126-127), the supposed gas chamber is not even mentioned. Instead, what merits the author's attention is the statement of the witness regarding the cross-section of the crematorium chimney. Reading Pressac's text, we derive the following:

—F. Müller stated that the chimney was circular in cross-section.

—The German documents indicate that the chimney was square in cross-section.

—Despite that, F. Müller "is a valuable witness" (p. 127).

Most important to emphasize, however, are the opinions that Pressac himself holds with regard to F. Müller:

—"Filip Müller is an important witness, but in choosing to describe material and precise facts in a book and in 1979 (1st German edition) he has accumulated errors, thus making his account historically dubious. The best approach is to read it as a novel based on true history" (p. 181).

—". . . Filip Müller's account was recorded too late and included involuntary errors and embellishments, and perhaps even lies . . ." (p. 380).

After taking the foregoing into account, I find it incomprehensible that Pressac should have presented this

witness "as evidence to establish the reality of homicidal gassing."

c) Rudolf Höss, the first commander of Auschwitz.

In the memoirs written during his captivity in Poland, R. Höss stated that he had been present at the gassing of 900 Russian war prisoners in the mortuary of Crematorium I. Höss explains that while the trucks were unloading, a number of holes were made in the stone and concrete walls of the morgue."[1] These details seem "unlikely" to Pressac (p. 127). Actually, to maintain that it was possible to put 900 people in the 78.2 square meters of the gas chamber and that holes for introducing poison gas were drilled at top speed through the 10-to-15-centimeter-thick concrete walls while the victims were getting off the trucks goes beyond rationality. But Pressac attempts to justify Höss's statement in the following manner:

> Höss participated in the "special actions" strictly in accordance with the almost insurmountable tasks imposed by the exponential growth of his camp, thus not allowing his conscience to dwell on the moral questions. *He was present, without seeing.* In the author's opinion, this attitude explains the involuntary errors found throughout his autobiography (p. 128, emphasis in the original).

Against Pressac's attempted justification, we may advance the following objections:

—Höss himself stated in his memoirs that:

> the prisoners were killed by means of gas in the cells of block 11. I was present at the scene, protected by a gas mask. So great was the crowding in the cells that the gas had hardly entered before the victims died. A brief half-smothered scream and it was all over. I was perhaps too moved by this first sight of killing with gas to become clearly and fully aware of what I was seeing. On the other hand, I remember *with the greatest exactness* the way in which, a bit later, the nine hundred Russians were killed with gas [in Crematorium I][2] (emphasis added).

—Elsewhere in his memoirs, R. Höss repeats 900 as the number of Russians gassed.[3]

—No less untenable is the thesis that R. Höss was so occupied with the tasks deriving from expansion of the camp that he lost his capacity for observation. Höss himself says that it would be:

> . . . a mistake to imagine that taking part in this extermination, with everything that it involved, was accepted as an ordinary happening, like any other. With very few exceptions, all those who took part in it, and I most of all, came away with indelible impressions and plenty of material for reflection.[4]

Furthermore, exterminating Jews was the most important of all the tasks entrusted to R. Höss, and it could scarcely take second place to work proceeding from expansion of the camp. As a matter of fact, it was Himmler in person who had given him the order: "It is you who will take over the task. It is a tough and painful job that awaits you: put your whole being into it and the difficulties that present themselves will be as nothing."[5]

Consequently, Pressac's justification of Höss's testimony, teeming as it is with these incongruities, is just not convincing.

In any event, the important thing here is that Pressac offers as, proof of the existence of a homicidal gas chamber in Crematorium I, testimony containing at least two obvious falsehoods. In the last analysis, it should suffice to point out that if R. Höss was in reality present "without seeing," why is he presented as a witness?

d) Pery Broad, former member of the SS garrison of Auschwitz.

Pressac acknowledges that the testimony of this one-time SS member "raises problems yet to be solved" (p. 128). Specifically, "the form and tone of his declaration sound false. His writings can not be the faithful reflection of the thoughts of an SS man and indeed reading them gives the impression that they were written by a former prisoner" (p. 128). It is Pressac's opinion that Pery Broad's declaration "has been 'slightly' reworked by the Poles" (p. 128, quotation marks in the original). Should any doubts remain, Pressac later on hammers home the point:

> *"Historically, this account is not exploitable in its present version* [. . .] After assessing its reliability, no conscientious historian will be able to use it unless and until the 'declaration' has been stripped of the Polish influence, or in other words until the original is published" (p. 162, emphasis in the original).

Why Pressac, the above reservation notwithstanding, has offered this testimony as proof of the existence of a homicidal gas chamber, remains to this writer an enigma.

To sum up, Pressac acknowledges that there is no documentary evidence to establish a homicidal gassing in the supposed gas chamber of Crematorium I of Auschwitz. In lieu of that, the French author provides the testimonies of four witnesses. These testimonies, however, all either show "the general tendency to exaggerate at that time" (A. Fajnzylberg); include "involuntary errors and embellishments, and perhaps even lies" (F. Müller); come from someone who "was present, without seeing" (R. Höss); or "have been 'slightly' reworked by the Poles" so that they are not serviceable in their present version (P. Broad).

The conclusion follows that, insofar as concerns the sources provided by Pressac, the existence of a homicidal gas chamber in Crematorium I of Auschwitz must be considered historically unfounded.

Lastly, Pressac offers the results of the chemical analysis of samples taken by the American engineer Fred Leuchter[6] in the supposed gas chamber of Crematorium I as proof of the practice of homicidal gassings (p. 133). Leuchter had found in 6 of the 7 samples a trace presence of cyanide.[7] To be sure, our author ought to have pointed out that the report of the American engineer categorically denies the existence of any execution gas chamber either in Crematorium I of Auschwitz or in the four crematoria of Birkenau. The most important thing to be emphasized, however, is that Leuchter took one of his samples in an area that had been a washroom, which had never been part of the supposed gas chamber, and was separated from it by a gas-tight door. The partition wall that separated the washroom from the supposed gas chamber was eliminated by the Poles after the war. The analysis of this sample reveals a presence of cyanide *comparable* to that of most of the other samples. In short, the amount of cyanide found in a sample taken from a place that had *never* served as a gas chamber was *similar* to that detected in the samples taken from the supposed gas chamber. If the mortuary had really been a gas chamber, cyanide ought to have been detected in the samples taken from there, and by the same token nothing should have been detected in the sample obtained from the former washroom; or rather a minute amount of cyanide should have been found in the former

washroom (from contingent disinfestation with hydrocyanic acid) and a much larger quantity in the gas chamber. What proves to be inexplicable from the Exterminationist point of view is the finding of *similar* amounts of cyanide in both places.

Therefore, and contrary to what Pressac tells us, the results of the Leuchter report constitute solid evidence of the *nonexistence* of a gas chamber in Crematorium I of Auschwitz.

Bunker 1

As Pressac himself acknowledges, there remain no ruins, and neither documents nor plans of this supposed installation with its homicidal gas chamber. Consequently, the "information that has reached us on this provisional installation is scanty and based only on the testimonies of the few survivors" (p. 162).

Pressac cites six testimonies. Four of them come from former prisoners (Szlam Dragon, Maurice Benroubi, Milton Buki and Moshe Garbarz) and two from members of the SS (Pery Broad and Rudolf Höss).

Let us first look at the description of the supposed homicidal installation given us by the witnesses.

a) S. Dragon: "a small brick house divided into just two parts and able to contain altogether 2,000 naked persons. These rooms each had one entrance door and a small window" (p. 161).

b) P. Broad: according to Pressac, P. Broad never described Bunker 1 (p. 165).

c) M. Benroubi: "There were two big concrete blocks [the buildings known as 'Bunker 1'—Pressac's note] at least 20 m. wide and perhaps as many long [. . .] One morning, the doors of the Bunkers, as they called them, were open. I noticed that there were shower heads and along the wall clothes hooks" (p. 162).

Further on he indicates that the "Bunker was a brick-built house, with the windows filled in" (p. 163).

d) M. Buki: the Bunker was "a brick farmhouse" (p. 163). The lethal gas was introduced through "a little chimney" (p. 164).

e) M. Garbarz: "a sort of barn closed on three sides, identical to those where our farmers keep the hay" (p. 164).

f) R. Höss: "All the rooms—there were five in all—were filled at the same time; the airtight doors were locked with a key, and the contents of the cans of gas were put in through the skylights.

"At the end of half an hour, the doors were opened—there were two in each room—and the dead were removed and taken to the ditches."[8]

Bunker 1 could hold 800 persons.[9]

Contradictions abound in these testimonies. Thus, regarding its exterior aspect, Bunker 1 was:

—"a small brick house" (S. Dragon)

—"two [?] big concrete blocks" (M. Benroubi)

—"a sort of barn closed on three sides" (M. Garbarz).

And as for its capacity, it had room for:

—2,000 persons (S. Dragon)

—800 persons (R. Höss).

The lethal agent was introduced:

—through "a small window" in every gas chamber, according to S. Dragon, even though the plan of this installation made on the basis of his testimony has two windows in each chamber (p. 161).

—"through a little chimney" (M. Buki).

Bunker 1 had:

—two gas chambers (S. Dragon)

—five gas chambers (R. Höss).

The gas chambers had:

—one door each (S. Dragon)

—two doors each (R. Höss).

Pressac concludes by affirming that the purpose of Bunker 1, "the extermination of human beings by gassing, cannot be called into question, if only because of the constant repetition of an identical process in the accounts of former prisoners, unless like certain Revisionists of bad faith we claim that the witnesses were all lying, including the SS" (p. 165).

This conclusion can not be defended. In the first place, the testimonies of the former prisoners all share a great vagueness. We can scarcely speak of "an identical process" when Pressac himself admits that it "is impossible to make a

synthesis of all these accounts" (p. 165). Secondly, the Revisionists do not say that the witnesses lie in every case. It is enough for them to observe that some testimonies, like that of P. Broad (as Pressac himself acknowledges), have been "'slightly' reworked by the Poles."

In short, as authority for the existence and functioning of a gas chamber in Bunker 1, Pressac provides only six testimonies. These testimonies are generally very vague, and when by exception they are specific on some point or another, contradictions arise. Ergo, based on the sources provided by Pressac, it is not possible in the case of Bunker 1 to maintain the historic reality of any execution gas chambers.

Bunker 2

According to the official thesis, Bunker 2 was a farmhouse in which a number of homicidal gas chambers had been installed. It was in operation from the summer of 1942 until the spring of 1943. In the summer of 1944 it was again put into operation in order to assist in the extermination of the Hungarian Jews.

Pressac cites the following testimonies in his treatment of Bunker 2:

a) Szlam Dragon, considered the principal witness by the French author.

In 1945 Dragon described Bunker 2 as "a cottage covered with thatch, its windows bricked in [. . .] The interior of the cottage was divided into four parts by partition walls running across it, one of which could contain 1,200 naked people, the second 700, the third 400 and the fourth 200 to 250" (p. 171).

Two items in the testimony, the interior division and the capacity, are demolished by Pressac himself. With regard to the number of rooms, the French author exhibits a reconstruction of Bunker 2 based on the actual ruins which clearly shows *eight* of these rooms (pp. 174 and 175). With reference to the number of persons put into the Bunker, from 2,500 to 2,550, Pressac reckons that a physically impossible density of 28 persons per square meter (Bunker 2 had an area of 90 square meters) and thus believes that the witness was following "the tendency to exaggerate which seems to have been the general rule at the time of the liberation" (p. 171).

Nonetheless, 27 years later, in 1972, S. Dragon again testified in a celebrated trial against two former SS men, and

his declaration was so disordered (he confused the Bunker with a crematorium) that the session had to be interrupted. Pressac justifies this by saying that the "intervening time had done its work, a blessing for the witness, a disaster for justice and for History. I have added this anecdote to show the irreplaceable value of early testimony. Afterwards, witnesses constantly go over the same story, altering it as the years go by" (p. 172).

In short, Pressac finds it easy to justify the errors, falsehoods and absurdities of the testimonies. If the latter are from the immediate postwar period, they demonstrate "the tendency to exaggerate" characteristic of that era; but if they were given many years later, it turns out that time has altered the memory of the witnesses. Moreover, it is not to be understood that Pressac is alluding to the "irreplaceable value of early testimony" when he has just said that it suffers from a "tendency to exaggerate."

b) Pery Broad.

Even though Pressac had made clear that the account of this former member of the SS "is not exploitable in its present version" (p. 162), he does not hesitate to "exploit it" now and again.

c) Rudolf Höss.

There is only one reference in the memoirs of R. Höss to Bunker 2: "Bunker 2 was the larger and could hold about 1200 people" (p. 174). This information is refuted by Pressac himself when he says that the stated capacity corresponded to 13 persons per square meter, "a physically impossible density" (p. 174).

d) Miklos Nyiszli, a Hungarian Jewish doctor deported to Auschwitz.

Dr. Nyiszli's declaration makes reference to the functioning of Bunker 2 in its final stage, during the summer of 1944. In contradiction to all the other testimonies, Dr. Nyiszli affirms that there were no gas chambers in Bunker 2, but rather a dressing room where the people who were going to be shot and incinerated in an adjacent trench could leave their clothes (p. 177). Despite that, Pressac acknowledges the "validity" of Dr. Nyiszli's account (p. 179).

e) David Olère, former prisoner of Auschwitz.

Pressac reproduces a sketch by D. Olère showing the

operation of Bunker 2 as a gas chamber in the summer of 1944.

Pressac admits that the little hill that appears in the sketch is fictitious and was introduced by the witness "for artistic reasons only" (p. 178). One notices as well that although this is supposedly a summer scene, the SS men are wearing overcoats. Nonetheless, for our author the scene is "of such remarkable precision as to be almost as good as a photograph" (p. 178).

We need to call attention to a contradiction that Pressac falls into here: the scene sketched by D. Olère, which represents, so to speak, the prolegomenon to a homicidal gassing, is of photographic fidelity; at the same time, Dr. Nyiszli's description, which is contemporaneous with that of Olère and yet reflects a totally different extermination procedure, is also valid.

f) Filip Müller.

Here it will suffice to reiterate Pressac's opinion of this witness: "Filip Müller is an important witness, but in choosing to describe material and precise facts in a book and in 1979 (1st German edition) he has accumulated errors, thus making his account historically dubious" (p. 181).

Conclusion: as in the two previous cases, it is not possible to establish historically the existence of a homicidal gas installation at Bunker 2 on the basis of the testimonies provided by author Pressac.

Crematoria II and III of Birkenau

The official thesis holds that an execution gas chamber was in operation in Crematorium II from March of 1943 until November of 1944, and that in Crematorium III, the former's twin, there was likewise a homicidal gas chamber, which operated from June of 1943 to November of 1944. According to Pressac, around 750,000 Jews, three fourths of the victims of Auschwitz, were murdered and cremated in these two installations.

The initial plan for one of these crematoria was laid out in November of 1941. A normal crematorium, with no criminal implications, was contemplated (p. 183). Later, the Germans presumably made the decision to construct two of these crematoria, but to modify them for criminal purposes by converting one of their underground mortuaries (*Leichenkeller*

2) into a dressing room where the victims would disrobe, and the other (*Leichenkeller* 1) into an execution gas chamber (p. 184). This decision was supposedly made at the end of June of 1942. According to Pressac:

> 30th June 1942 marks a turning point in the history of Birkenau, for while there may have been some extermination of Jews before this, it was on an ad hoc and totally improvised basis, whereas henceforth it was to be carried out on an industrial basis (p.184).

And yet the true "turning point" in the history of Auschwitz surely came about *a year before that*, on the 29th of July of 1941, when R. Höss, the first commander of Auschwitz, supposedly received the order to exterminate the Jews.[10] Contrary to what Pressac says, the extermination of the Jews was not carried out in a makeshift way before June of 1942. Quite the contrary, after receiving the order to exterminate the Jews, R. Höss immediately set about planning the procedure to be followed together with a high SS functionary and specialist on the Jewish question, Adolf Eichmann. Höss had anticipated that "multitudes," "considerable masses" and "massive convoys" of Jews would be annihilated in Auschwitz. It was agreed that a farmhouse near Birkenau (Bunker 1) would be "especially appropriate for the purpose in question."[11] A little later Höss sent Himmler "a detailed plan of the site and an exact description of the projected installations."[12] Himmler gave this his approval.[13] All of this, according to the context, occurred between August and November of 1941.

So we have the Germans on the one hand making preparations to annihilate great masses of Jews in an installation specifically got ready for the purpose (Bunker 1) and on the other hand designing a large crematorium without criminal intent. Pressac's thesis thus brings us to the paradox that on June 30, 1942 the Germans decided to change over from a "makeshift" extermination, which they were carrying out in an installation specially set up for mass killing, to an "industrial" extermination that they would carry out in crematoria conceived with no criminal purpose.

Pressac's thesis leads, moreover, to another paradox. It is known that the Germans built crematoria to incinerate corpses and thereby avoid the less hygienic burial process, which could facilitate the spread of epidemics. Yet they

envisioned burial for the victims of Bunker 1.[14] Thus, the Germans had planned on a crematorium to incinerate the comparatively small number of prisoners who died of natural causes, and at the same time they omitted this hygienic measure for the presumably much larger number of corpses which would result from the extermination by poison gas.

On the other hand, Crematoria II and III had been planned with three basement mortuaries (*Leichenkeller*) each, in which the dead were kept prior to cremation. Pressac assumes these mortuaries were employed as follows:

> a) Leichenkeller 3 was to be the reception morgue, where the prison numbers of the corpses would be recorded;
> b) Leichenkeller 2 was to be temporary storage for newly arrived and recorded corpses awaiting cremation (delay of 3 or 4 days);
> c) Leichenkeller 1 was to take corpses several days old, beginning to decompose and thus requiring the room to be well ventilated, to be incinerated as soon as possible (p. 284).

Pressac maintains that the crematoria were later modified for criminal purposes. As has already been indicated, the basement morgues were converted, one into a dressing room (*Leichenkeller* 2) and another into a homicidal gas chamber (*Leichenkeller* 1). *Leichenkeller* 3 disappeared. So, according to the French author's thesis, the crematoria needed mortuaries for storing corpses until cremation only when they had to be concerned about natural deaths in the camp; and on the other hand, they didn't need them when they had to contend with the much greater number of corpses "produced" by the gas chamber. In other words, following Pressac, cremation was a slow process when it involved prisoners who died of natural causes, since space was lacking to store the corpses prior to cremation; and yet it was a super-fast process in the case of extermination, because then, despite a much larger number of corpses, there was no need to store them. Let us now take a look at the extermination process that was supposedly carried out in these crematoria.

The first thing that gives surprise is the scant space Pressac allots to this matter, since, according to the title of his work ("Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers"), it ought to have received a much more extensive treatment. Of the 196 pages which Pressac devotes to the study of Crematoria I and II, there is less than half a page of text ("The use of the

Krematorien for the 'resettlement' of Jews unfit for work," p. 253) and a page of drawings (p. 258) focussing specifically on the method of extermination.

Pressac indicates that the extermination proceeded in groups of 1,000 to 1,500 people at a time (p. 253). However, all the testimonies reproduced by the author cite much higher figures: 3,000 according to R. Höss[15] and M. Nyiszli (p. 473), 2,500 according to H. Tauber (p. 494) and 2,000 according to C. S. Bendel (pp. 469 and 471). Pressac does not tell us on what sources he bases his own figures, so that they must be considered mere suppositions. And since he is making suppositions, why pick a figure of 1,000 to 1,500? Why couldn't it be 500? Or 100? Or any other number?

According to the French author, the route followed by the victims within the crematorium was as follows: first they entered the dressing room, where they disrobed. Then they passed through a little vestibule and entered the gas chamber. Once the 1,000 or 1,500 persons were within the 210 square meters of the gas chamber, then came the introduction of the lethal agent, *Zyklon B* (an insecticide composed of hydrocyanic acid) through four holes in the roof. The amount of *Zyklon B* introduced was 40 times the lethal dose per person. In five minutes at most, the victims were dead (p. 253). Immediately thereafter the ventilation began:

> The air extraction system was then switched on for at least 20 to 30 minutes, for there was a great deal of poisoned air still in the chamber, the amount absorbed by the victims being minimal. The gas-tight door was then unbolted and opened, and the work of extracting the corpses began immediately (p. 253).

Elsewhere Pressac states that after "15 minutes of ventilation the air in the room would be completely renewed" (p. 16).

It is my opinion that, on the contrary, not only would the supposed gas chamber be full of hydrocyanic acid even after 20 or 30 minutes of ventilation, but that even the structure itself presented such difficulties for carrying out mass homicidal gassings on a habitual basis, that the actual practice of such an operation would certainly have ended disastrously, for the following reasons:

—The ventilation system of the supposed gas chamber was in reality appropriate for a mortuary that needed to be aired out

in order to eliminate the bad odor produced by the decomposition of the corpses. But as Pressac acknowledges, the system was not the most appropriate for ventilating a gas chamber:

> The ventilation system of Leichenkeller 1 had initially been *designed for a morgue*, with the fresh air entering near the ceiling and the cold unhealthy air being drawn out near the floor. Its use as a gas chamber really required the reverse situation, with the fresh air coming in near the floor and warm air saturated with hydrocyanic acid being drawn out near the ceiling (p. 224, emphasis in the original).

This system presented yet another difficulty. The poison gas had to exit through holes, located just above the floor, which led to a "ventilation conduit" (*Entlüftungskanal*). These holes were small according to the testimony of H. Tauber, former member of the *Sonderkommando* (p. 484). Given the crowding that existed in the gas chamber, with from 1,000 to 1,500 people in 210 square meters of space, the welter of corpses brought about by the gassing might easily have obstructed these little holes, so that the ventilation would have become difficult or impossible.

These two problems could easily have been avoided had the Germans merely reversed the intake and exhaust airflow when they converted the morgue into a gas chamber.

—*Leichenkeller* 1 and 2 were each equipped with a ventilation system powered by electric motors. *Leichenkeller* 2—the "dressing room"—with a volume of 902.7 cubic meters, was equipped with a 7.5 horsepower motor; *Leichenkeller* 1—the alleged gas chamber—with a volume of 506 cubic meters, had a 3.5 horsepower motor (pp. 286, 360 and 361). From this it follows that the dressing room had a ventilation system that was, actually as well as proportionately, faster and more powerful than that of the gas chamber. This situation would have been normal for morgues (or mortuaries), from which the odor of the decomposing bodies has to be removed. *Leichenkeller* 2, the larger of the two mortuaries, would have been equipped with a larger motor. What is not logical is that the Germans should have installed a faster and more powerful ventilation system in the dressing room, where it wouldn't have been strictly necessary, rather than in the gas chamber, where it would have been essential to eliminate rapidly—in 20 or 30 minutes—all traces of hydrocyanic acid in order to enable the removal of the bodies. Comparing the power of the

two motors thus gives a strong indication that the Germans did not convert *Leichenkeller* 1 into a gas chamber.

—Ventilation of the gas chamber within 15, 20, or 30 minutes is highly improbable. Pressac cites the testimony of a former prisoner of Auschwitz, A. Rablin, who participated in delousing with *Zyklon B*. This was done in an improvised gas chamber located in Block 3 of Auschwitz. The delousing chamber was approximately 300 cubic meters in volume and was equipped with an exhaust fan and seven windows for ventilation. The concentration of hydrocyanic acid used in the delousing process was from 0.05 to 0.1 per cent. Under these conditions the ventilation lasted *two hours* (p. 25).

Let us compare these circumstances with those of the supposed homicidal gas chamber of Crematoria II and III. In this case the area was larger, some 506 cubic meters, and the ventilation system, as we have seen, functioned in a way that was the opposite of what would have been desirable. The vents for exhausting the toxic agent were next to the floor, so that they could be partially or totally obstructed by the hodgepodge of corpses. There were no windows in the place. The concentration of hydrocyanic acid employed was 1 per cent (p.18), ten to twenty times stronger than that used in the delousing process.

The above comparison thus gives rise to another anomaly: the delousing chamber, of smaller volume, with an exhaust fan and seven windows, and contending with a far weaker concentration of hydrocyanic acid, presumably required *more time* to be ventilated than the supposed homicidal gas chamber, which was larger, which had an inadequate ventilation system, which lacked windows and which used a far higher concentration of hydrocyanic acid.

—The nature of the presumed toxic agent, *Zyklon B*, would have involved a grave problem when the time came to remove the corpses.

Zyklon B consists of pure hydrocyanic acid in liquid form, chemically stabilized and absorbed into a porous and inert base, generally in the form of disks or small cubes of wood pulp.[16]

The hydrocyanic acid evaporates from the porous base, its rate of evaporation varying under different conditions of temperature and humidity. The process is a relatively slow one. Exposure times for *Zyklon B* vary greatly. Its

manufacturers have established a *minimum of two hours* and a maximum of 72.[17] Because of the possibility that the inert base containing the *Zyklon* may go on emitting hydrocyanic acid even after many hours of exposure, the manufacturers insist that the tins (*Zyklon* is marketed in tins) and all traces of base must be removed before the treated area can be reoccupied.[18]

Therefore, on opening the door of the gas chamber to remove the dead bodies, an operation that was carried out approximately 20 minutes (p. 16) or 30 minutes (p. 253) after the introduction of the *Zyklon B*, the base would go on emanating hydrocyanic acid, thereby contaminating the rest of the building. And if the Germans had wished to avoid this situation by removing the disks or little cubes of wood immediately after opening the door, they would have faced two more problems. In the first place, the jumble of corpses, from 5 to 7 bodies per square meter according to Pressac's estimate, would make access to the scattered residues very difficult. And in the second place, the porous base of the *Zyklon B*, which was supposedly thrown into the interior of four columns of wire mesh, could not be removed after the gassing anyway. Pressac's own reconstruction of one of these mesh columns includes no opening through which to extract the base (p. 487).

—After removal of the corpses from the gas chamber, the next procedure was hauling them to the crematory room for incineration. Given that *Leichenkeller* 1 was below ground and the ovens were at ground level, a freight elevator had been installed. According to Pressac, at first a provisional elevator with a capacity of three or four corpses was used. Later the workers used a permanent elevator, capable of lifting 10 or 15 bodies at a time (p. 253). From that we may infer that in order to take 1,000 or 1,500 corpses up to the ovens with the provisional freight elevator, 67 to 100 trips would be required. If we consider hypothetically that the process of loading, ascending, and unloading the corpses and taking the freight elevator back down took five minutes, it would have required a half day's incessant labor to get all the corpses to the ovens. In any case, it is evident that the work of hoisting so many bodies in such a small freight elevator would have been most cumbersome, and that the Germans could easily have avoided such a nuisance by building the gas chamber at ground level. Besides, building a gas chamber below ground was harder work and more expense. The excavation and construction

took place in marshy ground, requiring that the floor, ceiling and walls all be waterproofed with a material which was both scarce and costly during the war.

Thus we are confronted by a train of evidence that gives very strong support to the hypothesis that the Germans not only designed *Leichenkeller* 1 as a mortuary, but also constructed it and used it as for just that purpose.

Conclusions:

—The results that follow from Pressac's thesis are neither logical nor credible. According to the French author, the Germans designed Crematoria II and III with no criminal intent, even though they were later converted to carry out mass extermination. This criminal transformation was indeed peculiar, in that no modification was made in the ventilation system of the mortuary, although it was anything but adequate for a gas chamber. In spite of this, and notwithstanding that the Germans had conceived other installations expressly for extermination purposes, Crematoria II and III were used to annihilate and incinerate 750,000 Jews, three quarters of the alleged victims of Auschwitz.

—Several indications reinforce our hypothesis that not only was *Leichenkeller* 1 conceived as a mortuary—which even Pressac admits—but that it was also constructed as such, and in a form that would have made its utilization as a homicidal gas chamber difficult, if not impossible.

The procedure for the ongoing mass extermination of human beings in Crematoria II and III, as described by Pressac, would have been impracticable.

Crematoria IV and V of Birkenau

Crematoria IV and V were twins. According to Pressac, three or four homicidal gas chambers functioned in each of them. Crematorium IV went into service in March of 1943 and operated until October of 1944, when it was set on fire during a prisoner revolt. Crematorium V was in operation from April of 1943 to January of 1945 (p. 379).

Unlike Crematoria II and II, Crematoria IV and V "were designed as criminal instruments," although "modifications introduced in the course of their construction and operation made their operating sequence absurd" (p.447). This is an astonishing revelation. Accepting it would result in the

following paradox: Crematoria II and III were designed with no criminal aim, although modifications introduced during the course of their construction made them both into such efficient human slaughterhouses that they annihilated three quarters of the victims of Auschwitz. On the other hand, Crematoria IV and V *were* designed as criminal instruments, although the modifications introduced during the course of their construction transformed their sequence of operations into an absurdity. In other words, the architects and technicians of Auschwitz were simultaneously very stupid and very clever. Very clever when they transformed ordinary crematoria into prodigious instruments of mass extermination, and very stupid when they made alterations in facilities expressly for mass slaughter, rendering them unusable.

Moreover, if—as Pressac points out—the procedure followed in these crematoriums was "irrational and ridiculous," and if the "natural ventilation was badly oriented and dangerous," and if the introduction of the poison "resembled a circus act" (p. 386), then it is not difficult to imagine that the extermination process would have been, of necessity, a disaster.

The annihilation was carried out in groups of 2,400 people at a time (p. 384). Pressac does not explain why in these crematoria, with gas chambers 240 square meters in area and a crematory oven with eight muffle furnaces, the operation proceeded in groups of 2,400 people, whereas in Crematoria II and III, with gas chambers of similar dimensions (210 square meters) and practically twice the cremation capacity (15 muffle furnaces), it was carried out in groups of 1,000 to 1,500 victims.

According to Pressac, the extermination process followed this sequence: the Jews entered into a large hall and disrobed; once undressed, the 2,400 victims were directed to the three gas chambers, into which they were packed until there were 10 persons to each square meter.

According to the testimony of a survivor, Dr. Bendel, the process was somewhat different. The victims disrobed outside the crematorium and entered the large hall (for what purpose?). Later they turned and went back the way they had come and were directed to the gas chambers. The 2,400 victims traversed the narrow passageway between the large

hall and the gas chambers amidst an "indescribable chaos," since they had a premonition of "the death that awaited them" (p. 470).

Once the victims were in the gas chambers and the doors locked, the SS men flung in *Zyklon B* through windows that were reached with a stepladder. The SS on duty would open the window with one hand and throw in the contents of the tin with the other, which, in Pressac's words, constituted a "circus act." This operation had to be repeated six times for each gas chamber, since each one had six windows (p. 386). Notwithstanding that the installations were conceived for criminal purposes, no such devices as the wire-mesh columns of Crematoria II and III had been provided.

About 30 minutes after the *Zyklon B* was dropped in, the doors were opened, Pressac says, for ventilation (p. 384). Inexplicably, these gas chambers had only natural ventilation (p. 16), which means that they ought to have been aired out for a period of at least 10 hours.[19] Nevertheless, the removal of the corpses followed *immediately*, since, according to Dr. Bendel's testimony, they were still warm (p. 470).

Under these conditions, however, a catastrophe would have taken place. 30 minutes after the *Zyklon B* had been thrown in, there would still have been a high concentration of hydrocyanic acid in the gas chambers. On an average, the amount of *Zyklon B* that the Germans employed was 40 times the fatal human dosage (p. 18). Accordingly, when the *Sonderkommando* opened the door to remove the dead bodies, dispersion of the hydrocyanic acid and contamination of the entire building would have occurred inevitably. In short, under the stated conditions the extermination process in Crematoria IV and V would have been impossible.

Furthermore, Pressac points out that the delousing chambers of Auschwitz and Birkenau, which also functioned with *Zyklon B*, had at least one fan for ventilation (pp. 24, 25, 27, 31, 41 and 53), making it even more incomprehensible that the SS failed to equip the gas chambers of Crematoria IV and V with the same.

As if it didn't matter, although natural ventilation was all that was available, in their construction the Germans had taken no account of the prevailing winds, so that, as Pressac acknowledges, ventilation "was slow and inefficient, with the attendant risk of contaminating the rooms giving onto the

vestibule if there should be a sudden gust of wind from the west" (p. 386).

From all the foregoing, two conclusions may be drawn:

–Pressac's thesis that the SS made so many clumsy mistakes in designing and constructing these crematoriums that the extermination process became absurd and ridiculous lacks credibility. The evidence indicates, on the contrary, that the Germans did not design these installations for a criminal purpose and did not provide them with gas chambers of any kind.

–The habitual mass extermination of human beings in Crematoria IV and V, as Pressac presents it, would have proven completely impracticable.

The Cremation Capacity of the Crematoria

On the momentous question of the cremation of the corpses, Pressac states the following:

> The real throughput of a type II/III Krematorium was from 1,000 to 1,100 corpses per 24 hours and the maximum for a type IV/V was about 500 a day. The total capacity for the four Krematorien was therefore about 3,000 a day (P. 244).

Pressac indicates no source as a basis for his estimate, which is purely hypothetical. To begin with, the figures given by the French author can not be reconciled with those of *all* the testimonies cited in his work. Thus, according to Dr. Bendel, the daily incineration capacity of Crematoria II and III was 2,000 corpses each, with a corresponding figure of 1,000 each for Crematoria IV and V (p. 469); for Dr. Nyiszli, the total capacity of all the crematoria together was 20,000 corpses per day (p. 474); for H. Tauber, the capacity of Crematorium II was 2,500 per day (p. 494); according to the War Refugee Board report (a secret report on Auschwitz drafted in 1944), the four crematoria were able to consume 6,000 bodies a day (p. 461); according to a report ascribed to SS officer Franke-Gricksch, who visited Auschwitz in 1943, the total capacity was 10,000 corpses a day (p. 238).

Pressac's estimate does not square with the data given in a document of the "Headquarters Construction Office" (*Zentralbauleitung*) of the Auschwitz SS, which establishes the capacity of the crematoria as follows:

Crematoria II and III: 1,440 corpses each in 24 hours

Crematoria IV and V: 768 corpses each in 24 hours (p.247).

Pressac's estimate is likewise irreconcilable with the "revision" which he himself makes in the document cited. According to the author, the figure in this document "had no basis in practice, and probably has to be divided by two or three to arrive at the true figure" (p. 244). This means that a crematorium of type II-III would have had an incineration capacity of 480 to 720 corpses in 24 hours and one of type IV-V a capacity of 256 to 384.

One conclusion which can be drawn from the above is that the cremation figures reflected in the testimonies, as well as those in the *Zentralbauleitung* document, strike Pressac as greatly exaggerated. He has thus estimated a hypothetical cremation capacity which, as we shall see, bears no relationship to the capacity which can be inferred from evidence he himself publishes in his work.

From documents published by Pressac, we derive an incineration capacity that is greatly reduced and assuredly much closer to the true figure. Thus, a German document which provides operating instructions for the crematory ovens indicates that the corpses had to be inserted in the individual cremation chambers or muffles "one after another" (*hintereinander*) (p. 136). This detail is in explicit contradiction to those testimonies which affirm that several corpses were put into a muffle furnace at the same time, with the number varying between three and twelve.

Another German document, which tabulates the consumption of coke by the crematory ovens, starts from the assumption that they operate twelve hours per day (p. 224), in disagreement with various testimonies stating that they functioned continuously, without interruption.

Pressac also reproduces a patent, registered in 1953, of an oven made by the Topf company—the same one that made the ovens of Auschwitz—which incorporated "much of the experience gained by Topf in the concentration camps" (p. 105). The estimated time for incinerating a body in this oven was from 30 to 45 minutes (p.105).[20]

If we assume, then, that the Birkenau ovens were as fast as that of the 1953 patent, that the corpses were incinerated one

after another and not several at a time, and that the ovens operated twelve hours a day, we get the following result:

–Crematoria II and III (with 15 muffles each) could have incinerated from 128 to 360 corpses a day.

–Crematoria IV and V (with 8 muffles each) could have incinerated from 128 to 192 corpses a day.

–In total, the Birkenau crematoria could have incinerated 736 to 1,104 corpses per day.

Therefore, by using of the information which Pressac himself has provided, we arrive at an estimate of the capacity of the Birkenau crematoria which is three or four times inferior to that indicated by the French author.

Pressac also publishes data on the capacity of certain crematory ovens constructed by the Topf company and installed in other concentration camps. Thus, in the Buchenwald crematory, an average of six or seven corpses per muffle were incinerated each day (p. 106). At Gusen (a subsidiary camp of Mauthausen), according to prisoner notes, 600 corpses were incinerated in twelve days, which means an average of 25 corpses per muffle furnace per day (p. 110).

Pressac acknowledges that these ovens and those of Birkenau "must have had roughly the same performance," since they "were virtually identical as regards design and construction" (p. 110). In consequence, if we apply the Buchenwald and Gusen references to the four crematoria of Birkenau, which had a total of 46 muffle furnaces, we arrive at a capacity of 322 corpses per day according to the Buchenwald ratio and of 1,150 according to that of Gusen. Figures, therefore, that are also much lower than those given by Pressac.

It is necessary to bear in mind that the incineration capacity was further limited due to breakdowns. Crematorium II was out of service for two or three months in the second half of 1943 for various repairs. Crematorium IV was soon closed for good, and Crematorium V operated only intermittently (p. 247).

Moreover, there are indications that at least during certain periods of time the Birkenau crematoria operated at low capacity. For example, Pressac states that, according to German documents, the coke consumption of the crematoria from April to October of 1943 was only a third or fourth of

what one would expect if they had been operating at full capacity twelve hours per day (pp. 224-227).

In short, the cremation capacity given by Pressac:

—is reconcilable neither with the testimonies of former prisoners nor with the information contained in available German documents;

—is arbitrary, inasmuch as he cites no reference in its support;

—and, finally, is highly exaggerated, since all the evidence points strongly in the direction of a substantially lower cremation capacity.

The "Indirect" Proofs

At the end of his investigation, Pressac is forced to acknowledge the lack of proof of the existence of homicidal gas chambers in the Birkenau crematoria. Nevertheless, he says, that in:

> the absence of any "direct," i.e. palpable, indisputable and evident proof (lacking so far as we know at present) such as a photograph of people killed by a toxic gas in an enclosed space that can be perfectly located and identified, or of a label on a Krematorium drawing of a "Gaskammer um Juden zu vergiften/gas chamber for poisoning Jews," an "indirect" proof may suffice and be valid (p. 429).

And so, after having done research for some years in the principal archives—to which generously access was given him—and after having examined hundreds of documents, photographs and plans, Pressac admits to not having encountered a single "palpable, indisputable and evident" proof—that is to say, a real proof—of the existence of homicidal gas chambers in the crematoria of Birkenau. In other words, Pressac—and with him, all the Exterminationist authors—has been unable up to now, 44 years after the war, to find one single proof of the criminal character of installations which supposedly brought about the destruction of hundreds of thousands of people during a 21-month period of operation (the greatest crime in history); installations whose design and construction gave rise to an enormous amount of documentation. This is a fact of great significance.

Nevertheless, Pressac reckons that in the absence of real proof, an "indirect" proof may suffice. His argument is invalid,

for with "indirect proofs" it would be possible to prove the existence of almost anything. Let us imagine, for example, the case of someone who intended to demonstrate that centaurs really existed in antiquity. Naturally it would not be possible for him to present any real proof, such as a skeleton or fossil remains, but he would still be able to argue that the artistic representations of centaurs found in archaeological excavations in Greece, Cyprus and Italy constituted an "indirect" proof of their existence.

Let us examine Pressac's "indirect" proofs of the homicidal gas chambers:

> In the final analysis, there remain only the various items of correspondence and official documents of German origin. Through the "slips" that can be found in them, they form a convincing body of presumptive evidence and clearly indicate the presence in the four Birkenau Krematorien (II, III, IV and V) of gas chambers using a prussic acid disinfestation agent sold under the name of "Zyclon-B" (p. 429, emphasis in the original).

Or rather, in the final analysis, the "indirect proofs" would seem to be—according to Pressac—lapses committed by the civilian workers who built the crematoria (a dozen civil firms participated in their construction) and by SS personnel when they drafted their notes and documents. In other words, both the civilian workers and technicians and the SS knew the real, homicidal purpose of the crematoria, but had reached a tacit agreement to omit all "criminal" references in their correspondence and documents in order to keep up appearances (for whom?). The Germans from time to time, however, committed indiscretions, mentioning in their letters and on their worksheets such things as "gas-tight doors," "gas detectors" and "basement disrobing rooms." Still, the Germans were prudent even in their lapses, for although though they could use the term "Auskleidekeller" for the place where the victims supposedly disrobed, on the other hand they did not have "the courage, or perhaps the desire or the occasion to write that Leichenkeller 1 was a gas chamber" (p.434).

Let's turn now to enumerating the different expressions found in the German documents and which, according to Pressac, constitute "indirect" proofs or, as he also likes to call them, "criminal traces" of the existence of homicidal gas chambers.

a) In Crematoria II and III.

—"Vergasungskeller/gassing cellar" ("trace" No. 1, p. 432). The German word "Vergasung" has several meanings, such as "gasification" or "carburetion." I do not know which of these would be applicable in this context. Neither do I know the exact location of the place. Contrary to what Pressac believes, there is no document that expressly establishes that the *Vergasungskeller* is *Leichenkeller* 1.

—"10 Gasprüfer/gas detectors" ("trace" No. 2, p. 432). Pressac himself allows a non-sinister interpretation: they could have served to detect gases produced by the combustion in the ovens, such as carbon monoxide or carbon dioxide (p. 371).

—"Auskleideraum/undressing room" and "Auskleidekeller/undressing cellar" ("traces" Nos. 4, 5, 10 and 12; pp. 432, 434 and 438). Why do these terms necessarily have to be given a criminal interpretation? They could refer to the place in which clothes were removed from the corpses.

—"Gastür 100/192 für Leichenkeller 1/gas door 100 by 192 for underground morgue 1" ("traces" No. 6 and 11, pp. 434 and 438). The document is dated 6 March 1943. However, in a plan of the crematorium of a later date, No. 2197 of 19 March of the same year (p. 311), the door of *Leichenkeller* 1 has the dimensions of 1.90 x 1.90 meters. How is this discrepancy to be explained?

—"4 Drahtnetzeinschiebvorrichtung/4 wire mesh introduction devices" and "4 Holzblenden/4 wooden covers" ("traces" Nos. 8 and 9, p. 436). Supposedly they served for the introduction of the *Zyklon B*, although according to the German document they were to be found in *Leichenkeller* 2 and not in the gas chamber, as one would expect. This was an "error" according to Pressac.

—"Criminal traces" connected with "gastight doors" (*Gasdichtetüre*) and accessories for the latter (Nos. 3, 7, 13, 14 and 15; pp. 432, 436, 438 and 439). Pressac thinks that a gastight door necessarily has a criminal connotation. However, these doors could have been installed, for example, to prevent the stench coming from the decomposing corpses from going clear through the whole crematorium. Pressac himself makes mention of the existence of hermetic doors in a crematorium without sinister implications. These doors were

in Crematoria IV and V, in an area was intended to isolate the crematory room from the mortuary.[21]

—"14 Brausen/14 showers" ("trace" No. 16, p. 439). As ordinary showers, their presence would not have a criminal character, so Pressac claims that they were dummy showers, installed for the purpose of fooling the victims, who believed that they were entering into the gas chamber to take a shower. The French author considers that the presence of these showers *together with* a gastight door is the definitive proof of the existence of a homicidal gas chamber. However, Pressac does not prove that the showers were actually sham. Besides, the installation of showers could have been counterproductive in effect, inasmuch as the victims might have asked themselves what was the need of a gastight door in a room in which they were simply going to take a shower.

—One German document speaks of *Leichenkeller* 1 as having to be "preheated" (*vorgewärmt*) and of an installation for that purpose ("traces" Nos. 30 and 31, p. 454). Pressac affirms, with reason, that the preheating of the *Leichenkeller* can not be reconciled with the existence of a "cold room" created to retard the decomposition of the corpses. The preheating, according to Pressac, would have been for the purpose of speeding up the evaporation of hydrocyanic acid.

At present I am unable to give an explanation of these "traces," but I do wish to point out that the document in question refers to a letter from Prüfer, the engineer who designed the ovens, in which he suggested preheating the room. This letter has disappeared. It is curious that a civilian, a cremation expert, should have given the SS a suggestion on how to make a gassing more effective. In any case, Pressac must know that this system of preheating was never put into practice (p. 227).

b) In Crematoria IV and V.

—"betonieren im Gasskammer [*sic*]/concrete in gas chamber" ("traces" Nos. 19 and 21, pp. 446 and 447).

The document is a civilian employee's work slip and is dated 2 March 1943. The following day the same worker notes: "level and flatten in both rooms" (*planieren und stampfen in beiden Kammern*), and on 4 March: "concrete and finish the floor in both rooms and anteroom" (*Fussboden betonieren und reiben in beiden Kammern u. Vorraum*).[22] According to

Pressac, the worker was referring by these "Kammern" to the rooms at the extreme west of Crematorium IV, that is, to the gas chambers. From that we deduce that either the "Gasskammer" was not in either of those two rooms or that it was concreted twice. Moreover, a later document suggests that in the two rooms where the gas chambers were supposedly to be found, there were "installations for water" (*Wasserinstallations*).[23]

—The rest of the "criminal traces" (Nos. 17, 18, 20 and 22 to 29; pp. 443-454) are references to gastight doors and windows and accessories for them. In this regard, see my prior comments on the gastight doors.

c) Other "traces."

—"Beschläge für gasdichte Tür/fitting for gas-tight door" ("trace" No. 32, p. 456).

Use unknown. See comments on gastight doors.

—"1 Schlüssel für Gaskammer/1 key for gas chamber" ("trace" No. 33, p. 456).

According to Pressac, this is a dubious type of "trace." The ordering of this item, the author says, is "incomprehensible with our present state of knowledge."

—"Die Beschläge zu 1 Tür mit Rahmen, luftdicht mit Spion für Gaskammer/The fittings for 1 door with frame, air-tight with peephole for gas chamber" ("trace" No. 34, p. 456).

According to Pressac, this order has nothing to do with the Birkenau crematoria, but was intended for one of the delousing chambers.

It is important to emphasize that Pressac has presented the documents he cites out of context. In my opinion, in order satisfactorily to explain the commonplace character of these "criminal traces," meticulous study of *all* the documents relating to the construction of the crematoria is essential. It is very possible that with a wider perspective we should then obtain an answer to the questions raised by these "traces." An isolated knife can be a criminal weapon, but a knife together with a spoon and fork is simply a place setting.

Pressac concludes this fundamental part of his work as follows:

> Summarizing, a study of the files concerning the construction of the four Birkenau Krematorien reveals 39

> (THIRTY NINE) "slips" or "criminal traces" of different sorts, the majority of which constitute material proof of the intention to make certain rooms IN THE FOUR KREMATORIEN "Gasdichte" or gas-tight. The incompatibility between a gas-tight door and 14 shower heads indirectly proves the use of one of these rooms as a HOMICIDAL GAS CHAMBER (p. 456, capitals in the original).

As Pressac acknowledges, the majority of the "criminal traces" only demonstrate the Germans' intention to make certain parts of the crematoria airtight. This fact, by itself, proves nothing. Nor do the rest of the "traces," by themselves, prove the criminal character of the crematoria. It is only the combination of two or more of these "traces" that lets Pressac say that they "indirectly" prove the utilization of homicidal gas chambers.

The fact is that after his monumental investigation into these crematoria, which supposedly exterminated around a million persons over a period of nearly two years, crematoria the design and construction of which left behind hundreds of plans, notes, records of meetings, contracts, work orders, bills and photographs—in short, an immense documentation—Pressac can present *not a single proof* of their criminal nature. In the last analysis, the French author can only allege a presumed incompatibility between a gastight door and 14 supposedly fake showerheads that, according to him, would prove—even though only "indirectly"—the existence of gas chambers.

In sum, Pressac's work not only fails to refute the Revisionist thesis, as he intended, but on the contrary makes clear how very justified are the criticism and skepticism of the Revisionists with regard to the supposed homicidal gas chambers of Auschwitz.

Notes

1. Höss, Rudolf: *Yo, comandante de Auschwitz* (Autobiografía) (I, Commandant of Auschwitz [Autobiography]) (Muchnik, Barcelona, 1979, p. 148.
2. Rudolf Höss, *op. cit.*, pp. 147-148.
3. Höss, *op. cit.*, p. 193.
4. Höss, *op. cit.*, p. 155.
5. Höss, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

6. Fred A. Leuchter, *An Engineering Report on the Alleged Execution Gas Chambers at Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek—Poland* (Boston: Fred A. Leuchter Associates, 1988). Unpublished in the complete version, which is the one cited.
7. Fred A. Leuchter, *op. cit.*, p. 35 (my own numbering).
8. Höss, *op. cit.*, p. 194.
9. Höss, *op. cit.*, p. 191.
10. Czech, Danuta: *Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Konzentrationslager Auschwitz-Birkenau* (Rowohlt, Reinbek 1989), pp. 106f.
11. Höss: *op. cit.*p. 191.
12. Höss: *op. cit.*, p. 192.
13. *Ibid.*
14. Höss: *op. cit.*, p. 191.
15. Höss: *op. cit.*, p. 200.
16. Degesch: *Zyklon for Pest Control* (Frankfurt am Main), p. 11.
17. Degesch: *op. cit.*, p. 17.
18. "It is imperative that not a single tin be left about!" (Degesch: *op. cit.*, p. 21).
19. Degesch: *op. cit.*, p. 21.
20. I accept this with reservations. During the '60s, cremation of a cadaver took 50 to 80 minutes (*Gran Enciclopedia del Mundo*, Durvan, Bilbao 1966, article "Incineration," vol. 10, p. 852).
21. Pressac, Jean-Claude: Les 'Krematorien' IV et V de Birkenau et leurs chambres à gaz. Construction et fonctionnement, "*Le Monde Juif*" (Paris), No. 107 (1982), pp. 119-120.
22. Pressac: *loc. cit.*, p. 111.
23. Pressac: *loc. cit.*, p. 118.

An Official Polish Report on the Auschwitz "Gas Chambers"

Krakow Forensic Institute Bolsters Leuchter's Findings

A recent investigation by a Polish government agency has authoritatively corroborated the findings of Fred Leuchter from his detailed 1988 on-site forensic examination of supposed German wartime extermination gas chambers. The American execution expert concluded that the "gas chambers" in the former concentration camps of Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek were never used to kill people. (On Leuchter's findings and the resulting international controversy, see his detailed *Report*, which is available from the IHR, as well as *The Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1989 and Winter 1990-91, and the *IHR Newsletter*, October 1990 and January 1991.)

Concerned at the impact of Leuchter's widely-circulated *Report*, the Auschwitz State Museum, a Polish government agency, commissioned the Institute of Forensic Research Instytut Ekspertyz Sadowych) of Krakow to carry out its own investigation. The result: In a carefully worded six-page internal forensic report, the Institute's experts essentially replicated Leuchter's findings and implicitly corroborated his conclusions.

Consistent with Leuchter's investigation, the Institute's specialists detected absolutely no traces of cyanide (or ferro-ferric-cyanide compound) in most of the plaster and brick samples taken from the alleged extermination gas chambers. Traces of cyanides were detected in eight samples, seven of which were rooms in Block 3 of Auschwitz main camp where—as the Institute's experts acknowledge—inmate

clothing was disinfected by "gassing" with Zyklon.

A barely detectable trace of cyanide compound was found in the eighth remaining "positive" sample, which was sample No. 15 from the alleged homicidal "gas chamber" in Krema building II in Birkenau. Significantly, this is the only sample taken from any of the supposed extermination gas chambers that showed any trace of cyanide. The presence of an almost indetectable trace in this sample is entirely in keeping with Leuchter's conclusion that the room from which it was taken must have been deloused with Zyklon at one time or another.

In an apparent attempt at "damage control," the authors of the Institute's report sought to play down or negate the significance of their own findings by asserting that any cyanide traces would have disappeared long ago under the impact of the weather and the elements. This assertion is simply not true, as Leuchter and other specialists have pointed out:

- Precisely speaking, it is not hydrogen cyanide itself that leaves a trace, but rather the compounds that result from the interaction of hydrogen cyanide with iron and other heavy metal ions. The resulting ferro-ferric-cyanide compounds are very stable as James Roth, chief chemist of Alpha Analytical Labs in Massachusetts, testified in the 1988 "Holocaust" trial of Ernst Zündel. Even after 45 years, the compounds would not have "weathered away."
- It is not true that all of the alleged gas chambers were exposed to the elements, as the Institute's experts contend. Specifically, the entire crematory facility (Krema) I in the Auschwitz main camp, including the alleged homicidal "gas chamber" there, has been completely intact since the camp was liberated by Soviet forces in January 1945. The authors of the Krakow Institute report make no effort to explain the absence of cyanide traces in this "gas chamber." Similarly, the alleged extermination gas chamber of crematory facility (Krema) II in Birkenau is protected by the collapsed concrete ceiling, and is otherwise in its original condition.

It is worth noting that the Krakow Institute's report did not respond at all to other compelling reasons given by Leuchter for doubting the orthodox extermination story. As he points out, for example, the alleged homicidal gas chambers he examined were not properly sealed or vented for use as killing facilities.

Auschwitz State Museum officials initiated this investigation rather obviously hoping that the Institute's report would discredit Leuchter's findings and corroborate the orthodox extermination account. And just as obviously, if the Institute's report had, in fact, discredited the American engineer's conclusions, the Auschwitz State Museum and Holocaust organizations around the world would certainly have wasted no time in giving it maximum publicity.

Although neither the Auschwitz State Museum nor the Krakow Institute has (so far) made this September 1990 report public, Revisionists were nevertheless able to obtain a copy of the original document. Professor Robert Faurisson in France and Fred Leuchter in the United States were quick to cite this "Polish Leuchter Report" as corroboration of the Revisionist view of the Auschwitz extermination story. (See the *IHR Newsletter*, April 1991.)

Published here for the first time in English, a translation of the Krakow Institute's report follows:

INSTITUTE OF FORENSIC RESEARCH
In the name of Prof. Dr. Jan Sehn, Krakow
Division of Forensic Toxicology

Krakow, 24 Sept. 1990
Westerplatte 9 / Code 31-033
Tel. 505-44, 592-24, 287-50
Telex 0325213 eksad

Ref. No. 720 / 90

[rubber stamp:]
Received at the Auschwitz State Museum,
11 Oct. 1990 / filed: I 4998

To the
State Museum in
Auschwitz-Birkenau

Re: Ref. No. I-8523/51/1860/89

The Institute of Forensic Research,
in the name of Prof. Dr. Jan Sehn, Krakow,
herewith presents this

Forensic Report,

prepared by the court-approved experts

INSTYTUT EKSPERTYZ SĄDOWYCH
im. Prof. dr Jana Sehna
w Krakowie
ZAKŁAD CHEMICZNO-TOKSYKOLOGICZNY
TOKSYKOLOGII SĄDOWEJ

Kraków, dnia 24 września 1990 r.
Westerplatte 9 kod 31-033
505-44, 592-24, 287-50
Telex 0325213 eksad

Dz. E. 720 / 90

Państwowe Muzeum Oświęcim - Brzezinka

Wpłynęło dnia 11. X. 1990 r. 4998

Dotyczy: L.dz.I-8523/51/1860/89

Instytut Ekspertyz Sądowych im.Prof.dr Jana Sehna w Krakowie przedkłada

o p i n i ę

opracowaną przez biegłych - Prof.dr Jana Markiewicza, dr. Wojciecha Gubałę, inż.Jerzego Łabędzia, mgr Beatę Trzcińską.

W związku z prezentowanymi w publikacjach oraz w trakcie przewodów sądowych na Zachodzie opiniami, iż w obozie koncetracyjnym w Oświęcimiu gaz Cyklon B nie był stosowany do uśmiercania ludzi - Muzeum w Oświęcimiu zwróciło się z prośbą o dokonanie analizy próbek tynku ze ścian komór gazowych na obecność cyjanowodoru.

W oparciu o korespondecyjne i telefoniczne uzgodnienia zespół pracowników Instytutu Ekspertyz Sądowych w osobach dr. Wojciech Gubała oraz inż.J.Łabędź udał się w dniu 20.II.1990r. do obozu - Muzeum w Oświęcimiu Brzezince - celem pobrania materiałów do badań dla ustalenia w nich ewentualnej obecności związków kwasu cyjanowdorowego. Materiały, głównie w postaci tynku oraz fragmentów cegły z pomieszczeń Bloku 3 i Krematorium 1 w Oświęcimiu, a także Krematoriów 2,3 i 5 w Brzezince pobrano protokolarnie w obecności dra Franciszka Pipera - st.kustosza Muzeum, zaś próbki tynku z Bloku 11 w Oświęcimiu w obecności mgra Piotra Setkiewicza - pracownika tegoż Muzeum. Łącznie pobrano 22 próbki materiałów, w tym 2 próbki kontrolne,zabezpieczone z miejsc odległych od przypuszczalnego miejsca kontaktu z cyjanowodorem.

First page of the September 1990 report on the forensic investigation of the alleged extermination gas chambers of Auschwitz and Birkenau conducted by a leading Polish forensic institute in response to the *Leuchter Report*.

Prof. Dr. Jan Markiewicz, Dr. Wojciech Gubala, engineer Jerzy Labedz, and Beate Trzcinska, M.S.

In response to publications and court proceedings in the West, according to which Zyklon B gas was not used to kill people in the Auschwitz concentration camp, the Auschwitz [State] Museum asked us to take samples of wall plaster from the gas chambers and analyze them for the presence of hydrogen cyanide.

On the basis of an agreement in writing and by telephone, the team of experts of the Institute of Forensic Research, consisting of Dr. Wojciech Gubala and engineer J. Labedz, arrived on 20 February 1990 at the camp and Museum in Auschwitz-Birkenau for the purpose of taking samples for investigation, in order to determine the presence of hydrocyanic acid compounds.

In accordance with agreed-upon procedure, the material samples, consisting primarily of pieces of wall plaster and brick, were taken in the presence of Dr. Franciszek Piper, senior curator of the Museum, from the rooms of Block 3, from crematory [building] 1 in Auschwitz [main camp], as well as from crematories [buildings] 2, 3 and 5 in Birkenau. Wall plaster samples were also removed from Block 11 in Auschwitz [main camp] in the presence of Piotr Setkiewicz, M.S., an employee of the Museum.

Altogether, 22 samples were removed, including two control samples from a distant place where contamination with HCN [hydrocyanic acid] would not be possible.

Of the 20 samples removed, ten were taken from rooms in Block 3 in Auschwitz [main camp] (from rooms 1, 2, 3 and 4) where inmate clothing was disinfected with Zyklon B. According to our information, these rooms were white-washed during the war years. In some spots, a blue or dark blue stain shows through.

Five samples were also taken from the ruins of the gas chamber of crematory [building] 2 in Birkenau, as well as one sample each from the ruins of crematory [building] 5 and the wall of crematory [building] 1 in Auschwitz [main camp]. No samples were taken from the ruins of crematory [building] 4, because the 30-40 centimeter high wall structure there was reconstructed after the war.

In addition, the above-mentioned employees of the Institute of Forensic Research were given an envelope containing

about 150 grams of human hair (marked PMO II-6-476), which had been obtained by a Museum employee, as well as four pieces of pulverized horse hair material ["wlosianki"] which had likewise been obtained by an employee of the Museum (marked PMO II-6-477 to 480).

Individual samples of the secured material (wall plaster, brick, hair and horse hair material) were reduced to small particles and placed in a micro-diffusion chamber. These samples were then treated with sulfuric acid and exposed to diffusion for 24 hours at room temperature in a Conway chamber. The resulting vapors and gases were absorbed in a sodium-hydroxide solution.

After this diffusion process was completed, the samples were subjected to color intensity analysis using pyridine-pyrazolone reagent, and the resulting color intensity was measured with a spectrophotometer (630 nm).

The corresponding concentration of hydrocyanic acid compound was measured against the calibration curve, which had been calibrated from an appropriately prepared sample of a known concentration.

The Results

Of the ten samples taken from the rooms of Block 3, where Zyklon B disinfection was carried out, traces of hydrocyanic acid compounds were found in seven of the samples in a concentration of nine to 147 micrograms per 100 grams of the sample material, calculated on the basis of the curve calibrated with potassium cyanide.

Concentration of cyanide in the analyzed material:

Sample number, as per the procedure of 20 February 1990	Concentration of cyanide expressed as potassium cyanide (micrograms per 100 grams of material)
Sample No. 1	17
Sample No. 2	9
Sample No. 7	19
Sample No. 8	35
Sample No. 9	101
Sample No. 10	132
Sample No. 11	147
Sample No. 15	6

Note: No cyanide was found in any of the other samples.

Each sample that showed a positive result was then subjected to infrared spectrophotometric analysis in a Digilab company model F TS 15 B spectrophotometer. In five samples analyzed with this technique, the presence of cyanide was detected corresponding to spectral bands with frequencies of 2000 to 2200 cm^{-1}.

In each of the five "positive" tested plaster samples, a more or less distinct blue deposit could be detected. This kind of deposit, which is known as Prussian blue, may result from the interaction of cyanide with iron-based compounds.

Of the samples taken from crematories 1, 2, 3 and 5, only sample number 15 showed almost indetectably small traces of cyanide compounds (6μg per 100 g of wall plaster). This sample was taken from a column that stands in the middle of the gas chamber of crematory [building] 2 in Birkenau.

The analysis of the hair and hair weave produced a negative result. The result of the analysis of the two control samples was also negative.

On 18 July 1990, Dr. W. Gubala returned to the former Auschwitz concentration camp and took seven further samples from the wall plasters where the presence of hydrocyanic compounds had been detected by chemical analysis. These material samples were once again subjected to the analysis procedure described above, and once again the results were positive.

The hydrocyanic acid (HCN) that is released from the Zyklon B preparation is a liquid with a boiling point of about 27 degrees Celsius. It has an acidic character, and therefore forms compounds with metallic salts, which are known as cyanides. The salts of alkaline metals (such as sodium and potassium) are water soluble.

Hydrocyanic acid is a very weak acid, and accordingly its salts dissolve easily in stronger acids. Even carbonic acid, which is formed as a reaction of carbon dioxide with water, will dissolve ferro-cyanide.

Stronger acids, such as sulfuric acids, easily dissolve the cyanides. The compounds of cyanide ions with heavy metals are longer lasting. This includes the already mentioned Prussian blue, although this will also slowly dissolve in an acidic environment.

Therefore, one can hardly assume that traces of cyanic compounds could still be detected in construction materials

(plaster, brick) after 45 years, after being subjected to the weather and the elements (rain, acid oxides, especially sulfuric and nitrogen oxides). More reliable would be the analysis of wall plaster [samples] from closed rooms which were not subject to weather and the elements (including acid rain).

The analysis of the wall plaster taken from the rooms of Block 3 did indicate the presence of hydrocyanic acid compounds, although only in very small amounts. This result is a confirmation of the fact that in these rooms of Block 3, preparations of hydrogen cyanide such as in Zyklon B were used for disinfection.

The discovery of hydrocyanic acid compounds in samples of material which had been subject to the elements can only be accidental.

The macroscopic and microscopic examination of the hair weaves (PMO-II-6-477 to 480) showed hair in the woven material with the properties of human hair, as shown in photos 1, 2, and 3.

[Photos not reproduced here]

The Experts:

Director
Prof. Dr. Jan Markiewicz

Specialist for Technical Testing
Engineer Jerzy Labedz

Director of Toxicology
Dr. Wojciech Gubala

Senior Assistant
Beata Trzcinska, M.S.

[rubber stamp]

Dr. Markiewicz Responds

In late April, IHR Associate Editor Mark Weber wrote to Dr. Jan Markiewicz, director of the Institute of Forensic Research, to ask for a comment on his agency's September 1990 report. He was specifically asked to comment on the significance of

his institute's report in light of Leuchter's 1988 investigation and report. A copy of the April *IHR Newsletter*, which told about the Krakow Institute's investigation and report, was mailed along with Weber's inquiry.

In a letter dated June 7, 1991, Dr. Markiewicz responded:

> I received your letter with enclosure on 16 April 1991. I agree with you that a commentary should necessarily be affixed to our report of 24 Sep. 1990, which is called for by the straightforwardness of information, so essential to any scientific studies. Our Institute of Forensic Research is a scientific-research establishment attached to the Ministry of Justice. Investigations of material evidences are carried out in it independently of the parties to the suit and expert opinions are expressed in civil and criminal cases for the purposes of the administration of justice.
>
> In a letter of 17 May 1989 the then Director of the State Museum at Auschwitz, Mr. Kazimierz Smoleń, asked me to make "an analysis of plaster samples from the walls of the gas chambers for the presence of hydrogen cyanide." In connection with the question posed in that letter I qualified the chances of detecting hydrogen cyanide in such samples as nearly none. As a chemist engaged in forensic chemical toxicology for 45 years, I am familiar with the properties of this volatile substance. Hence my reply. Anyway, I stated that, if only such investigation was considered to be expedient, I was ready to undertake it. As my partner in further talks and possible study I named Dr. Wojciech Gubala of the Forensic Toxicological Laboratory of our Institute. At the same time I referred to the expert appraisal made by Dr. Jan Robel in this Institute in 1945, closely connected with the problems in hand . . .
>
> Having communicated by phone with the Management of the Museum at Auschwitz, Dr. Gubala went there together with his co-worker, Mr. Jerzy Labędź on 10 Feb. 1990. Both these workers were taken round the Camp territory by the curator, Dr. Franciszek Piper, and toward the end of their visit by Mr. Piotr Setkiewicz and they took samples of plaster in places indicated to them, in compliance with the wish expressed by the Director earlier. I was not informed then about the so-called "Leuchter's Report" or about the publications coming out at that time, nor were my co-workers. Their investigations and results are known to you from the expertise the copy of which is in your possession. I'd like to mention that the Management of the Museum did not inform us about the copying of this expert appraisal and its propagation.

> Now, in the light of letters and publications coming to us from different countries, I have arrived at the conclusion that our investigations aiming at the confirmation, if possible, of the use of cyanic preparations in the rooms that survived whole or only in the form of ruins, were rather preliminary in nature and incomplete. We are bent on widening and deepening these investigations and have already been preparing for them. It is only now when suitable materials from literature have become accessible to us that we see the purpose and sense of such studies. Naturally, we shall publish their results and make them accessible to you and your Institute.

The IHR is naturally gratified by Dr. Markiewicz's open-minded and cooperative attitude, which serves the cause of honest scholarship and historical truth.

We are pleased that the Krakow Institute will continue its investigation into this very important aspect of the Auschwitz extermination story, and we appreciate his pledge to make the results available to us.

In response to a couple of issues raised in this letter:

—As Dr. Markiewicz mentions—and as Dr. Faurisson and others have repeatedly stressed—hydrogen cyanide is indeed a volatile substance. However, this point is not directly relevant to the investigation conducted by the Krakow Institute. In contrast to the volatility of hydrogen cyanide, the ferro-ferric-cyanide compounds ("Prussian blue") produced as a result of the interaction of hydrogen cyanide and iron are remarkably stable, as authoritative chemistry reference works confirm.

—The IHR is familiar with the 1945 forensic report referred to by Markiewicz in his letter, and more will be said about it in a forthcoming issue of the *Journal*.

(A letter similar to the one sent by Weber to Dr. Markiewicz was also sent to the Auschwitz State Museum. So far, though, no response has been received to that inquiry.)

"Jewish Soap"

MARK WEBER

One of the most lurid and slanderous Holocaust claims is the story that the Germans manufactured soap from the bodies of their victims. Although a similar charge during the First World War was exposed as a hoax almost immediately afterwards, it was nevertheless revived and widely believed during the Second.[1] More important, this accusation was "proved" at the main Nuremberg trial of 1945-1946, and has been authoritatively endorsed by numerous historians in the decades since. In recent years, though, as part of a broad retreat from the most obviously untenable aspects of the "orthodox" extermination story, Holocaust historians have grudgingly conceded that the human soap tale is a wartime propaganda lie. In their retreat, though, these historians have tried to dismiss the soap story as a mere wartime "rumor," neglecting to mention that international Jewish organizations and then Allied governments endorsed and sanctioned this libelous canard.

Wartime rumors that the Germans were manufacturing soap from the corpses of slaughtered Jews were based in part on the fact that soap bars distributed by German authorities in Jewish ghettos and camps bore the impressed initials "RIF," which many took to stand for "Rein jüdisches Fett" or "Pure Jewish Fat." (It did not seem to matter that the letters were "RIF" and not "RJF.") These rumors spread so widely in 1941 and 1942 that by late 1942 German authorities in Poland and Slovakia were expressing official concern about their impact.[2]

According to a Polish source quoted in a secret wartime U.S. Army military intelligence report, for example, the Germans were operating a "human soap factory" in 1941 at Turek, Poland. "The Germans had brought thousands of Polish teachers, priests and Jews there and after extracting the blood serum from their bodies, had thrown them in large pots and melted off grease to make soap," the intelligence report added.[3]

Macabre "Jewish soap" jokes became popular in the ghettos and camps, and many non-Jews on the outside came to believe the story. When trains loaded with Jewish deportees stopped temporarily at rail stations, Poles reportedly would gleefully shout at them: "Jews to soap!"[4] Even British prisoners of war interned at Auschwitz in 1944 testified later about the wartime rumors that corpses of gassing victims were being turned into soap there.[5]

In spite of its inherently incredible character, the soap story became an important feature of Jewish and Allied war propaganda. Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, wartime head of both the World Jewish Congress and the American Jewish Congress, publicly charged in November 1942 that Jewish corpses were being "processed into such war-vital commodities as soap, fats and fertilizer" by the Germans. He further announced that the Germans were "even exhuming the dead for the value of the corpses," and were paying fifty marks for each body.[6]

In late 1942, the *Congress Weekly*, published by the American Jewish Congress, editorialized that the Germans were turning Jews "by scientific methods of dissolution into fertilizer, soap and glue." An article in the same issue reported that Jewish deportees from France and Holland were being processed into "soap, glue and train oil" in at least two special factories in Germany.[7] Typical of many other American periodicals, the influential *New Republic* reported in early 1943 that the Germans were "using the bodies of their Jewish victims to make soap and fertilizer in a factory at Siedlce." [8]

During June and July 1943, two prominent representatives of the Moscow-based "Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee" toured the United States and raised more than two million dollars for the Soviet war effort at a series of mass meetings. At each of these rallies, Soviet Jewish leader Solomon Mikhoels showed the crowd a bar of soap that he said was made from Jewish corpses.[9]

After the war the soap story was given important legitimacy at the main Nuremberg trial. L. N. Smirnov, Chief Counsellor of Justice for the USSR, declared to the Tribunal:

> . . . The same base, rationalized SS technical minds which created gas chambers and murder vans, began devising such methods of complete annihilation of human bodies, which would not only conceal the traces of their crimes, but also to serve in the manufacturing of certain products. In the Danzig

> Anatomical Institute, semi-industrial experiments in the production of soap from human bodies and the tanning of human skin for industrial purposes were carried out.

Smirnov quoted at length from an affidavit by Sigmund Mazur, an Institute employee, which was accepted as Nuremberg exhibit USSR-197. It alleged that Dr. Rudolf Spanner, the head of the Danzig Institute, had ordered the production of soap from corpses in 1943. According to Mazur's affidavit, Dr. Spanner's operation was of interest to high-ranking German officials. Education Minister Bernhard Rust and Health Leader Dr. Leonardo Conti, as well as professors from other medical institutes, came to witness Spanner's efforts. Mazur also claimed to have used the "human soap" to wash himself and his laundry.[10]

A human soap "recipe," allegedly prepared by Dr. Spanner (Nuremberg document USSR-196), was also presented. Finally, a sample of what was supposed to be a piece of "human soap" was submitted to the Nuremberg Tribunal as exhibit USSR-393.

In his closing address to the Tribunal, chief British prosecutor Sir Hartley Shawcross echoed his Soviet colleague: "On occasion, even the bodies of their [the Germans'] victims were used to make good the wartime shortage of soap."[11] And in their final judgment, the Nuremberg Tribunal judges found that "attempts were made to utilize the fat from the bodies of the victims in the commercial manufacture of soap." [12]

It is worth emphasizing here that the "evidence" presented at the Nuremberg Tribunal for the bogus soap story was no less substantial than the "evidence" presented for the claims of mass extermination in "gas chambers." At least in the former case, an actual sample of soap supposedly made from corpses was submitted in evidence.

After the war, supposed Holocaust victims were solemnly buried, in the form of soap bars, in Jewish cemeteries. In 1948, for example, four such bars wrapped in a funeral shroud were ceremoniously buried according to Jewish religious ritual at the Haifa cemetery in Israel.[13] Other bars of "Jewish soap" have been displayed as grim Holocaust relics at the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw, the Stutthof Museum near Gdansk (Danzig), the Yivo Institute in New York, the Holocaust Museum in Philadelphia, the Jewish Holocaust Centre in Melbourne (Australia), and at various locations in Israel.[14]

Numerous Jews who lived in German ghettos and camps during the war helped keep the soap story alive many years later. Ben Edelbaum, for example, wrote in his 1980 memoir *Growing Up in the Holocaust*:[15]

> Often with our rations in the ghettos, the Germans had included a bar of soap branded with initials R.J.F. which came to be known as "Rif" soap. It wasn't until the war had ended that we learned the horrible truth about the bar of soap. Had we known in the ghetto, every bar of "Rif" soap would have been accorded a sacred Jewish funeral in the cemetery at Marysin. As it was, we were completely oblivious to its origin and used the bones and flesh of our murdered loved ones to wash our bodies.

Nesse Godin was transferred from a ghetto in Lithuania to the Stutthof concentration camp in the spring of 1944. In a 1983 interview, she recalled her arrival there:[16]

> That day they gave us a shower and a piece of soap. After the war we found out the soap was made out of pure Jew fat, Rein Juden Fett, marked in the initials on the soap that I washed with. For all I know sometimes maybe there was a little bit of my father's fat in that soap that I washed with. How do you think I feel when I think about that?

Mel Mermelstein, the former Auschwitz inmate who was featured in the sensationalized April 1991 cable television movie "Never Forget" (and who is currently suing the Institute for Historical Review and three other defendants for $ 11 million), declared in a 1981 sworn deposition that he and other camp inmates used soap bars made from human fat. It was an "established fact," he insisted, that the soap he washed with was made from Jewish bodies.[17]

Renowned "Nazi hunter" Simon Wiesenthal repeated the soap tale in a series of articles published in 1946 in the Austrian Jewish community paper *Der Neue Weg*. In the first of these he wrote:[18]

> During the last weeks of March the Romanian press reported an unusual piece of news: In the small Romanian city of Folticeni twenty boxes of soap were buried in the Jewish cemetery with full ceremony and complete funeral rites. This soap had been found recently in a former German army depot. On the boxes were the initials RIF, "Pure Jewish Fat." These boxes were destined for the Waffen-SS. The wrapping paper revealed with completely cynical objectivity that this soap was

> manufactured from Jewish bodies. Surprisingly, the thorough Germans forgot to describe whether the soap was produced from children, girls, men or elderly persons.

Wiesenthal went on:

> After 1942 people in the General Government [Poland] knew quite well what the RIF soap meant. The civilized world may not believe the joy with which the Nazis and their women in the General Government thought of this soap. In each piece of soap they saw a Jew who had been magically put there, and had thus been prevented from growing into a second Freud, Ehrlich or Einstein.

In another article he observed: "The production of soap from human fat is so unbelievable that even some who were in concentration camps find it difficult to comprehend."[19]

Over the years, numerous supposedly reputable historians have promoted the durable soap story.[20] Journalist-historian William L. Shirer, for example, repeated it in his best-selling work, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich.*[21] Leading Soviet war propagandist Ilya Ehrenburg wrote in his postwar memoir: "I have held in my hand a cake of soap stamped with the legend 'pure Jewish soap', prepared from the corpses of people who had been destroyed. But there is no need to speak of these things: thousands of books have been written about them."[22]

A standard history studies textbook used in Canadian secondary schools, *Canada: The Twentieth Century*, told students that the Germans "boiled" the corpses of their Jewish victims "to make soap."[23] *The Anatomy of Nazism*, a booklet published and distributed by the Zionist "Anti-Defamation League" of B'nai B'rith, stated: "The process of brutalization did not end with the mass murders themselves. Large quantities of soap were manufactured from the corpses of those murdered."[24]

A detailed 1981 work, *Hitler's Death Camps*, repeated the soap story in lurid detail. While noting that "some historians claim that the Nazi manufacture of soap from human fat is just a grim rumor," author Konnilyn Feig nevertheless accepted the story because "most East European camp scholars . . . validate the soap stories, and other kinds of bars made from humans are displayed in Eastern Europe—I have seen many over the years."[25]

New York Rabbi Arthur Schneier repeated the tale at the

opening ceremony of the largest Holocaust meeting in history. In his invocation to the "American Gathering of Jewish Holocaust Survivors," held in Washington in April 1983, the Rabbi solemnly declared: "We remember the bars of soap with the initials RJF—Rein jüdisches Fett, Pure Jewish Fat—made from the bodies of our loved ones."[26]

In spite of all the apparently impressive evidence, the charge that the Germans manufactured soap from human beings is a falsehood, as Holocaust historians are now belatedly acknowledging. The "RIF" soap bar initials that supposedly stood for "Pure Jewish Fat" actually indicated nothing more sinister than "Reich Center for Industrial Fat Provisioning" ("Reichsstelle für Industrielle Fettversorgung"), a German agency responsible for wartime production and distribution of soap and washing products. RIF soap was a poor quality substitute that contained no fat at all, human or otherwise. [27]

Shortly after the war the public prosecutor's office of Flensburg, Germany, began legal proceedings against Dr. Rudolf Spanner for his alleged role in producing human soap at the Danzig Institute. But after an investigation the charge was quietly dropped. In a January 1968 letter, the office stated that its inquiry had determined that no soap from human corpses was made at the Danzig Institute during the war.[28]

More recently, Jewish historian Walter Laqueur "denied established history" by acknowledging in his 1980 book, *The Terrible Secret*, that the human soap story has no basis in reality.[29] Gitta Sereny, another Jewish historian, noted in her book *Into That Darkness*: "The universally accepted story that the corpses were used to make soap and fertilizer is finally refuted by the generally very reliable Ludwigsburg Central Authority for Investigation into Nazi Crimes."[30] Deborah Lipstadt, a professor of modern Jewish history, similarly "rewrote history" when she confirmed in 1981: "The fact is that the Nazis never used the bodies of Jews, or for that matter anyone else, for the production of soap."[31]

In April 1990, professor Yehuda Bauer of Israel's Hebrew University, regarded as a leading Holocaust historian, as well as Shmuel Krakowski, archives director of Israel's Yad Vashem Holocaust center, confirmed that the human soap story is not true. Camp inmates "were prepared to believe any horror stories about their persecutors," Bauer said. At the same time, though, he had the chutzpah to blame the legend on "the Nazis."[32]

In fact, blame for the soap story lies rather with individuals such as Simon Wiesenthal and Stephen Wise, organizations like the World Jewish Congress, and the victorious Allied powers, none of whom has ever apologized for promoting this vile falsehood.

Why did Bauer and Krakowski decide that *this* was the appropriate time to officially abandon the soap story? Krakowski himself hints that a large part of the motivation for this "tactical retreat" has been to save what's left of the sinking Holocaust ship by throwing overboard the most obvious falsehoods. In the face of the growing Revisionist challenge, easily demonstrable falsehoods like the soap story have become dangerous embarrassments because they raise doubts about the entire Holocaust legend. As Krakowski put it: "Historians have concluded that soap was not made from human fat. When so many people deny the Holocaust ever happened, why give them something to use against the truth?"[33]

The bad faith of those making this calculated and belated concession to truth is shown by their failure to note that the soap myth was authoritatively "confirmed" at Nuremberg, and by their unwillingness to deal with the implications of that confirmation for the credibility of the Tribunal and other supposedly trustworthy authorities in establishing other, more fundamental aspects of the Holocaust story.

The striking contrast between the prompt postwar disavowal by the British government of the infamous "human soap" lie of the First World War, and the way in which a similarly baseless propaganda story from the Second World War was officially endorsed by the victorious Allied powers and then authoritatively maintained for so many years, not only points up a dispiriting lack of integrity on the part of so many Western historians, but underscores a general decline in Western ethical standards during this century.

The "human soap" story demonstrates anew the tremendous impact that a wartime rumor, no matter how fantastic, can have once it has taken hold, particularly when it is disseminated as a propaganda lie by influential individuals and powerful organizations. That so many intelligent and otherwise thoughtful people could ever have seriously believed that the Germans distributed bars of soap brazenly labeled with letters indicating that they were manufactured

from Jewish corpses shows how readily even the most absurd Holocaust fables can be—and are—accepted as fact.

Notes

1. During the First World War, the London *Times* was apparently the first Allied paper to report (in April 1917) that the Germans were boiling down the bodies of their dead soldiers to make soap and other products. See: Phillip Knightley, *The First Casualty* (New York: 1975), pp. 105-106. This story was quickly picked up by other papers and widely circulated in the British and American press. In 1925, British Foreign Secretary Sir Austen Chamberlain admitted that the "corpse factory" story had been a lie. See: Arthur Ponsonby, *Falsehood in Wartime* (New York: 1929), pp. 102, 111-112.; Walter Laqueur, *The Terrible Secret* (Boston: 1988), pp. 8-9.
2. Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (New York: 1985), pp. 966-967.; Walter Laqueur, *The Terrible Secret* (Boston: 1980), pp. 54, 82, 145, 219.; U.S. State Department document 740.001 16 (from 1943), facsimile in *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (New York and Jerusalem: 1971), vol. 13, pp. 759-760.; Bernard Wasserstein, *Britain and the Jews of Europe* (London: 1979), p. 169.; A September 1941 Einsatzgruppen Security Police report from the Ukraine mentioned equally baseless rumors, reportedly spread by Jews, of a supposed Soviet biological warfare plague bacteria bomb. Even some German soldiers believed the stories. (*Ereignismeldung UdSSR*, No. 80, Sept. 11, 1941, p. 9.)
3. Secret U.S. Army military intelligence report No. 50, April 27, 1945. National Archives, National Records Center (Suitland, Maryland), RG 153 (JAG Army), Box 497, Files 19-22, Books I and II, Entry 143.
4. Nachman Blumental, "RIF," *Yiddish Culture*, Vol. 21, June-July 1959. (Monthly of the Yiddish Culture Association). Apparently published in Israel in Hebrew. A German translation of the original essay was obtained by Ditlieb Felderer through the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Jerusalem. I am grateful to him for a copy.
5. Douglas T. Frost affidavit, July 16, 1947. Nuremberg document NI-11692. *Trials of the War Criminals Before the Nuernberg Military Tribunals* (NMT "green series"; Washington, DC: 1949-1953), Vol. 8, p. 624.; As noted below in footnote 10, this rumor was authoritatively "confirmed" at the Nuremberg Tribunal.
6. "Wise Says Hitler Had Ordered 4,000,000 Jews Slain in 1942," *New York Herald-Tribune* (Associated Press), Nov. 25, 1942. pp. 1, 5.; "2 Million Jews Slain by Nazis, Dr. Wise Avers," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Nov. 25, 1942.; *New York Times*, Nov. 26, 1942, p. 16.; See also: Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (1985), p. 1118.

7. "The Spirit Will Triumph" (editorial), and "Corpses for Hitler," p. 11, *Congress Weekly* (New York: American Jewish Congress), Dec. 4, 1942.
8. *New Republic,* Jan. 18, 1943, p. 65. See also the Communist *New Masses* editorial of Dec. 8, 1942. p. 21. Both quoted in: James J. Martin, *The Man Who Invented "Genocide"*, (IHR, 1984), pp. 64, 45.; One of the few sober voices among all the hysteria was *The Christian Century*, which cautioned in a December 9, 1942, editorial: "Dr. Wise's allegation that Hitler is paying $20 each for Jewish corpses to be 'processed into soap, fats and fertilizer' is unpleasantly reminiscent of the 'cadaver factory' lie which was one of the propaganda triumphs of the First World War." Quoted in: Robert W. Ross, *So It Was True* (Minneapolis: 1980), p. 157.
9. Gerard Israel, *The Jews in Russia* (New York: St. Martin's, 1975), p. 180.
10. Smirnov statement, Feb. 19, 1946. International Military Tribunal, *Trial of the Major War Criminals Before the International Military Tribunal* (IMT "blue series"; Nuremberg: 1947-1949), vol. 7, pp. 597-600. Note also Soviet allegation that soap was manufactured from the bodies of people gassed at Auschwitz: IMT ("blue series"), vol. 7, p. 175.; Translation of USSR-197 and other Nuremberg Tribunal (IMT) references to the human soap story in: Carlos Porter, *Made in Russia: The Holocaust* (1988), pp. 73, 85-86, 121-124, 126, 128, 159, 368-377.; Note also Nuremberg Tribunal "human soap" documents USSR-196, USSR-264, and USSR-272.; We are grateful to Mr. Carlos Porter for his diligent research of the Nuremberg Tribunal's treatment of the "human soap" story.
11. IMT ("blue series"), vol. 19, p. 506.; *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression* (NC&A "red series"; Washington, DC: 1946-1948), Suppl. vol. A, p. 134. See also: "Nazis' Soap Factory Used Humans, American Reports" (AP) *The Sunday Star* (Washington, DC) Dec. 9, 1945. p. B-11.
12. IMT ("blue series"), vol. 1, p. 252. Facsimile reprint in: Carlos Porter, *Made in Russia* (1988), p. 159.
13. Pierre Joffroy, "Anne Frank Martyre," *Paris Match*, No. 394, Oct. 27, 1956, p. 93.
14. R. Hilberg, *Destruction of the European Jews* (1985), p. 967 (n.27).; N. Blumental, "RIF," *Yiddish Culture*, June-July 1959 (cited above).; Rabbi Yaakov (Jacob) Riz runs the Holocaust Museum at 1453 Levick St., Philadelphia. See his letter in the *Jewish Press* (Brooklyn), July 10, 1981, p. 42.; Udo Walendy, *Adolf Eichmann*, Historische Tatsachen No. 18, (Vlotho: 1983), p. 24.; Gary Tippet, "Real-life chamber of horrors," *The Sun* (Melbourne), Feb. 7, 1984.
15. B. Edelbaum, *Growing up in the Holocaust* (Kansas City, Mo.: 1980), pp. 217-218.
16. Jane S. Podesta, "Nesse Godin's memories . . .", *The Washington Times*, April 11, 1983, pp. 12B, 13B.
17. M. Mermelstein deposition, Los Angeles, May 27, 1981, official transcript, p. 40. (Case No. C 356 542)

18. S. Wiesenthal, "RIF," *Der Neue Weg* (Vienna), Nr. 17/18, 1946, pp. 4-5.; See also: S. Wiesenthal, "Seifenfabrik Belsetz," *Der Neue Weg*, Nr. 19/20, 1946, pp. 14-15, and: S. Wiesenthal, "Nochmals RIF," *Der Neue Weg*, Nr. 21/22, 1946. p. 2.; These articles are also cited in: M. Weber, "Simon Wiesenthal: Bogus 'Nazi Hunter'," *Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1989-90, pp. 444-445.
19. S. Wiesenthal, "Nochmals RIF," *Der Neue Weg* (Vienna), Nr. 21/22, 1946, p. 2.
20. Some published works claiming that the Germans manufactured soap from human corpses: "Poland," *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (1971), Vol. 13, pp. 761-762 (Photo caption: "A German soap factory near Danzig").; Alexander Werth, *Russia at War 1941-1945* (New York: Avon, 1965, pb.), p. 918.; Office of the Secretary of Defense, *Days of Remembrance: A Department of Defense Guide for Commemerative Observance* (Washington, DC: USGPO, 1988), p. 18.; Norman Davies, *God's Playground: A History of Poland* (New York: Columbia Univ., 1982), vol. 2, p. 457.; Max Weinreich *Hitler's Professors* (New York: Yivo, 1946), p. 200.; Leon Poliakov and J. Wulf, *Das Dritte Reich und seine Diener* (East Berlin: Volk und Welt, 1975), p. 165 (photo caption).; Gershon Taffet, ed, *Extermination of Polish Jews* (Lodz: Central Jewish Historical Committee in Poland, 1945), p. 96 (photo caption).; Joseph Borkin, *The Crime and Punishment of I.G. Farben* (New York: Free Press, 1978) p. 126.; Max I. Dimont, *Jews, God and History* (New York: Signet, 1962 ?, pb.), p. 382.; Gizelle Hersh and P. Mann *"Gizelle, Save the Children!"* (New York: Everest, 1980), p. 210.; Robert W. Ross, *So It Was True* (Minneapolis: 1980), p. 158.; Kitty Hart, *I Am Alive* (London: Abelard-Schuman, 1962), p. 105.; See also: Elie Wiesel, *Legends of Our Time* (New York: Holt, Rinehard and Winston, 1968), pp. 174-175.; H. Kamm, "Elie Wiesel's Hometown," *The New York Times*, Dec. 9, 1986, p. A9.; The soap legend is repeated on a Holocaust memorial erected in 1990 at Miami Beach, Fla., See: M. Bell, "Holocaust Memorial," *Orlando* (Fla.) *Sentinel*, Jan. 28, 1990, p. G2.
21. Wm. Shirer, *Rise and Fall of the Third Reich* (New York: 1960), p. 971 (note).
22. Ilya Ehrenburg, *The War: 1941-1945* (Cleveland: World, 1965), p. 30.
23. Fred McFadden, et al., *Canada: The Twentieth Century* (Toronto: 1982), section entitled "The Holocaust."
24. Earl Raab, *The Anatomy of Nazism* (New York: ADL, 1979), p. 20.
25. Konnilyn G. Feig, *Hitler's Death Camps* (New York: 1981), pp. 200-202, 479 (n. 19)
26. This writer was present at the opening ceremony held at the Landover, Md., Capital Center, on Monday evening, April 11, 1983. Schneier was Rabbi at Park East Synagogue, New York City. The crowd of some 15,000 was later addressed by President Reagan.
27. N. Blumental "RIF" *Yiddish Culture*, June-July 1959 (cited above). See also: R. Faurisson, "Le savon juif," *Annales d'Histoire Revisionniste* (Paris), No. 1, Printemps 1987, pp. 153-159, and, D. Felderer, "Human

Soap," *Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1980, pp. 131-139.; *Dachauer Hefte*: "Die Befreiung" (Dachau), Heft 1, Dec. 1985, p. 111 (n. 7).

28. Erich Kern (Kernmayer), *Meineid Gegen Deutschland* (1971), pp. 152-163. See also: *Deutsche Wochen-Zeitung* (Munich), March 29, 1991, pp. 3, 9.
29. Walter Laqueur, *The Terrible Secret* (Boston: 1980), pp. 82, 219.
30. Gitta Sereny, *Into That Darkness* (London: A. Deutsch, 1974), p. 141 (note).
31. "Nazi Soap Rumor During World War II," *Los Angeles Times*, May 16, 1981, p. II/2.
32. "Holocaust Expert Rejects Charge That Nazis Made Soap From Jews," *Northern California Jewish Bulletin*, April 27, 1990. (JTA dispatch from Tel Aviv.) Facsimile in: *Christian News*, May 21, 1990, p. 19.; "A Holocaust Belief Cleared Up," *Chicago Tribune*, April 25, 1990. Facsimile in: *Ganpac Brief*, June 1990, p. 8.
33. "A Holocaust Belief Cleared Up," *Chicago Tribune*, April 25, 1990.

INGRID WECKERT

FLASH POINT

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Reviews

A Forgettable, But Survivable, Hatchet Job on IHR

NEVER FORGET. Produced by Robert Radnitz. Directed by Joseph Sargent. Turner Pictures, Inc. 1991. 2 hours.

Reviewed by Tom Marcellus

Never Forget, Turner Broadcasting's version of the "Mel Mermelstein story," which hit the airwaves nationwide via the TNT cable network on the evening of April 8, 1991—and in at least seven airings during the week that followed—was a pretty forgettable effort. The drama fell far short of both poetry and truth. Nevertheless, *Never Forget* did serve as a timely reminder to many—and an introduction to many more—that there is a Revisionist movement, and an Institute for Historical Review, which challenge a version of the Second World War, and its sacrosanct "Holocaust," that until the appearance of *Never Forget* were presented as uncontested truth on America's most influential mass medium.

As *Never Forget* begins, this disclaimer rolls across the screen:

> While certain scenes are adapted from incidents in the lives of the Mermelstein family and other individuals, all legal proceedings portrayed are based on actual transcripts and documents.

Like much that follows in the docudrama, these words are deceptive. In fact *Never Forget* materially falsifies testimony and court proceedings, as well as fracturing history and truth in fact and in spirit from start to finish.

The story of the Mermelstein affair has been truncated, partly to keep production costs down (ergo, no Auschwitz stage sets) but also to represent the judicial notice taken by Judge Thomas Johnson that "Jews were gassed to death at the Auschwitz Concentration Camp in Poland in 1944" as a signal legal and historical victory which effectively ended the lawsuit. Thus, viewers are spared the dull story of the nearly four years of legal maneuvering which followed, by which

Mermelstein and his lawyers sought to destroy IHR, and thus Historical Revisionism, in America.

The Mel Mermelstein of *Never Forget*, as played by Leonard Nimoy of *Star Trek* notoriety, is a prosperous businessman, happy family man, and pillar of the community, not the man whom a Los Angeles Jewish newspaper, quoting "members of the Jewish community" and a "close friend" of Mermelstein, described as "a difficult moody man" and "his own worst enemy" ("Mermelstein, Hailed As a Hero, Stood Virtually Alone During Holocaust Trial," *Israel Today*, August 2, 1985, pp. 6, 18). His wife Jane, as played by Blythe Danner, is nothing less than a transplanted Southern belle, while his three sons and one daughter make a convincingly half-Jewish, all-American brood (for reasons which are obscure, daughter Edie is presented in *Never Forget* as a 12-year-old, rather than the high-school graduate she actually was at the time).

When he receives a letter from the Institute challenging him to, in effect, put up or shut up following his public challenge to lead IHR's Editorial Advisory board to the exact spot at which he witnessed "the actual gassings of men, women, and little children in gas chambers disguised as shower rooms," Mermelstein-Nimoy's earlier bravado seems to crumble. But he is nonetheless determined to call IHR's bluff by providing proof that yes, Jews were gassed at Auschwitz, and thus claim the $50,000 reward which had been offered, withdrawn when nobody complied with the stated rules of evidence (those of American criminal courts), and then offered again to Mermelstein (without authorization from IHR's Board of Directors) by Director David McCalden, writing under the name "Lewis Brandon."

Mermelstein-Nimoy calls first on the Los Angeles office of the Anti-Defamation League, then on the Simon Wiesenthal Center for professional advice and legal help in getting the best of the Institute. But both groups turn him away, assuring him that although the IHR is composed of "professional liars and haters," he is likely to cause American Jewry more harm than good by giving them a public forum. Besides, both groups have busy schedules (Rabbi Hier's Wiesenthal Center alone is on the trail of 400 "Nazi war criminals"!). Mermelstein-Nimoy goes away dispirited, sadder if not wiser, still resolved to confront and beat IHR.

These scenes have a double meaning for the perceptive Revisionist, and the second meaning is by no means

deleterious. Most readers of these pages should take heart from the glad tidings that Holocaust Revisionism "is cropping up every place," according to Rabbi Hier of the SWC, who also notes that "we see this sort of thing all the time," and " [the IHR] is the largest racist and anti-Semitic group in the country . . . well-funded, spread out all over the country, with newspapers, radio and television outlets . . . just the tip of the iceberg." (Elsewhere in the movie, IHR is referred to in no less flattering terms: as part of "an empire of hate—connected, well-funded," and a group of "liars and bullies," whose books "you find when you look under rocks.")

Still, the obsessive (he's embarrassed even his eldest son with his fixation on Auschwitz) Mermelstein-Nimoy is not about to give up. He draws up a list of 16 lawyers whom he contacts one by one, all of whom also turn him down. Through all this, the hero is given spiritual sustenance by visits to his homemade Holocaust museum, where he reminisces in view of the old shoes, artifacts made from barbed wire, cakes of soap, pictures and other memorabilia he has accumulated over the years.

Then wife Jane has an idea: why not contact William Cox, a Gentile lawyer who has done business with Mermelstein in the past but curiously was not on his list of potential attorneys. Cox, who is portrayed by Dabney Coleman as the very stereotype of the "lovable curmudgeon" into which TV alchemy can always be counted on to transform ideologically acceptable cranks, ultimately accepts, after the required drama of first turning Mermelstein-Nimoy down and then waking him up at 2 a.m. to say he'll take the case, supposedly *pro bono*, i.e., without fee. And although Cox doesn't know "how much these liars and bullies are willing to pour into the case," after communing with himself among the paraphernalia of his Holocaust museum Mermelstein-Nimoy courageously decides to go ahead with the task of making everyone remember the last words he ever heard from his father, the plea to son Mel to "never forget" (oddly enough, Mermelstein seems to have forgotten these words when writing his allegedly autobiographical *By Bread Alone*—they appear nowhere therein).

On December 18, 1980, Cox writes IHR to tell the Institute of his client's acceptance of the reward offer, enclosing Mermelstein-Nimoy's "evidence" of gassing—a sworn statement in which he details his witnessing his mother and

three sisters enter an Auschwitz "gas chamber," and a list of other alleged witnesses to bolster his story.

A ploy is hit on by which IHR will be sued for breach of contract if it does not respond within thirty days, and Mermelstein-Nimoy sweats out the waiting period, dogging his family, Cox, and bemused letter carriers to make sure that the all-important IHR response (which in any case would be addressed to Cox) has *not* come. It doesn't (not by the Cox-Mermelstein deadline, anyway), and it's off to the courts.

What does come to Mermelstein-Nimoy's home through the mail in this deceitful drama, however, is some "hair of a gassed Jewish victim" and "pure Jewish fat" (a piece of soap). The clear implication of this emotive scene (Mermelstein's young daughter opens the envelope and shrieks in terror) is that the "haters and deniers" have violated the sanctity of Mermelstein's hearth and home with something base and obscene. That the Germans made soap neither from Jews nor anyone else during the war, and that there would be no way to distinguish the hair of a "gassed" concentration inmate from that of a "survivor," since the Germans customarily deloused the shorn hair of inmates, are facts lost on television audiences, most of whom must think: "What despicable monsters these Revisionists must be!"

By now Mermelstein-Nimoy is reeling from the (imaginary) onslaught of the "bigots." His family is buckling too: the kids (except for his adoring daughter) haven't been supportive enough, and even his wife is dubious about pursuing the case against the Institute. By now the television Mermelsteins are convinced they're dealing with the whole phantasmagoria of "extremists" and "terrorists," and that their very property and lives may be in danger.

There are other reverses as Mermelstein-Nimoy begins to search for other "eyewitnesses" to corroborate his story. His first choice, an old woman of evidently long-standing acquaintance, comes unglued at the mention of Auschwitz: the Gestapo still has the habit of dropping in on her in the dead of night (he doesn't find a better "eyewitness" in the drama, although in real life Mermelstein offered Miklos Nyiszli, dead for some thirty years, to back up his reward claim).

There are still more pressures on Mermelstein-Nimoy. His pallet manufacturing business begins to suffer because he

can't remember delivery promises, so consumed he is by his obsession with the case. Next, an anonymous miscreant throws a dead pig on his doorstep, and Mermelstein-Nimoy receives an anonymous phone call one night to inform him that his business is on fire (after Mermelstein-Nimoy and son race to the pallet company, the call proves to be a false alarm).

Nerves wearing thin, Mermelstein-Nimoy and Cox infiltrate a meeting of the "National Legion of Patriots," at which the speaker (conveniently at that very moment) is in the middle of a harangue about the myth of the Holocaust. Mermelstein-Nimoy, enraged by what is in fact a pretty fair summation of the basic Revisionist case, tries to shout him down. Cox wrestles him out of the meeting as the audience, faces red with bulging veins and contorted with hate, scream insults and slurs—it's a far trek from *Star Trek* for the poker-faced icon who was Mr. Spock.

Then it's on to the IHR's first deposition of Mermelstein-Nimoy, in which he is sworn to answer questions from the Institute fully and truthfully. This is of course represented as a sadistic ordeal, with both IHR's counsel, Richard Fusilier, and this reviewer (both of us named) harassing Mel with cruel questions about his experiences at Auschwitz. To show how sneaky IHR's director is, I am chastised for smuggling a microcassette recorder into the deposition in my jacket pocket, which Mel discovers—a real feat since microcassette recorders were not even on the market at that time. (And I cannot let it pass that the actor who played me was plump, gray-haired, 25 years too old, and decidedly uglier than me—a personal insult for which I'll forgive Mel if he will only let us alone.)

After the harrowing ordeal of the exhausting deposition (the plaintiff was suffered the indignity of having to answer hard questions about his concentration-camp experiences), Mermelstein-Nimoy confesses to his family that he might lose the case because of Fusilier's tricky questions or because, at a key moment, he might forget or get crossed up on some tiny detail about the gas chambers. But finally there comes the great and historic day in the courtroom of Judge Thomas Johnson, who after hearing a heart-rending witness-stand account of Mermelstein's personal experiences at Auschwitz, and his promise to his father "never to forget," takes judicial notice that the Holocaust is a fact not subject to reasonable

dispute. Much joy and celebration. The End (of this docudrama, anyway).

If the viewer has remained awake through this dishwater-dull, soap-operatic nonsense, he or she may be interested in an accounting of what was actually true and what was demonstrably false in *Never Forget*. In fact, a lengthy list of material distortions and falsehoods, as well as lesser violations of the truth made in hopes of livening up the turgid Melodrama—could be compiled. Here are just a few of them:

• The drama represents the initial letter sent to Mermelstein as part of a deliberate IHR plot to harass the "survivor." In fact the letter re-opening the reward offer was undertaken entirely on the initiative of the late David McCalden, then director of IHR, who consulted neither the Institute's board nor its founder. (The announcement that the $50,000 reward offer for proof of gassings at Auschwitz had officially expired was made at the Second International Revisionist Conference. The full and detailed story of the reward offer is told in the booklet *Worldwide Growth and Impact of Holocaust Revisionism*, which is still available from IHR.) McCalden was shortly discharged, after subsequent incidents gave further evidence of irresponsibility, and even hostility, to the interests of IHR.

All the same, in regard to the initial letter to Mermelstein, *Never Forget* veers, briefly and unexpectedly, toward something of the truth, as opposed to his counsels' representations at the time and subsequently. In his *actual* letter of December 18, 1980, Cox represented that the way in which the evidence submitted to claim the reward would be judged was still undecided, suggesting that the proceeding be televised and then voted on by the TV audience. Thereafter, Mermelstein, Cox, and their successors swore ignorance of any other proposed method of judgement—*including the specification that IHR would choose the judges—despite the fact that a sheet of rules including IHR's choice of the judges was routinely sent with every reward application. Never Forget*, however, has Cox speaking dismissively of the Institute's "kangaroo court," and not tailoring his case to a jury of couch potatoes; and Cox makes quite clear in the drama that his strategy is based on luring IHR into the courts.

• Never in any of his depositions has Mermelstein ever referred to "gassed" hair, "Jewish fat" or a dead pig being

delivered to his home. In fact, the closest such incident this reviewer can recall was the depositing of a dead pig, owned up to by one Irv Rubin, on the porch of a Jew who'd run afoul of Rubin through his alleged sympathies for the Palestinians, about five years ago. Rubin, chief of the terroristic Jewish Defense League, once stated on Los Angeles television that "Mermelstein is one of our financial supporters," although Mel denies supporting the JDL or ever meeting Rubin.

• The reviewer has never heard of a "National Legion of Patriots," nor is there any record of Mel ever crashing any meeting at which Holocaust Revisionism was being promoted. Out of exemplary fairness, however, IHR did invite William Cox to speak briefly at the Third International Revisionist Conference held in Los Angeles in November of 1981. Cox appeared, said his piece (chastising the audience for attending a conference sponsored by a group with such anti-Semitic views), and was treated politely.

• The claim put in Nimoy-Mermelstein's mouth during his deposition, that his brother, like his father, was "worked to death" in the coal mines of the Auschwitz sub-camp at Jaworzno, is a fabrication of the docudrama. In the acutal deposition Mermelstein says nothing of the circumstances of his brother's alleged death; elsewhere, Mermelstein has claimed that his brother was shot for refusing to take part in an evacuation march (which to the German guards could only have been tantamount to an escape attempt). A small thing, perhaps, but an irrefutable indication of the liberties *Never Again* has taken with the legal record—and perhaps a sign of Mermelstein's continuing inclination to alter his stories, or at least acquiesce in errors made by others (during the deposition in question, Mermelstein claimed his father died "of torture, hunger, and also because of inability to see his son suffer and being beaten and tortured," but in an article which appeared in the *Los Angeles Herald-Examiner* on February 15, 1981, reporter Timothy Carlson quoted Mermelstein as saying that he had seen his *father* as well as his mother and sisters led off to the gas chambers. And there is solid evidence for *other* Mermelstein versions of his father's death.)

• There is no record of Mel ever receiving a crank call that his business had been set aflame. However, on the night of July 4, 1984 the office and warehouse of the Institute for

Historical Review was totally destroyed by arson, a crime that the authorities have never seriously investigated and which set the IHR back by years and some $400,000.

• Whatever were the difficulties Mermelstein had in recruiting an attorney at the outset (and they seem overdrawn to say the least), there has been no shortage of free legal help through most of his ten-year crusade against IHR and Revisionism: there has been a legion of top-flight lawyers at his beck and call. He has enjoyed important support from important segments of the Jewish community (despite his initial dismissal by those influential Jewish groups he first turned to for help). Nor has the judiciary of Los Angeles County and the press been anything except extremely supportive of him. The alleged "facts" dramatized in the film are directly contradicted by the actual record. It was IHR that was almost unable to file a timely answer to Mermelstein's original complaint in 1980 because no lawyer, even noted "civil rights" advocates in the area, would touch the case. Fortunately, one attorney was found, Richard Fusilier, who agreed to represent the IHR because no other attorney in the state of California would take its case.

• In real life Mermelstein is not precisely the normal personality portrayed by Leonard Nimoy. Nowhere in the film is there any mention of the fact that he had been under psychiatric care long before IHR, and the emotional distress its actions allegedly caused him, intruded into his supposedly well-balanced mind and life.

• The drama portrays Mermelstein as a cooperative witness willing, if not eager, to answer Fusilier's questions honestly and completely during the first deposition. *Never Forget* also depicts Mermelstein-Nimoy as finally breaking down into heart-wrenching sobs when the attorney's probing questions become just too much for an Auschwitz "survivor" and "eyewitness" to his mother and sisters' "gassing" to bear. But what in fact took place at that deposition (I was present) was that Mermelstein proved a most elusive respondent: often he seemed unwilling to give a straight answer to even the simplest questions, misunderstanding them, waxing broadly philosophical, forgetting inconvenient details, duelling back and forth with Fusilier and all in all leading IHR's lawyer on a merry chase. At no time during the entire deposition did Mermelstein shed a single tear. On the contrary, he struck me

as hostile, combative, and evasive throughout the entire deposition.

• At the dramatic conclusion of *Never Forget*, Mermelstein-Nimoy takes the witness stand during the crucial hearing at which Judge Johnson ruled on Mermelstein's request for judicial notice that Jews were gassed at Auschwitz during the summer of 1944. The docudrama has Mermelstein touchingly recount the story of his promise to his father to "never forget," whereupon Judge Johnson makes his historic ruling and the movie ends reminding viewers that the fight against bigotry and racism goes on. But the drama's initial assurance that "all legal proceedings portrayed [have been] based on actual transcripts and documents" to the contrary, Mermelstein neither took the stand at that hearing nor gave any testimony whatsoever—the entire scene is pure invention, devised to provide something of an emotional catharsis to what remains a weak, and for the millions undoubtedly soporific, made-for-television movie.

What has been the likely impact of this film on IHR and Revisionism? To be sure, every trick in the smearer's arsenal has been employed (subject to budget limitations, of course). Old hands at Revisionism will immediately note the old trick of ascribing to their enemies that which the Holocaust lobbyists, themselves, are guilty of, thereby turning the truth right over onto its head. Reversed is the fundamental fact that the purpose of Historical Revisionism is not to hector the Mel Mermelsteins and similar blustering Holocaust small-fry but to challenge the mighty, the entrenched establishments and interests which profit from historical falsehood. IHR's only goal, and its only weapon of self-defense, is "to bring history into accord with the facts." In the longer view, Mermelstein and his allies will appear simply as pawns of those much larger and more sinister entities.

That is why, despite *Never Forget's* portrayal of Mermelstein as a sympathetic underdog, it is not the Exterminationists who have trouble recruiting lawyers or raising funds to exist, or who are subjected to continuous barrages of threats, intimidation, assaults, arsons, and even cold-blooded murder. Nor, despite the docudrama's dark murmurings of IHR well-connectedness and far-flung resources, do real-life Revisionists encounter the least bit of objectivity, let alone sympathy, towards their concerns in the press or the

entertainment media—in contrast to the automatic acceptance that even the woolliest and most mean-spirited "survivor" accusations win from these industries.

Above and beyond the Auschwitz lie itself, this is the Big Lie of *Never Forget*—the whopper that the Revisionists are somehow politically powerful, shrewd, bigoted, sadistic and well-connected, while the Exterminationists are weak, innocent, and morally upright.

Not to worry, though. *Never Forget's* liberties with fact are so multifarious that it must fall of its own weight in the eyes of anyone with the slightest knowledge of the facts of the case. Even Gloria Allred, LA law's far-left, fervidly Zionist, cartoonishly "feminist" firebrand, whose firm took over Mermelstein's case from Cox, angrily denounced the film as "historically inaccurate," adding her own brand of Revisionism to the stew.

And now comes the glimmer of truth, the blinding flash of the obvious, as the great American political thinker Lawrence Dennis would have put it. Clearly, the intended purpose of trying to slam, smear and isolate the Revisionists is counterbalanced by two quite unintended messages to the viewer: 1) Historical Revisionism is strong and growing, and 2) the embattled but still mighty IHR is leading this movement, which is of the gravest concern to the Establishment.

An Expert on "Eyewitness" Testimony Faces a Dilemma in the Demjanjuk Case

WITNESS FOR THE DEFENSE by Elizabeth Loftus and Katherine Ketcham. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991. Hardbound. 288 pages. Illustrations. $ 19.95. ISBN: 0-312-05537-4.

Reviewed by John Cobden

Eyewitness testimony is the cornerstone of the Holocaust story. Much more than physical or documentary evidence, the accounts of "Holocaust survivors" have been crucial in convincing people that millions of European Jews

were systematically exterminated in gas chambers during the Second World War.

What few realize is that such "eyewitness" testimony is notoriously inaccurate, biased and, in many cases, blatantly and demonstrably wrong. Jewish historian Samuel Gringauz, for example, once pointed out that:

> . . . most of the memoirs and report [of "Holocaust survivors"] are full of preposterous verbosity, graphomanic exaggeration, dramatic effects, overestimated self-inflation, dilettante philosophizing, would-be lyricism, unchecked rumors, bias, partisan attacks and apologies.

The inaccuracy of Holocaust testimony is not unique, of course. Defective memory and false testimony occur in all aspects of life. It is to this fascinating subject that Dr. Elizabeth Loftus has dedicated her career. As she relates in *Witness for the Defense*, what began as a research project at Stanford University became her life-long calling:

> The study of memory has become my specialty, my passion. In the next few years I wrote dozens of papers about how memory works and how it fails, but unlike most researchers studying memory, my work kept reaching out into the real world. To what extent, I wondered, could a person's memory be shaped by suggestion? When people witness a serious automobile accident, how accurate is their recollection of the facts? If a witness is questioned by a police officer, will the manner of questioning alter the representation of the memory? Can memories be supplemented with additional, false information? (p. 7)

This passion led Loftus to a teaching career at the University of Washington and, perhaps more importantly, into hundreds of courtrooms as an expert witness on the fallibility of eyewitness accounts. As she has explained in numerous trials, and as she convincingly argues in this absorbing book, eyewitness accounts can be and often are so distorted that they no longer resemble the truth.

An understanding of human memory, and how it works, is obviously of crucial importance in comprehending the Holocaust issue. In this regard, Loftus' treatment of how human memory works is relevant in two important ways.

First, she explains how memory works and how it fails. After presenting her general views, she shows how they apply in specific criminal cases. While this treatment does not deal

directly with the Holocaust issue, she makes general points and draws relevant lessons that are crucially relevant.

Second, Loftus tells of her personal involvement in the well-known case of John Demjanjuk, the Ukrainian-born Cleveland auto worker who was tried in Israel and sentenced to death for allegedly helping to kill hundreds of thousands of Jews during the Second World War in the Treblinka camp. In her analysis of the trial, Loftus presents compelling reasons to doubt Demjanjuk's guilt. And even though, as she explains, she felt a professional obligation to come to the aid of the defendant, she ultimately decided not to do so.

As Loftus shows, innocent persons are regularly convicted of crimes they did not commit on the basis of faulty eyewitness testimony. In these cases, the eyewitnesses do not commit perjury. They do not willfully lie, but rather they tell the truth as they have come to believe it. She explains:

> Why, after all, would they lie? Ah, there's the word—*lie*. That's the word that gets us off track. You see, eyewitnesses who point their finger at innocent defendants are not liars, for they genuinely believe in the truth of their testimony. The face that they see before them is the face of the attacker. The face of innocence has become the face of guilt. That's the frightening part—the truly horrifying idea that our memories can be changed, inextricably altered, and that what we think we know, what we believe with all our hearts, is not necessarily the truth. (p. 13)

Loftus provides a striking example of how memories can be distorted. Jean Piaget, the famed child psychologist, tells in his book *Plays, Dreams and Imitation in Childhood* of his vivid memory of a violent attempt to kidnap him as a child. Piaget's nurse saved the boy by fighting off the attacker. Throughout his childhood and early teen years, Piaget had explicit memories of this traumatic event. But when he was fifteen years old, the nurse confessed in a letter to the family that she had created the entire story out of thin air, and that no such kidnapping attempt had ever taken place. Because Piaget had grown up hearing the kidnapping story told to him so vividly, he came to believe it with such certainty that he actually remembered witnessing it himself.

Memory, Loftus tell us, is not a video camera that records events and then later plays them back exactly as originally recorded. Instead, it is an "evolutionary" or evolving process.

Memories are lost and replaced with new memories. Some memories, while retained, change over time and become a pale imitation of the original. As Loftus points out:

> As new bits and pieces of information are added into long-term memory, the old memories are removed, replaced, crumpled up, or shoved into corners. Little details are added, confusing or extraneous elements are deleted, and a coherent construction of the facts is gradually created that may bear little resemblance to the original event.
>
> Memories don't just fade, as the old saying would have us believe; they also grow. What fades is the initial perception, the actual experience of the events. But every time we recall an event, we must reconstruct the memory, and with each recollection the memory may be changed—colored by succeeding events, other people's recollections or suggestions, increased understanding, or a new context.
>
> Truth and reality, when seen through the filter of our memories, are not objective facts but subjective, interpretative realities. We interpret the past, correcting ourselves, adding bits and pieces, deleting uncomplementary or disturbing recollections, sweeping, dusting, tidying things up. Thus our represenation of the past takes on a living, shifting reality; it is not fixed and immutable, not a place way back there that is preserved in stone, but a living thing that changes shape, expands, shrinks, and expands again, an amoebalike creature with powers to make us laugh, and cry, and clench our fists. Enormous powers—powers even to make us believe in something that never happened. (p. 20)

Loftus describes some of the subtle ways in which human memory can be transformed. For instance, an individual's memory can be distorted by information received after the event in question. New information acquired after the event can be fused with the original memory. A person eventually remembers the "new" information so vividly that he cannot distinguish it from the original recollection. The new information, Loftus tell us, may "not only enhance the existing memory, but [will] actually change their memory, even causing non-existent memory to become incorporated into the previously acquired memory (p. 85)." In one study, Loftus showed a cartoon to a group of children, and then asked them about the bear that appeared in it. Even though no bear had appeared in the cartoon, many children had "memories" of it once they were asked about it.

Adult memories operate in fundamentally the same way. While an adult may not suddenly come to "remember" a non-existent experience that never happened, adults can and do come to "remember" non-events over time, and in a more subtle way.

Loftus gives numerous examples from criminal cases of how eyewitness testimony has changed. In one case, a rape victim distinctly remembers that her attacker had no distinguishing mark on his face. The police then arrest a suspect with a scar on his cheek that would hardly have gone unnoticed. Except for this important difference, the suspect fits the description given by the victim. After the victim is called in for further questioning and is asked about a scar, she continues to maintain quite confidently that her attacker had no scar. A few minutes later, she is shown a photo line-up that includes the suspect. In this way, the police have unintentionally planted the idea in the victim's mind that the rapist may have had a scar. Unless every person in the line-up has a scar, the victim will naturally pay greater attention to the man with the scar. After all, the police would not have asked about the scar if they had not been pretty sure that this man was the rapist.

The victim might still not be sure. A few days later, the police ask her to come in again to view another line-up, which includes the suspect with the scar. This time, as she carefully looks over the line-up, her stomach tightens and she becomes fearful when she sees the scar-faced suspect. He seems so familiar. She begins to doubt her own story, and considers the possibility that the rapist did have a scar after all. Soon she is telling the police that he might be the suspect after all. By the time of the trial, she has completely forgotten her initial disavowal of a scar. On the witness stand, she points with considerable confidence to the suspect as the man who raped her, and now even remembers the scar.

The level of confidence with which a witness tells his or her story is a powerful persuader. The actual factuality of a story is practically irrelevant, Loftus explains:

> Like most people, jurors tend to believe [that] there is a strong relationship between how confident a witness is and how accurate he or she is. A witness who says "Yes, that is absolutely, positively the man I saw" would clearly be more convincing than someone who says "Well, yeah, I think that's the guy." (p. 170)

Loftus relates the case of a young woman who positively identified an innocent man as her rapist. It was only after he was convicted, and the real rapist was found, that she suddenly realized that she had helped convict an innocent man. She had firmly believed her own false testimony, and so had the jury.

As Loftus explains, we are so willing to accept unreliable eyewitness accounts because we do not understand how memory actually works. Most people believe the "video camera" scenario instead of the "evolutionary" scenario. Because of this misconception we are very strongly inclined to believe eyewitness accounts. In general, our memory serves us well. In most cases, it is not crucially important that we remember specific details with a high level of accuracy.

Generalized memories, even if distorted, tend not to matter a great deal except, as Loftus points out, in a court of law where someone's life or liberty may be at stake. The danger of eyewitness testimony is clear:

> Anyone in the world can be convicted of a crime he or she did not commit, or deprived of an award that is due, based solely on the evidence of a witness who convinces the jury that his memory about what he saw is correct. Why is eyewitness testimony so powerful and convincing? Because people in general and jurors in particular believe that our memories stamp the facts of our experiences on a permanent, nonerasable tape, like a computer disk or videotape that is write-protected. For the most part, of course, our memories serve us reasonably well. But how often is precise memory demanded of us? When a friend describes a vacation, we don't ask, "Are you sure your hotel room had two chairs, not three?" . . . But precise memory suddenly becomes crucial in the event of a crime or an accident. Small details assume enormous importance. (p. 21)

In *Witness for the Defense*, Loftus recounts her personal involvement in numerous criminal cases, including the trial of serial killer Ted Bundy. She has testified in cases of murder, rape, and child abuse. In each criminal case dealt with here, she tells the story of her trial testimony. That is, with one notable exception: in the case of John Demjanjuk, she tells why she ultimately refused to testify.

Demjanjuk had been deported from the United States to Israel, where he was on trial for his life. He was accused (and eventually found guilty) of being a "Nazi war criminal" who

helped murder hundreds of thousands of Jews in the German wartime camp of Treblinka. In 1987 Loftus received a phone call from Mark O'Connor, Demjanjuk's attorney, asking her to testify for the defense. If anyone could authoritatively explain just how unreliable an "eyewitness" can be, especially after 35 years, it was Dr. Loftus. Nevertheless, she didn't hesitate to reject O'Connor's plea: "I have three other cases right now. I have classes to teach. And I'm Jewish (p. 211)."

O'Connor refused to accept this answer. He flew across the country to meet Loftus in person, and spent two days going over the evidence of the case with her. Loftus recounts the evidence he presented to her, and in doing so makes a persuasive case for Demjanjuk's innocence. The prosecution's only piece of documentary evidence, a photocopy of an identification card supplied by the Soviets, may well have been a forgery, she relates. For one thing, vital bits of information were missing from the document.

She also tells how Israeli authorities found the "eyewitnesses" who were so important in their case. Israeli officials had placed advertisements in newspapers "asking Treblinka and Sobibor survivors to contact them. O'Connor pulled a sheet of paper from a file and read the advertisement to me: 'The Nazi Crime Investigation Division is conducting an investigation against the Ukrainians Ivan Demjanjuk and Fedor Fedorenko (p. 216).'" Already the testimony of potential witnesses was corrupted by this advertisement. By giving the names of the suspects, it naturally encouraged prospective "eyewitnesses" to modify their memories to incorporate this new information.

It wasn't long before "eyewitnesses" began lining up to help convict these two Ukrainians. At first, their memories were faulty, and some were not at all sure of themselves. Abraham Goldfarb, for example, first testified that Demjanjuk looked "familiar." But after further questioning by Israeli authorities, he suddenly "remembered" that Ivan Demjanjuk was the Treblinka guard known as "Ivan the Terrible."

Goldfarb's testimony was the first to place Demjanjuk at Treblinka. But, as Loftus notes:

> Mr. Goldfarb must have been shocked by his tentative identification of Ivan, O'Connor explained, because in a memoir published right after the war he'd written that Ivan ["the Terrible"] was killed in the 1943 uprising. Goldfarb's

> identification must have shocked the Israeli investigators too, because they had been told by the U.S. government that Ivan was at Sobibor, not Treblinka. (p. 217)

When another "eyewitness," Eugen Turowski, was first questioned, he recognized Fedorenko but not Demjanjuk. However, when Turowski returned the next day for further questioning, and was again shown the photos, he announced that the picture of Demjanjuk was that of "Ivan the Terrible," the Treblinka sadist.

> Why, O'Connor asked me, did Turowski recognize Ivan immediately and with full assurance, when the day before he didn't recognize him at all? Isn't it reasonable to assume that because Goldfarb and Turowski knew each other, and because they testified within hours of each other, they talked about this astonishing discovery: Ivan is still alive! (p. 218)

Loftus goes on to relate:

> The next positive identifications were obtained in September and October 1976—at least four months after Turowski, Goldfarb and Rosenberg testified, and only a month or two after the August reunion of Treblinka survivors held every year in Tel Aviv on the anniversary of the uprising. All the witnesses who identified Demjanjuk lived in Israel and attended that reunion. (p. 219)

In all, just five witnesses identified Demjanjuk as "Ivan the Terrible." At least 23 former Treblinka inmates failed to identify him.

Loftus was confronted with a dilemma. She was one of the world's leading authorities on the crucial aspect of human memory and eyewitness accounts. She knew from her own research and experience that Israeli methods were corrupting the testimony of their witnesses, and that the evidence presented by the Israelis was emphatically not enough to convict Demjanjuk beyond a "reasonable doubt." An innocent man's life was a stake. She had been willing to testify on behalf of accused murderers, rapists and child molesters. Was the case of this Ukrainian immigrant and retired auto worker really any different?

> On the outside, assessing the facts, taking notes, asking detailed questions, was Dr. Elizabeth Loftus, professor at the University of Washington and expert witness in hundreds of court cases. She wanted to say, "Yes, of course I'll take the case." The Israeli police interrogation practices were, indeed,

> questionable, and the prosecution was depending on memories that were thirty-five years old. If these memories were to be believed, and John Demjanjuk was found guilty, he would be sentenced to death. It was a case that cried out for expert testimony. (p. 222)

Recalling her feelings as she grappled with this dilemma, Loftus confesses:

> The file should have convinced me. A case that relied on thirty-five-year-old memories should have been enough by itself. Add to those decaying memories the fact that the witnesses knew before they looked at the photographs that the police had a suspect, and they were even given the suspect's first and last name—Ivan Demjanjuk. Add to that scenario the fact that the Israeli investigators asked the witnesses if they could identify John Demjanjuk, a clearly prejudicial and leading question. Add to that the fact that the witnesses almost certainly talked about their identification afterward, possibly contaminating subsequent identifications. Add to that the repeated showing of John Demjanjuk's photograph so that with each exposure, his face became more and more familiar and the witnesses became more and more confident and convincing.
>
> Then factor into all of the above the intensely emotional nature of this particular case, for the man these people were identifying was more than a tool of the Nazis, more, even, than the dreaded Ivan who ran the diesel engines and tortured and mutilated prisoners. This man, if he was Ivan the Terrible, was personally responsible for murdering their mothers, fathers, brothers, sisters, wives, children.
>
> Dr. Loftus would have stopped with the file. She would have added up all the factors, assessed the problems, calculated the numerous possibilities for error and responded, "Yes, of course, I'll testify about the general workings of memory, and discuss how and why it can fail."
>
> But Beth Fishman [Loftus' maiden name] couldn't stop with the file. (p.224)

In the end, Loftus decided not to testify on behalf of a man she believed was very possibly innocent because she didn't want to offend her relatives, her friends, Jewish survivors and Jews everywhere. In short, as she acknowledges, Loftus put her Jewishness ahead of her regard for truth and justice.

> "If I take the case," I explained, having talked this out with myself hundreds of times, "I would turn my back on my Jewish heritage. If I don't take the case, I would turn my back on

everything I've worked for in the last fifteen years. To be true to my work, I must judge the case as I have judged every case before it. If there are problems with the eyewitness identifications I must testify. It's the consistent thing to do." p. 232)

Loftus recounts an exchange with one of her closest friends, who is also Jewish:

"Ilene, I need your advice," I said when we were seated at a booth in a back corner of the restaurant. "A lawyer called a few weeks ago and asked me to testify in the John Demjanjuk trial in Israel."

"Demjanjuk," she said, looking at me. Her voice changed, becoming flat, emotionless. "You mean Ivan the Terrible."

"He is accused of being Ivan the Terrible," I said.

"Beth, please. Tell me you said no. Tell me you will not take this case."

"This lawyer came to see me. He flew out from New York and spent two days with me, trying to convince me that this is a case of mistaken indentification. He believes Demjanjuk is innocent."

"He's being paid by the man, is he not?"

"I told him I'd review the file."

"How could you?" I felt the words, so heavy with contempt, settle like a stone in my heart.

"Ilene, please try to understand. This is my work. I have to look beyond the emotions, to the issues here. I can't just automatically assume he's guilty."

"He *is* guilty. People who were at the death camp, people who watched him, who *knew* him have pointed their fingers at him and said positively and with no hesitation—*That's Ivan.*'"

"You've made up your mind that he's guilty before he's even had a trial," I said.

"Are you telling me that you would do that, Beth?"

We argued through lunch, and when we walked into the psychology building for our 1:30 p.m. classes, Ilene wasn't speaking to me. I watched her walk down the hallway, her back straight and stiff, and I knew that in her heart she believed I had betrayed her. Worse than that, much worse, I had betrayed my people, my heritage, my race. I had betrayed them all for thinking that there might be a possibility that John Demjanjuk was innocent.(p. 228-229)

Loftus struggled with her dilemma. Would she betray her sense of honor and integrity out of loyalty to her "heritage" and "race"? She sought advice from a close relative: "Uncle Joe

tried to be reasonable. He cautioned that I must think about Israel, for 'what is good for Israel is paramount (p. 229).'"

Loftus went to Israel to sit in on the Demjanjuk trial and see the defendant for herself. She recalls how, when one eyewitness "pointed out Demjanjuk, many of the five hundred spectators stood up and applauded," as if watching some great play (p. 230). She heard "eyewitness" Gustave Boraks identify Demjanjuk, but then have trouble remembering the name of his own child. Boraks, who had come to Israel from Florida, was asked if he could remember how he had made the journey. He told the stunned audience that he had come "by train (p. 230)."

Instead of feeling sympathy for the hapless defendant, Loftus empathized with the eyewitnesses, who were doing everything in their power to send Demjanjuk to the gallows:

> I could picture O'Connor stalking Gustave Boraks' aging memory, pouncing, holding it up like a deflated rubber ball and declaring with a victor's smile, "See this old thing? It's no good anymore!" And I could picture Mr. Boraks sitting there defeated and devastated as he watched his mind being held up to ridicule, as he endured the shame of forgetting the name of his youngest son. (p. 231)

As Loftus sat in the courtroom watching the trial, a friend asked her, "Why aren't you up on the stand?" She paused a moment before replying:

> It took me a few seconds to pull my answer together. As I looked around the audience filled with four generations of Jews—little children, their parents, grandparents, and great-grandparents—I tried to explain to Margreet that it was as if these were my relatives, and I, too, had lost someone I loved in the Treblinka death camp. With those kinds of feelings inside me, I couldn't suddenly switch roles and become a professional, an expert . . . I could not have taken the stand and talked about the fallibility of memory without every person in that audience believing that I was indicting the specific memories of the survivors. I would have been perceived as attacking their memories. I couldn't do it. It was as simple and agonizing as that. (p. 237)

In other words, Loftus put her sense of Jewishness above considerations of truth and justice, and above John Demjanjuk's right to a fair trial. In the end, she heeded her uncle's advice and put "Israel" first.

In American trials of murderers and child abusers, Loftus had been quite willing to call into question the memories of the many victims, and to put her sense of professional duty above any concern she might have for their feelings. But she could not bring herself to similarly challenge the dubious memories of Jewish witnesses—because they were Jewish.

By refusing to testify, and thereby passively helping to sentence a man to death whom she herself believed was very possibly innocent, Loftus is perhaps more culpable than the elderly persons who bore false witness against the defendant. For unlike the aging witnesses who were no longer able to distinguish truth from falsehood, and who had come to believe their own false testimony, Loftus knew better.

Many readers of this book will doubtless sympathize with or even approve of Loftus's decision not to testify in the Demjanjuk trial. But how many of these "understanding" readers would be as tolerant of Ukrainians, Poles or other non-Jews who might make similarly ethnically-motivated decisions?

This is a valuable and eye-opening book, not just for the revealing story of one person's crisis of conscience, but for what it teaches about the fallibility of supposedly solid "eyewitness" testimony—a lesson with important social import.

(*continued from page 176*)

share of attention in the production, it's only fitting that he be allowed to set the legal and historical record straight, as he does in his punchy review.

As even J.-C. Pressac, for all his exploitation of blueprints, sketches, and other technical documents on the so-called gas chambers, is constrained to admit, *eyewitness testimony* remains the *sine qua non* of the Holocaust myth. That is why the starting point for Revisionist inquiry, from Paul Rassinier on, has been the careful examination of the claims and accusations of self-proclaimed eyewitnesses to gassing. John Cobden offers a careful review of a book by one of America's leading experts on the frailties and inconsistencies of human memory, psychologist Elizabeth Loftus, who has many times given expert court testimony on memory's limitations. Cobden draws the full implications from Dr. Loftus's awareness of the frailty of the "eyewitness" testimony against John Demjanjuk, her recognition of clear evidence that eyewitness

identification of Demjanjuk was fabricated with the help of Israeli authorities, and her frank admission that her disheartening refusal to aid the Demjanjuk defense was based on tribal loyalties at the expense of justice and truth.

Professor Arthur Butz, whose brilliant *Hoax of the Twentieth Century* has defined the shape of Holocaust Revisionism since its appearance in 1976, returns to the pages of the *JHR* with a succinct restatement of his book's thesis. Butz's article first appeared in the *Daily Northwestern*, a student newspaper of the university at which he is a tenured professor.

This issue of *The Journal* concludes with Robert Faurisson's call for additional information on the first known precursor of the gas extermination accusation of the Second World War, the Allied claim that the Austrians and Bulgarians had gassed some 700,000 Serbs as of March 1916. Study of this little-known, and scarcely studied, atrocity story may open an important new front against its evident successor, particularly since it is known that all sides in the Serbian campaign took strenuous measures to contain and combat a typhus epidemic that broke out in Serbia in 1915.

* * * * *

Last issue we promised in this space to have *The Journal* back on schedule with this issue. Regrettably we have not succeeded, and have even lost another week or two.

Although we shall redouble our efforts to bring you the next (Fall) issue of the *JHR* in a timely fashion, we cannot promise that it will be back on schedule: the exigencies of the Mermelstein trial, which is scheduled to begin August 9, and which will demand full-time attention from the staff of the IHR, will make that impossible. Look for the Winter issue of the *JHR*, which, barring the necessity of an appeal, will contain a comprehensive report on the trial, to be in your hands, on schedule once again, around Christmas or New Year's Day.

—Theodore J. O'Keefe

A Brief Introduction to Holocaust Revisionism

ARTHUR R. BUTZ

Dr. Arthur R. Butz is an associate professor of electrical engineering at Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois. He is also the author of a major Revisionist study of the alleged Holocaust, The Hoax of the Twentieth Century, *as well as a member of the IHR* Journal's *editorial advisory committee. Earlier this year, as Revisionist attempts to spark open debate on the Holocaust ignited controversy at Northwestern, Butz once again found himself in the center of the storm. (For more on this, including the key role played by IHR media project director Bradley Smith, see the May and July 1991 issues of the* IHR Newsletter.) *At the height of the controversy, Butz presented his view of the Holocaust story in a succinct essay that appeared in the school paper,* The Daily Northwestern, *May 13, 1991, under the title "A Short Introduction to the Study of Holocaust Revisionism." Here is the complete text of his piece, which includes a correction of an error that appeared in the* Daily Northwestern *version:*

I see three principal reasons for the widespread but erroneous belief in the legend of millions of Jews killed by the Germans during World War II: U.S. and British troops found horrible piles of corpses in the West German camps they captured in 1945 (e.g. Dachau and Belsen); there are no longer large communities of Jews in Poland; and historians generally support the legend.

During both world wars, Germany was forced to fight typhus, carried by lice in the constant traffic with the East. That is why all accounts of entry into the German concentration camps speak of shaving of hair and showering and other delousing procedures, such as treatment of quarters

with the pesticide Zyklon. That was also the main reason for a high death rate in the camps, and for the crematoria that existed in all.

When Germany collapsed in chaos, then of course all such defenses ceased, and typhus and other diseases became rampant in the camps, which quartered mainly political prisoners, ordinary criminals, homosexuals, conscientious objectors and Jews conscripted for labor. Hence the horrible scenes, which however had nothing to do with "extermination" or any deliberate policy. Moreover, the West German camps involved were not the alleged "extermination camps," which were all in Poland (e.g. Auschwitz and Treblinka) and which were all evacuated or shut down before capture by the Soviets, who found no such scenes.

The "Final Solution" spoken of in the German documents was a program of evacuation, resettlement and deportation of Jews with the ultimate objective of expulsion from Europe. During the war Jews of various nationalities were being moved east, as one stage in this Final Solution. The legend claims that the motion was mainly for extermination purposes.

The great majority of the millions allegedly exterminated were East European—not German or West European—Jews. For that reason study of the problem via population statistics has been difficult to impossible, but it is a fact that there are no longer large communities of Jews in Poland. However, the Germans were only one of several parties involved in moving Jews around. The Soviets deported virtually all of the Jews of eastern Poland to their interior in 1940. After the war, with Polish and other Jews pouring out of the East into occupied West Germany, the Zionists moved large numbers to Palestine, and the United States and other countries absorbed many Jews, in most cases under conditions making impossible a numerical accounting. Moreover, the Polish borders were changed drastically at the end of the war; the country was literally moved west.

Historians generally support the legend, but there are precedents for nearly incomprehensible blindness on the part of scholars. For example, throughout the Middle Ages even the Pope's political enemies conceded his false claim that the 4th century Emperor Constantine had ceded rule of the west to the Pope, although all knew very well that Constantine had

been succeeded by more emperors. Near unanimity among the academics is especially suspect when there exist great political pressures; in some countries, Holocaust Revisionists have been prosecuted.

It is easy to show that the extermination legend merits skepticism. Even the casual reader of the Holocaust literature knows that during the war virtually nobody acted as though it were happening. Thus it is common to berate the Vatican, the Red Cross and the Allies (especially the intelligence agencies) for their ignorance and inaction, and to explain that the Jews generally did not resist deportation because they did not know what was in store for them. If you add all this up you have the strange claim that for almost three years German trains, operating on a continental scale in densely civilized regions of Europe, were regularly and systematically moving millions of Jews to their deaths, and nobody noticed except for a few of our Jewish leaders who were making public "extermination" claims.

On closer examination even those few Jewish leaders were not acting as though it were happening. Ordinary communications between the occupied and neutral countries were open, and they were in contact with the Jews whom the Germans were deporting, who thus could not have been in ignorance of "extermination" if those claims had any validity.

This incredible ignorance must also be attributed to Hans Oster's department in German military intelligence, correctly labeled "the veritable general staff of the opposition to Hitler" in a recent review.

What we are offered in evidence was gathered after the war, in trials. The evidence is almost all oral testimony and "confessions." Without the evidence of these trials there would be no significant evidence of "extermination." One must pause and ponder this carefully. Were trials needed to determine that the Battle of Waterloo happened? The bombings of Hamburg, Dresden, Hiroshima and Nagasaki? The slaughter in Cambodia? Yet this three-year program, of continental scope, claiming millions of victims, requires trials to argue its reality. I am not arguing that the trials were illegal or unfair; I am arguing that such historical logic as the legend rests on must not be countenanced. Such events cannot happen without generating commensurate and contemporaneous evidence for their reality, just as a great forest fire cannot take place without producing smoke. One may as well believe that

New York City was burned down, if confessions to the deed can be produced.

Detailed consideration of the specific evidence put forward in support of the legend has been a focus of the Revisionist literature and cannot be undertaken here, but I shall mention one point. The claim of the legend is that there were no technical means provided for the specific task of extermination, and that means originally provided for other purposes did double duty in improvised arrangements. Thus the Jews were allegedly gassed with the pesticide Zyklon, and their corpses disappeared into the crematoria along with the deaths from "ordinary" causes (the ashes or other remains of millions of victims never having been found).

Surely any thoughtful person must be skeptical.

A Request for Additional Information on the Myth of the "Gassing" of the Serbs in the First World War

ROBERT FAURISSON

The myth of the "gassing" of the Jews during the Second World War is only a recurrence—or a recycling—of a myth from the First World War: that of the "gassing" of Serbs by the Germans, the Austrians, and the Bulgarians.

On March 22, 1916, the *London Daily Telegaph* printed, on its page 7, the following article:

ATROCITIES IN SERBIA

700,000 VICTIMS

ROME, Monday (6:45 p.m.).

The Governments of the Allies have secured evidence and documents, which will shortly be published, proving that Austria and Bulgaria have been guilty of horrible crimes in Serbia, where the massacres committed were worse than those perpetrated by Turkey in Armenia.

The Italian government has today published the testimony of two Italian prisoners who escaped from Austria through Serbia, and took refuge in Romania. What these two prisoners

> saw and learned, however, was nothing compared with the evidence supplied by the Serbians themselves, and communicated by M. Pasitch to the Italian Government and to the Pope. According to reliable information, the victims of the Austrians and Bulgarians exceeded 700,000. Whole districts, with towns and villages, have been depopulated by massacres. Women, childen, and old men were shut up in the churches by the Austrians, and either stabbed with the bayonet or suffocated by means of asphyxiating gas. In one church in Belgrade 3,000 women, children, and old men were thus suffocated.
>
> Serbian refugees, not on oath, have stated that they were present at a distribution of bombs and machines for producing asphyxiating gas to the Bulgarians by the Germans and Austrians, who instructed the former how to utilize these instruments to exterminate the Serbian population. The Bulgarians used this method at Nish, Pirot, Prizrend and Negotin, the inhabitants of which places died of suffocation. Similar means were employed by the Austrians in several parts of Montenegro.

On June 25, 1942 the same newspaper went on to publish, on its page 5, a comparable article under the following title:

GERMANS MURDER 700,000 JEWS IN POLAND
TRAVELLING GAS CHAMBERS

During the First World War, Bernhard Guttmann was "correspondent and contributor to the *Frankfurter Zeitung*." On November 20, 1917 he met in Berlin with Richard von Kühlmann, state secretary in the Foreign Office. R. von Kühlmann informed Guttmann of his pessimism as to the progress and the outcome of the war. He complained of the behavior of the Bulgarians, who were allied to Germany and Austria:

> [State Secretary von Kühlmann] reported how the Serbs are being "finished off" by them [the Bulgarians] with bureaucratic dispatch; they are brought, ostensibly to be cleaned, to delousing stations and eliminated with gas [*Schattenriss einer Generation (1888-1919)*, Stuttgart: K.F. Köhler Verlag, 1950, p. 145-146].

I am seeking help from *JHR* readers able to provide additional information on this myth from the First World War, particularly in the form of research into contemporary press reports. Information might also be sought from the cultural services of Yugoslavia's embassies, consulates, and other agencies.

About the Contributors

ENRIQUE AYNAT, a Spaniard, is the author of *El Diario ABC y El Holocausto*, a study of Spain's leading daily newspaper's wartime coverage of the "Holocaust," and *Los "Protocolos de Auschwitz": ¿Una Fuente Historica?* (The "Auschwitz Protocols": A Historical Source?), an important study of the first detailed allegations of homicidal gassings at Auschwitz.

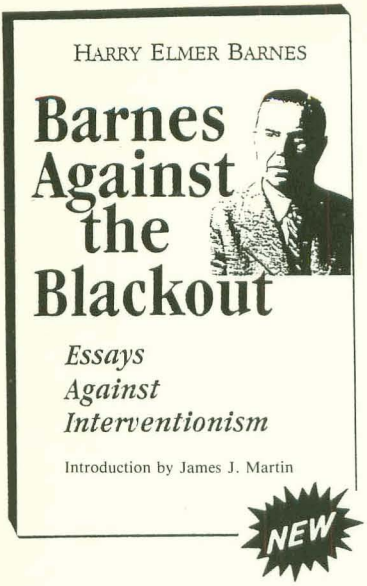
ARTHUR R. BUTZ is Associate Professor of Electrical Engineering and Computer Sciences at Northwestern University. He is the author of *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century.*

JOHN COBDEN is the pseudonym of an American writer on politics. His articles have appeared in numerous national magazines and major newspapers, including the *Hartford Courant*, the *Oakland Tribune*, and the *Orange County Register.* A French translation of Cobden's "Lessons from Dachau," which appeared in the Winter 1989-90 *JHR*, has recently appeared in the *Revue d'Histoire Révisionniste.*

ROBERT FAURISSON'S pathbreaking research on the "problem of the gas chambers" and his determination to publicize his findings led to his conviction last April under a French law enacted specifically to ban questioning the homicidal gas chambers of the Second World War. Professor Faurisson, who was deprived of his tenure at the University of Lyon-2 by government fiat, specializes in the 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.* His forthcoming collection, *Faurisson on the Holocaust*, will be available from the IHR this year.

THOMAS J. MARCELLUS, a former editor of this journal, is director of the Institute for Historical Review.

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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The Journal of Historical Review

Brian A. Renk

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Enrique Aynat

Auschwitz & the Exile Government of Poland in the "Polish Fortnightly Review"

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Table of Contents

Volume Eleven, No. 3 *Fall, 1991*

Articles

The Franke-Gricksch "Resettlement-Action Report": Anatomy of a Fabrication — 261
Brian A. Renk

Auschwitz & the Exile Government of Poland in the "Polish Fortnighly Review" 1940-1945 — 281
Enrique Aynat

Reflections on the Second World War, Free Speech & Revisionism — 321
Doug Collins

How Many Jews Died in the German Concentration Camps? — 335
Carl O. Nordling

Book Reviews

Shmuel Almog, *Nationalism & Antisemitism in Modern Europe 1815-1945* — 345
Frederick Kerr

David Martin, *The Web of Disinformation: Churchill's Yugoslav Blunder* — 348
Robert Clive

Historical News and Comment

A Prominent Holocaust Historian Wrestles with a Rising Revisionism — 353
The Murder of Rudolf Hess — 360
Revisionism and Censorship Down Under — 365
Swedish Professors Defend Revisionism on Trial — 371
Letters — 375
About the Contributors — 382

From the Editor

This Fall 1991 issue of *The Journal of Historical Review* begins with two more nails in the coffin of what Editorial Advisory Committee member Dr. Wilhelm Stäglich has called the "Auschwitz myth."

The first, Brian Renk's exposé of what has seemed to a number of Exterminationists the long-sought "smoking gun" ("dusty document" would be better) to prove that yes, there were homicidal gas chambers at Auschwitz, there was a German program to exterminate the Jews, and the Führer not merely knew about it, he had specifically ordered it. Not so, demonstrates Renk, a promising young Revisionist scholar from Canada who painstakingly studied the so-called "Franke-Gricksch," or "Resettlement Action," report, establishing that it is certainly a fraud. By doing so, he's landed a heavy blow against two heavyweights in the Exterminationist camp, Gerald Fleming and Jean-Claude Pressac, both of whom make much of the document (it was Professor Fleming who first brought the "Resettlement Action" report to prominence in his attempt to refute David Irving's thesis that Hitler had not ordered the alleged extermination). We have high hopes that Mr. Renk, a student of history on the college level who attended last year's Tenth IHR Conference, will be a featured speaker at a future conference.

Enrique Aynat, who represents Spain on the JHR's diverse and indeed cosmopolitan Editorial Advisory Committee, weighs in with a careful examination of the reportage on Auschwitz and the "Final Solution" in the *Polish Fortnightly Review*, the leading propaganda organ of the London-based Polish Government-in-Exile. As in the Watergate hearings, "What did they know and when did they know it?" is the question, the significance of which, for Auschwitz, was first made clear by Arthur Butz in his seminal *Hoax of the Twentieth Century* and in his subsequent essay "Context and Perspective in the 'Holocaust Controversy'" (see the Winter 1982 *JHR* [Vol. 3, no. 4]), both of which bear reading again and again for anyone with a real interest in Holocaust Revisionism. Señor Aynat, whose prolific writings on Auschwitz have appeared in this journal and elsewhere, bids fair, with the Italian Carlo Mattogno and numerous colleagues

(continued on page 380)

The Franke-Gricksch "Resettlement Action Report": Anatomy of a Fabrication

BRIAN A. RENK

It was long presumed that the alleged German policy to exterminate the Jews of Europe was set in motion by a direct, if not a written order, from Adolf Hitler. This purported order was cited in the main Nuremberg trial of 1945-46 and in subsequent trials of "Nazi war criminals." Although documentary evidence for the "Führer Order" has remained elusive, its existence was taken for granted by Exterminationist historians until 1977.

In that year the British historian David Irving provoked considerable discussion in the historical establishment with the publication of his *Hitler's War*. Irving argued, on the basis of a painstaking study of the documentary record as well as exhaustive interviews with surviving members of Hitler's entourage, that the German leader did not order mass killings of Jews, and that he did not learn about an extermination policy until, perhaps, 1943.[1]

Anglo-Jewish historian Gerald Fleming, now reader emeritus at the University of Surrey (England), decided to deal with this problem—and specifically to respond to Irving's provocative 1977 thesis—by setting to work on a book that would prove conclusively that Hitler did indeed order the extermination of European Jewry. After several years of research and writing, he presented his case in *Hitler and the Final Solution* (German edition 1982, published in America 1984), a work that was widely hailed as a definitive response to Irving and other Revisionists.

A key document cited by Fleming in his book is a two-page report entitled "Umsiedlungs-Aktion der Juden" ("Resettlement Action of the Jews," although Fleming calls it "Resettlement of the Jews"), which describes mass killings of Jews in gas

chambers at Auschwitz and makes explicit reference to the "Führer Order." This document, said to be part of a longer report, is alleged by Fleming to have been composed by SS Sturmbannführer (Major) Alfred Franke-Gricksch, a high-ranking official in the SS personnel main office in Berlin, shortly after an inspection tour of Auschwitz-Birkenau in May 1943.

The "Resettlement Action" document was apparently first cited by the American historian Charles W. Sydnor (in his book *Soldiers of Destruction* [Princeton Univ., 1977, p. 337]). More recently, it was published—both in facsimile and in English translation—by the French anti-Revisionist historian Jean-Claude Pressac in his *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers* (The Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, New York, 1989 [pages 236-239]).

The importance Fleming attaches to this report is indicated by the fact that he devotes an entire chapter of *Hitler and the Final Solution* to it. He gives this chapter the title "An Official Report from Auschwitz-Birkenau."

If authentic, the "Resettlement Action" report would seem to confirm several key points of the Exterminationist thesis:

– The phrase "resettlement of the Jews" was a euphemism for a policy of mass extermination, particularly by "gassing."

– Mass killings at Auschwitz were part of a secret program ordered by Hitler to exterminate the Jews.

– Homicidal gas chambers in the crematorium complex of Auschwitz-Birkenau were used to kill Jews during the spring of 1943.

But is the "Resettlement Action" report authentic? In this paper, we shall establish that it is almost certainly not. A careful examination of the text, as well as Fleming and Pressac's analysis of that text, will reveal the following:

– The "Resettlement Action" report is almost certainly a postwar forgery. No original, carbon copy or facsimile of the document, let alone the longer report from which it is supposed to have been excerpted, has ever been produced or is even known to exist.

– Orthographic peculiarities in the German of the "Resettlement Action" report suggest that the man who is supposed to have transcribed it did not have a German original before him.

– Specific details about Auschwitz-Birkenau given in this "report" are demonstrably false.

– Fleming and Pressac have ignored or glossed over numerous factual "errors" and gross implausibilities in this "report," indicating shoddy and perhaps even unethical scholarship.

The "Resettlement Action" Document

The following is a translation of the complete text of the "Resettlement Action" report:

[English-language heading:]

Part of a report rendered by SS Sturmbannführer Franke-Gricksch on a trip through the General Gouvernement on 4 to 16 May 1943.

Resettlement Action of the Jews

The Auschwitz camp has a special role in the settlement of the Jewish question. The most up-to-date methods make it possible to implement the Führer Order here very quickly and discreetly.

The so-called "resettlement action" for the Jews proceeds as follows:

The Jews arrive in special trains (freight cars) toward evening and are taken by a special rail track into an area of the camp specifically set aside for this purpose. There they are unloaded and are then examined for their fitness for work by a medical team in the presence of the camp commandant and several SS officers. Here every person who can somehow be integrated into the labor program is taken to a special camp. Temporarily sick persons are immediately taken to the recuperation camp and are restored to health with a special diet. The basic principle is: Conserve all manpower for work. The earlier "resettlement action" policy is now completely rejected, because no one can afford to systematically destroy valuable labor energy.

The unfit are taken into the basement rooms of a large building, which can be entered from the outside. They go down five or six steps and come into a long, well-built and ventilated basement room, which is fitted with benches on the right and left. It is brightly lit and above the benches are numbers. The prisoners are told they are to be disinfected and washed in preparation for their new tasks. They must therefore undress completely in order to be bathed. In order to avoid any panic and disorder, they are told to arrange their clothes neatly

and leave them under a number so they can find their things again after the bath. Everything proceeds in complete calm. They then go through a small corridor and come into a large basement room that resembles a shower room. In this room there are three big pillars. Into these it is possible to introduce certain materials from above, outside the basement room. After 300-400 people have gathered in this room, the doors are closed and from above the containers with the materials are let down into the pillars. When the containers reach the base of the pillars, they produce certain substances that put people to sleep in one minute. A few minutes later, the door on the other side, which leads to an elevator, is opened. The hair of the corpses is cut off, and the teeth (gold teeth) are broken out by specialists (Jews). It has been observed that Jews have hidden jewelry objects, gold, platinum, etc., in hollow teeth. The corpses are then loaded into the elevators and are taken to the first floor. There are located ten large crematory ovens, in which the corpses are burned. (Because fresh corpses burn particularly well, the entire process requires only one-half to one Zentner [50 to 100 pounds] of coke). The work itself is carried out by Jewish prisoners who will never leave this camp.

The result so far of this "resettlement action": 500,000 Jews.

The present capacity of the "resettlement action" ovens: 10,000 in 24 hours.

[Handwritten notation in English:]

I affirm that this is a true copy of the original report. Eric M. Lipman.

(Note also the accompanying facsimile reproduction of the report, entitled "Umsiedlungs-Aktion der Juden.")

Origins of the Document

As he worked on *Hitler and the Final Solution*, Fleming searched for proof that Franke-Gricksch had actually written the "Resettlement Action" report attributed to him. In a private letter to Alfred Franke-Gricksch's widow dated July 18, 1978, Fleming wrote:

I am writing these lines to you today because ten months ago the British Academy [of Arts and Sciences] officially granted me the research assignment to clear up once and for all, that is, to thoroughly research the following important topic, because this has not yet been done by any contemporary historian: [To find proof for] Adolf Hitler's personal, direct orders for mass

> liquidation [of Jews] as issued by Hitler during the Second World War . . . I would like to quote an excerpt from the report of May 15, 1943, signed by your husband, as it pertains directly to my topic: Hitler's personal orders for liquidation . . .

A preliminary comment: Fleming's reference to Franke-Gricksch's signature is not correct. In fact, the "Resettlement-Action" report bears only the signature of the purported copyist, Lipman. And whereas Fleming asserts in this letter that Franke-Gricksch's report was written on May 15, 1943, in his book he vaguely dates it "sometime between 4 and 16 May."

According to Pressac (pp. 238-39), a carbon copy of a report by Franke-Gricksch on an inspection tour of the General Government, the German occupation regime in Poland, was discovered after the end of the Second World War "somewhere in Bavaria" by Eric M. Lipman (whom Pressac mistakenly calls "Lippmann"), an officer with the War Crimes Branch of the U.S. Third Army. After finding the full report in Franke-Gricksch's "career file," Lipman is supposed to have made a typescript copy of that portion of the report describing Auschwitz, i.e. the "Resettlement Action" report. Pressac writes that the carbon copy of the full report was turned over to the American prosecution team at Nuremberg, and is now "thought to be preserved in the National Archives Collection reference NA RG 238." Charles Sydnor, however, who first wrote of the document, writes that "the original of this document evidently is lost amid the still unindexed collection of Nuremberg prosecution documents."[2]

If the carbon copy of the full report was in fact turned over to the American prosecution team at Nuremberg, however, the question arises as to why this explosive document was never introduced into evidence. And why is Eric Lipman the only person who seems to have known anything about it until the 1970s?

I wrote to Mr. Lipman, who now resides in Richmond, Virginia, to ask him about the "Resettlement Action" document. In a letter dated January 23, 1991, he informed me:

> [I] have disposed of most of my Nazi documents to various institutions, including Yad Vashem, Jerusalem, the Tauber Institute at Brandeis University, and the archives of Temple Beth Ahaba in Richmond.

Part of a report rendered by SS Sturmbannführer Franke-Gricksch on a trip through the General Gouvernement on 4 to 16 May 1943.

U m s i e d l u n g s - A k t i o n der Juden.

Eine besondere Aufgabe hat das Lager A u s c h w i t z in der Regelung der Judenfrage. Modernste Massnahmen ermöglichen hier in kürzester Zeit und ohne grosses Aufsehen die Durchführung des Führerbefehls.

Die sogenannte "Umsiedlungsaktion" der Juden läuft folgendermassen ab:

Die Juden kommen in Sonderzügen (Güterwagen) gegen Abend an und werden auf besonderen Gleisen in eignes dafür abgegrenzte Bezirke des Lagers gefahren. Dort werden sie ausgeladen und durch Ärztekommissionen in Anwesenheit des Lagerkommandanten und mehrerer SS-Führer erst einmal auf Arbeitsfähigkeit untersucht. Hier kommt jeder, der noch irgendwie in den Arbeitsprozess eingebaut werden kann, kommt in ein besonderes Lager. Vorübergehend Erkrankte kommen sofort in das Sanitätslager und werden durch besondere Kost wieder gesund gemacht. Grundsatz ist: Jede Arbeitskraft der Arbeit zu erhalten. Die "Umsiedlungsaktion" älterer Art wird völlig abgelehnt, da man es sich nicht leisten kann, wichtige Arbeitsenergien, laufend zu vernichten.

Die Untauglichen kommen in ein grösseres Haus in die Kellerräume, die von aussen zu betreten sind. Man geht 5-6 Stufen herunter und kommt in einen längeren, gut ausgebauten und durchlüfteten Kellerraum, der rechts und links mit Bänken ausgestattet ist. Er ist hell erleuchtet und über den Bänken befinden sich Nummern. Den Gefangenen wird gesagt, dass sie für ihre neuen Aufgaben desinfiziert und gereinigt werden, sie müssten sich also völlig entkleiden, um gebadet zu werden. Um jegliche Panik und Unruhe zu vermeiden, werden sie angewiesen, ihre Kleider schön zu ordnen und unter die für sie bestimmten Nummern zu legen, damit sie nach dem Bad auch ihre Sachen wiederfinden. Es geht alles in völliger Ruhe vor sich. Dann durchschreitet man einen kleinen Flur und gelangt in einen grossen Kellerraum, der einem Brausebad ähnelt. In diesem Raum befinden sich drei grossen Säulen. In diese kann man von oben ausserhalb des Kellerraums- gewisse Mittel herablassen. Nachdem 300-400 Menschen in diesem Raum versammelt sind, werden die Türen geschlossen und von oben herab die Behälter mit den Stoffen in die Säulen gelassen. Sowie die Behälter den Boden der Säule berühren, entwickeln sie bestimmte Stoffe, die in einer Minute die Menschen einschläfern. Einige Minuten später öffnet sich die Tür an der anderen Seite, die zu einem Fahrstuhl führt. Die Haare der Leichen werden geschnitten und von besonderen Fachleuten (Juden) die Zähne ausgebrochen (Goldzähne). Man hat die Erfahrung gemacht, dass die Juden in hohlen Zähnen Schmuckstücke, Gold Platin usw versteckt halten. Danach werden die Leichen in Fahrstühle verladen und kommen in den 1. Stock. Dort befinden sich 10 grosse Krematoriumsöfen, in welchen die Leichen verbrannt werden. (Da frische Leichen besonders gut brennen, braucht man für

den Gesamtvorgang nur 1/2 - 1 Ztr.Koks.)Die Arbeit selber wird von Judenhäftlingen verrichtet,die dieses Lager nie wieder verlassen.

Bisheriger Erfolg dieser "Umsiedlungsaktion": 500000 Juden

Jetzige Kapazität der "Umsiedlungsaktion"-Ofen: 10 000 in 24 Stunden.

I affirm, that this a true copy of the original report.

Eric M. Lipman

Facsimile of a report entitled "Resettlement of the Jews," allegedly written in May 1943 by SS Major Alfred Franke-Gricksch. This is supposed to be a typescript copy made by U.S. Army officer Eric Lipman from a carbon copy of the original. In fact, no original or carbon copy has ever been located. This "report" is cited by historian Gerald Fleming as a key piece of documentary evidence for the Holocaust extermination story.

Consistent with this, Pressac writes (p. 238) that the two-page report typed by Lipman is "now preserved in the Tauber Institute at Brandeis University, with other documents from the Third Reich."[3]

It is therefore quite likely that Sydnor, who teaches at Hampden-Sydney College in Virginia, either learned of the Lipman's typescript from Lipman himself, or discovered it at Brandeis, while he was researching his book *Soldiers of Destruction*.

In a footnote following his presentation of the "report" in *Hitler and the Final Solution* (p. 143), Fleming characterizes the existing "Resettlement-Action" document as follows:

> Typewritten copy, deposited by Charles W. Sydnor in the U.S. National Archives; one of three carbon copies from [*sic*] Alfred Franke-Gricksch's report, written on a service mission through the Generalgouvernement between 14 and 16 May 1943, is in author's possession.

In a letter to Fleming dated February 19, 1991, I wrote:

> I have been trying to locate the carbon copy from which the typewritten report was culled, and as a result, have been directed to you, as I have discerned that Brandeis and the US National Archives do not possess the carbon.

Upon reading Fleming's reply of March 1, in which he wrote, "I am sending you the requested photocopy," I rather understandably expected to receive a photocopy of the carbon copy of the full report ascribed to Franke-Gricksch. Instead, Fleming merely sent me a photocopy of the same typescript "copy," complete with English-language heading, that is reproduced in facsimile by Pressac.[4]

Thus, Fleming's statement that "one of three carbon copies from Alfred Franke-Gricksch's report . . . is in author's possession" is apparently not true.

To sum up: There is no evidence that a carbon copy of the original report was ever "found" in the SS officer's career file. Nor is there any evidence that this elusive "carbon copy" is in the National Archives, or even that such a document ever existed. The only version of this report that seems to exist anywhere is Lipman's typescript "copy" of an alleged extract from the missing report.

Analysis of the Document

The document itself, Lipman's alleged typed copy of a carbon of the original, bears no reference to a letterhead or classification number, which were routine on authentic official reports, and would have been present on the original. Oddly enough, instead of supplying the date of the report at the top of page 1, Lipman has given the dates of Franke-Gricksch's supposed trip through the "General Gouvernement" (*sic*—the correct German designation is "Generalgouvernement"), although he stumbled over the year and had to handwrite "3" over the last digit, indecipherable in the copy available to this writer, in the year.

An analysis of the text of the "Resettlement-Action" report points toward a fabrication. Although it is represented that Lipman merely typed the "Umsiedlungs-Aktion der Juden" from the German original, the document contains tell-tale anglicisms, some of them uncorrected, some of them typed over with the equivalent German words. Thus, on the first line of the purported report, "had" for "hat"; "der," the second word of line 2, typed over "the"; and on line 3, "hier" typed over "here." On line 8 of the second page of the report, the alleged copyist typed "had," but corrected that to "hat," only to begin the following word with "t" (evidently for "the") before catching that and typing the correct German definite article,

"die." Furthermore, in the final paragraph of page 1, the English participial ending "d" is twice typed for the German "t," i.e. "ausgestatted" "ausgestattet" on line 5, which has been corrected, and "gebaded" for "gebadet" on line 9. And last, but not least, the verb "kommt" is used twice with the same subject in the sentence beginning on line 6 of the third paragraph of page 1.

These are certainly remarkable characteristics for what Fleming and Pressac advance as a simple transcription of a German original. A less trusting (or perhaps more scrupulous) interpreter might well be within his rights to suggest that this document was based on an English-language, not a German, source.

Fleming's Analysis

Fleming avoids dwelling on, or even mentioning, the textual peculiarities of the document. Instead, he limits himself to carping about the accuracy of one portion of the "report." He writes (p. 144):

> Franke-Gricksch's account of "the execution of the Führer-order," namely, the lowering of "certain materials" into a large cellar room resembling a "shower bath" and activation and release of "particular substances that put people to sleep in one minute" is a fraudulent and cynical white-washing of death by gassing.

Grasping to confirm the orthodox extermination story, Fleming regards the absurd statements which immediately follow as completely accurate. He accepts that specially chosen Jews extracted gold-filled teeth from the corpses, which were then loaded into elevators. He believes that the corpses burned very quickly in the "ten large crematoria." Fleming credulously accepts that half a million Jews had already been killed as part of this "Resettlement Action" by mid-May 1943, and that the camp's crematory ovens could "process" as many as ten thousand corpses every twenty-four hours. In support of this, he cites the incredible, and indeed fantastic, "testimony" of former "Sonderkommando" member Filip Müller, who made much the same claim.[5]

As for whom the report was intended, Fleming's viewpoint is no less unsatisfactory. He cites a letter written by Franke-Gricksch's superior, SS-Obergruppenführer Maximilian von Herff, who headed the SS Personnel Office and reported

directly to Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler, in which von Herff stated his intention to inspect the Auschwitz camp on May 4, 1943. Fleming goes on to argue, without advancing any evidence, that von Herff may not have visited Auschwitz after all, although he accepts that von Herff carried out the rest of the inspection tour. The reasoning for Fleming's contention here becomes evident on the next page of his book, where the Exterminationist scholar claims that Franke-Gricksch wrote the "Resettlement Action" report for von Herff. Fleming's shaky facts and logic provide, of course, the only possible rationale for Franke-Gricksch's composing such a report.[6]

In short, Fleming ignores the basic elements of historical source criticism, passing over the manifest defects and incongruities of the text of the alleged "transcript," and straining to manufacture a reason for its existence.

In any case Fleming's real authority for the authenticity of the "Umsiedlungs-Aktion" report is another, postwar, document, also allegedly composed by Alfred Franke-Gricksch, which bears the title "From the Diary of a Fallen SS Leader." We shall analyze this document in the light of Franke-Gricksch's remarkable political affinities and activities from the last years of the Weimar Republic to the postwar occupation, further on in this paper.

Pressac's Analysis

In contrast to Fleming's rather superficial appraisal of the document, French researcher Jean-Claude Pressac, the leading Exterminationist expert on the crematoria of Auschwitz-Birkenau, has wrestled with the "Resettlement-Action" report at length in his 1990 *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers*, not always to the advantage of the report's authenticity and veracity.[7]

Pressac reproduces a facisimile of a "typed copy of the carbon copy" of the alleged Franke-Gricksch report which is identical to the one provided to this author by Gerald Fleming, except that Fleming's version does not include Lipman's handwritten sentence and signature.

Pressac acknowledges a number of serious factual errors in the "Resettlement Action" report, which he accepts as authentic. He tries to discount their importance by explaining them away as understandable mistakes. As we shall see, Pressac's apologetic explanations are woefully inadequate.

Pressac assigns the site of the mass murders described in the report to Krematorium No. II at Birkenau. Whereas the "Resettlement Action " report describes "three big pillars" in the alleged death chamber, Pressac points out (p. 239) that there were actually four pillars in this room (which was actually a mortuary cellar, or Leichenkeller). He also acknowledges as erroneous the report's assertion that there were ten large crematory furnaces in this building. In fact, there were five three-muffle crematory ovens in Krema II. Pressac's "explanation" that perhaps Franke-Gricksch was referring to the total number of ovens in Kremas II and III together cannot be valid because the document specifically asserts that these ten crematory ovens were in a single building.

Pressac also admits that the figure of ten thousand daily cremations given in the "Resettlement Action" report is a physical impossibility (p. 239, n. 8). His lame "explanation" for this absurd figure is that it must have been a product of SS propaganda. He does not explain, though, why there should be propaganda falsehoods in a confidential, internal SS report. Pressac also fails to note that this figure, which he concedes is ridiculous, has also been cited by supposedly authoritative "eyewitnesses" such as Rudolf Höss, Miklos Nyiszli and Filip Müller, as well as in the Soviet War Crimes Commission Report of May 1945 (Nuremberg document USSR-008).[8]

Pressac concedes that the "Resettlement Action" report's claim that 500,000 Jews had already been killed by May 1943 is not true. The real figure, he asserts without evidence, was "probably somewhere between 200,000 and 250,000." Pressac fails to convincingly explain just why the killers would want to exaggerate their grisly toll by at least two-fold. Furthermore, even this lower estimate is difficult to accept, given the fact that the four Birkenau crematory facilities were not completed until between March and June 1943. [9]

The "most striking and serious error" in the "Resettlement Action" report, Pressac writes (p. 239), is the assertion that the "gas chamber" had a door at each end. In fact, this room had only one door ("through which the victims entered and from which the corpses were removed," Pressac adds). Pressac's lame explanation for Franke-Gricksch's "confusion" is that he must have taken "some kind of break in his visit to the crematorium that caused him to lose his bearings somewhat."

In addition to the errors that he willingly acknowledges,

Pressac silently passes over other problematic assertions in the document. For example, Pressac does not even try to explain how Jewish "Sonderkommando" members could have begun their gruesome work of hauling bodies from the "gas chamber" only "a few minutes" after the killings without themselves promptly falling victim to the residual poisonous vapors.[10]

Contrary to the claim in the "Resettlement Action" report (and by various "eyewitness") that the lethal substance (supposedly Zyklon) was lowered or dropped into the chamber through hollow pillars, anyone visiting the site of the extant ruins of this chamber (Leichenkeller I) can easily verify that the pillars there are not hollow, but are made of solid, steel-reinforced concrete.[11]

Further, Pressac offers no explanation for the document's silly assertion that "fresh corpses burn particularly well."

Nor does he attempt to account for the report's mention of a "special rail track into an area of the camp specifically set aside for this purpose." This can only refer to a rail spur from the main Auschwitz (Vienna-Krakow) rail line into the Birkenau camp. In fact, work on this Birkenau rail spur did not even begin until January 1944.[12]

This false reference to a "special rail track" would by itself be enough to show that the "Resettlement Action" report is fraudulent, and almost certainly a postwar fabrication. Fleming's credulity not merely in accepting the "Resettlement Action" report but in making it a centerpiece of his defense of the thesis that Hitler *did* give an explicit order to exterminate the Jews of Europe, and Pressac's ineffectual lucubrations to validate it, tell a good deal about the substance of contemporary Exterminationist scholarship.

Franke-Gricksch's Dubious Diary Entry

There remains the enigma of a postwar writing attributed to Alfred Franke-Gricksch, on which Fleming bases much of his credence in the "Resettlement Action" report.

Several months after his release from British captivity in 1948, Franke-Gricksch is said to have dictated a statement to his wife entitled "From the Diary of a Fallen SS Leader" ("Aus dem Tagebuch eines gefallenen SS-Führers"). This statement, which is quoted at some length by Fleming in *Hitler and the Final Solution* (pp. 146-151), would seem to corroborate the

extermination thesis, including an order by Hitler to "blot out once and for all the biological bases of Judaism."

The purported diary entry (Franke-Gricksch's actual diary of the wartime years, if it ever existed, seems to be missing), concerns an alleged meeting between Himmler, von Herff, and Franke-Gricksch shortly before the May 1943 "Generalgouvernement" inspection tour. (For reasons of space, the document is not reproduced here.)

As Gerald Fleming readily concedes, even the title of this document is misleading: Franke-Gricksch did not "fall" during the war. Fleming also accepts that this "diary" entry is not a contemporary record, but was indeed written after the war.[13]

In his 1978 letter to Franke-Gricksch's widow, Fleming wrote:

> The text "From the Diary of an SS Leader [*sic*]" can only be understood if it is read together with, and compared with, the report your husband drew up for Maximilian von Herff in mid-May 1943.

Franke-Gricksch's son Ekkehard begs to differ. In a November 4, 1990 letter to this author, he explained:

> By war's end, my father was manager of the office of Maximilian von Herff, head of the SS Personnel Main Office, and a member of Himmler's inner staff. As a member of this inner staff, he was involved, above all, with the questions of socio-political, economic, and financial-political policy that the SS had to put into effect . . .
>
> Through his work with von Herff, my father gained a keen insight into the morale among the SS leaders. As indicated in the "Diary of a Fallen SS Leader," no SS man wanted to serve in the concentration camps. The supervision of labor camps seemed pointless. This matter was repeatedly raised in discussions with Himmler, as a result of the increasing discontent among the SS men.
>
> It was in this context that Himmler spoke of the assigned task of the SS to administer and supervise these camps. This [he said] was a Führer Order. Fleming turned this into the [so-called] Führer Order for the extermination of the Jews. The diary was dictated by my father after the war. From many letters, I recognize his typewriter [script] with which the diary was written . . . As a consequence of his position in the SS Personnel Office, my father visited the concentration camps, but this was only out of concern for the SS men who worked there. It was out of this that the falsification was produced.

While Ekkehard's interpretation seems plausible, he fails to explain why his father would have entitled it "From the Diary of a Fallen SS Leader," or why this odd document was submitted in evidence at the 1965 Treblinka Trial.

Assuming that Alfred Franke-Gricksch wrote "From the Diary of a Fallen Soldier," what was his motive in writing it? Fleming, who recognizes that the document is enigmatic enough to require the help of the "Resettlement Action" "report" for elucidation, provides a speculative explanation that simply defies belief (pp. 152-153):

> . . . In autumn 1948, when the above account [the "Diary"] was written, von Herff was no longer alive to testify (having died in British captivity in 1945); Alfred Franke-Gricksch therefore saw himself with no choice but to supply, in as convincing and plausible a form as possible, the background circumstances of the report he made on the liquidation machinery at Auschwitz-Birkenau. He did not know at the time whether the Auschwitz ["Resettlement Action"] report had already been found and registered, but he had to reckon with the possibility that sooner or later this compromising document would indeed be found.

As we have demonstrated, though, the "Resettlement Action" document is not what it purports to be. It could not possibly have been written as an authentic first-person contemporary report. Franke-Gricksch therefore would not have had any reason to "cover himself" by writing this "Diary." In fact, it is obvious from even a casual reading of the "Diary" document that it more tended to incriminate than to exonerate Franke-Gricksch, particularly if one takes into account that the "Resettlement-Action" document has all the earmarks of a clumsy postwar forgery.

Fortunately, a look at Franke-Gricksch's ideology and background, and especially his political activities between late 1948 and late 1953, provides the most likely explanation of why this "Diary" was fabricated.

During the early 1930's, Franke-Gricksch was a leading activist in the political movement of Otto Strasser, who like his brother Gregor was a one-time comrade and later a bitter enemy of Hitler.

In his letter to the author of November 4, 1990, Ekkehard Franke-Gricksch wrote about his father's prewar activities:

> My father, my mother, the Strassers, and Himmler had known each other since about 1927. They were dedicated National Socialists, and thus followed Hitler. My father joined the party in 1928 and left it in 1930. Gregor Strasser was the witness at my parents' wedding . . .
>
> When Hitler took control of the government in 1933, and distanced himself from his original National Socialist goals . . . my father fled the country with Gregor [meant is Otto] Strasser . . . The Reich Supreme Court sentenced my father to death in absentia for treason—that is, because he was a member of the Strasser organization . . . [However] my father came to an understanding with Himmler about the Party's betrayal of the National Socialist revolution. Himmler and my father came to an agreement, and my father [returned to Germany and] joined the Waffen SS under the name of Alfred Franke—behind the back of the Party. Himmler only asked that he refrain from political activity for the time being, until the time was right for that.

In a short autobiographical statement ("Mein Lebenslauf in Stichworten") composed while in British captivity, Alfred Franke-Gricksch recalled his activist days with the Strasser organization in Prague:

> Separation from Otto Strasser due to fundamental differences of opinion in political matters. Strasser wanted his newspaper to oppose the return [to the Reich] of the Saar and Memel [territories] . . . I was of a different opinion: the Saar and Memel territories belong to Germany, and if we did not want to lose the trust of our fighters in Germany, the fight against Hitler must not be permitted to become a fight against Germany.[14]

Despite his break with Otto Strasser's "Black Front" and his enlistment in the SS, Franke-Gricksch maintained an open, indeed critical, mind. In February 1941 Franke-Gricksch sent Himmler a memorandum from Dachau, where he was serving as an officer responsible for ideological training of SS Totenkopf recruits, who guarded the concentration camps. The memorandum was, as Charles Sydnor summarizes (pp. 315-16):

> . . . subtly critical of the crude and harsh emphasis upon hatred of racial enemies and obedience to orders that Franke-Gricksch describes as the staple of political indoctrination in the SSTK. The document concludes with an appeal that Himmler revise the ideological training in the SS to include an emphasis upon what Franke-Gricksch calls the great political, economic, and

geographical issues the SS soldier needed to know to be a convinced National Socialist.

After his release from British captivity in 1948, Franke-Gricksch played a major role in organizing the "German Brotherhood" ("Deutsche Bruderschaft"), a semi-clandestine group largely made up of former Wehrmacht officers, Hitler Youth leaders, and SS men. Franke-Gricksch became the group's spokesman and "chancellor."[15]

The ideology of the "Brotherhood" reflected Franke-Gricksch's own past as a leader in the "Red-Brown" Strasser organization. The "Brotherhood" aligned itself with the Communist "National Front" and supported cooperation with the Soviet Union. A Munich newspaper reported in 1950 that the "Brotherhood" even offered to transfer its organization to the Soviet army.

By all accounts, Franke-Gricksch opposed Hitler (and "Hitlerism") before, during, and after the war. Given this record, it is reasonable to conclude that he was capable of working together with Allied intelligence personnel to furnish background information that would provide credibility for the "Resettlement Action" report. Such cooperation would also explain why an SS officer of Franke-Gricksch's standing might have been released by the British rather than being tried as a "war criminal." It may also provide a plausible motive for Franke-Gricksch to compose his back-dated, damningly anti-Hitler "diary" entry. In any case, Franke-Gricksch's political activities and aspirations indicate that he might well be willing to accept, and even help bolster for some conceivable reason of *Realpolitik*, the Allied propaganda claims about "gas chambers" and the like.[16]

But Franke-Gricksch's political activity was short-lived. Fleming reports (p. 141):

> In October 1951, he [Franke-Gricksch] went to visit his mother in Potsdam, where he and his wife were subsequently charged. For his activities with the SS Police division in Russia between August and the winter of 1942, Franke-Gricksch was condemned to death by the Russians in October 1951, in Karlshorst [a Berlin suburb], while his wife was sentenced to twenty-five years in a labor camp. In October 1955, his wife left Vorkuta and returned to West Germany.

With regard to his father's arrest and deportation, Ekkehard writes in his letter to the author (see above, p. 273):

> As a leader of the Brotherhood, my father was lured to East Berlin in late September 1951 where he was arrested by Soviet secret service agents. One or two days later his wife [Ekkehard's stepmother] was lured into the Soviet Zone with a fabricated letter containing the message that her husband had suffered a severe colic and was laid up at his mother's in Potsdam.
>
> He died on August 18, 1953, in the Vorkuta camp in the Soviet Union. My stepmother was sentenced to 25 years forced labor, but was released in 1956.

Why Franke-Gricksch was arrested, convicted, and sent off to death in the *Gulag* at precisely that time remains, no less than the motivation for his writing his fake diary entry, speculative. Could Franke-Gricksch have been playing some complicated intelligence game between East and West, Britain's SIS and its Soviet counterpart, while all the while striving to resurrect a neutral Germany following a "third way" beyond capitalism and communism?

As already indicated, Frau Liselotte Franke-Gricksch submitted the "Diary" entry as evidence for the prosecution in the 1965 West German Treblinka Trial. Interestingly, Frau Franke-Gricksch asked about her husband's fate and whereabouts in a letter of February 3, 1969, sent to the Tracing Service of the German Red Cross. Apparently she believed, or at least hoped, that her husband might still be alive in Soviet captivity. This provides a possible explanation for her decision to submit the "Diary" as evidence in the Treblinka trial. She may have believed that this act of cooperation might help procure her husband's release.

Conclusion

As we have shown, a careful examination of the available evidence shows that the "Resettlement Action" report attributed to Franke-Gricksch ("Umsiedlungs Aktion der Juden") is a postwar fabrication, most likely by Eric Lipman.

Even though this "report" is worthless as a document of historical importance, the way it has been handled and exploited by Exterminationist historians Gerald Fleming and Jean-Claude Pressac is revealing. In their frantic search for evidence to prove the Holocaust story, these historians have misrepresented, ignored or white-washed the clearly false assertions in the document's text, and ignored other evidence,

including the suspiciously defective text itself, that indicates its fraudulent character.

Instead of calmly evaluating evidence, subjecting it to critical analysis, and then drawing conclusions from it, Fleming and Pressac have instead tried to portray the bogus "Resettlement Action" report as an authentic and credible document, exploiting it as "evidence" to "prove" a preconceived view. This technique, which by the most charitable interpretation might be called wish fulfillment, is precisely the opposite of how open-minded historians should go about their work.

Notes

1. Eleven years after the publication of *Hitler's War*, Irving further modified his stand on this issue. On the basis of his own further research, and impressed with the results of execution expert Fred Leuchter's investigation of the alleged extermination gas chambers in Auschwitz, Irving joined Holocaust Revisionists such as Dr. Arthur Butz and Prof. Robert Faurisson, who maintain that there was no German wartime policy of extermination. For a more detailed discussion of the lack of documentary evidence for an extermination program, see: Carlo Mattogno, "The Myth of the Extermination of the Jews," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1988 (Vol. 8, No. 2), pp. 133-140.
2. C. Sydnor, *Soldiers of Destruction* (1977), p. 337, footnote.
3. In a January 1991 telephone conversation, Lipman informed me that he could not recall the Franke-Gricksch "Resettlement" document.
4. However, Lipman's handwritten sentence and signature at the end appears possibly to have been blanked out on the photocopy sent to me by Fleming.
5. Supposedly corroborating the "Resettlement" report, Fleming also cites Müller's description of the alleged gassing procedure. However, this is a description of gassings in Krema I (in the Auschwitz main camp), and not in Krema II in Birkenau, the supposed setting of gassings in the "Resettlement" report. Fleming also ignores differences between Müller's description of the gassing procedure, and the description given in the "report."
6. G. Fleming, pp. 144-145.
7. J.-C. Pressac, pp. 236-239.
8. Pressac provides no plausible explanation for his assertion (p. 239, n. 8) that "the maximum daily throughput of the four Birkenau Krematorien was in the order of 3,000 incinerations," since the coke consumption (25 to 50 kg per body) would have required 75,000-150,000 kg per day (!), and the retorts themselves could not possibly have operated at such a rate.

9. J.-C. Pressac, pp. 246, 348.
10. Whereas the "gas chamber" could hold 300 to 400 persons, according to the "Resettlement" report, both Fleming and Pressac fail to note that Filip Müller and other "eyewitnesses" have insisted that as many as 3,000 persons at a time were herded into the room.
11. Still another description of the alleged gassing procedure is given in the 1944 Vrba-Wetzler WRB report.
12. Martin Gilbert, *Auschwitz and the Allies* (1981), p. 34 (fn 3), p. 175.
13. G. Fleming, pp. 152, 153.
14. From p. 1 of a two-page typed copy provided the author by Ekkehard Franke-Gricksch.
15. Various German press accounts from the year 1950, including *Der Tagesspiegel* (Berlin), Nov. 17, 1950. Copies in author's possession, provided by Ekkehard Franke-Gricksch.
16. The case of Alfred Franke-Gricksch resembles in some respects that of Kurt Gerstein. See: Henri Roques, *The "Confessions" of Kurt Gerstein* (IHR, 1989).

Auschwitz and the Exile Government of Poland According to the "Polish Fortnightly Review" 1940-1945

ENRIQUE AYNAT

1. Motive and Genesis

For some time I have been interested in knowing how the Polish Government-in-Exile reacted to the enormous slaughter of Jews that supposedly took place in the concentration camp of Auschwitz.

Whatever may have occurred in Auschwitz, it was the concern of the Polish exile government, for Auschwitz was on the territory of the Polish Republic until September of 1939, and the Polish government that was installed in London beginning in June of 1940, recognizing none of the territorial annexations carried out by Germany, claimed jurisdiction over all of prewar Poland.

Accordingly, I have taken as my point of departure for this study the assumption that if a great slaughter of Jews had taken place in Auschwitz, the Polish Government-in-Exile would have known of it and in consequence manifested a reaction of some kind.

2. Purpose and Limits

The goal of this article is to determine what in fact was published about Auschwitz by the *Polish Fortnightly Review*, the official organ of the Ministry of the Interior of the Polish government in London; and it is therefore limited to a study, *based solely on those issues of the* Polish Fortnightly Review *published from 1940 to 1945*, of what was known by the Polish Government-in-Exile with regard to the Auschwitz camp. Other questions, such as analysis of the documents relating to Auschwitz that were sent to London by the Polish resistance, or the study of the references to that camp in the Polish underground press, have not been touched on in this investigation.

The selection of the *Polish Fortnightly Review* was motivated principally by three things:

a. the fact that it was an official organ of the Polish Government-in-Exile (see document I);

b. the fact, as pointed out by the Israeli professor David Engel, that it was one of "the principal vehicles for disseminating Polish propaganda in the English language" and "a primary vehicle through which the government released information to the Western press";[1] and

c. my incomprehension of the Polish sources, due to my still deficient understanding of that language; whereas the *Polish Fortnightly Review*, published in English, was accessible to me.

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4. Sources

Research was conducted at the end of April and beginning of May of 1991 using the collection of the *Polish Fortnightly Review* preserved in the Polish Library of the Polish Social and Cultural Association of London. The initial issue of the review was published on 15 July 1940 and the final one (number 119) on the 1 July 1945. I read through the collection issue by issue and page by page and noted that numbers 97 (1 August 1944), 101 to 106 (1 October to 15 December of 1944), and 116 to 119 (15 May to 1 July of 1945) were missing and so were not available for examination.

As for the documents cited in section 4.2 and in appendix 2, they come from the archives of the Polish Underground

Movement (1939-1945) Study Trust (Studium Polski Podziemnej [SPP]) of London.

5. Method

This study was developed in the following manner:

a. I have endeavored to find out how the Polish government was able to know what was going on inside Auschwitz and specifically what channels of communication existed between the camp and London; and

b. I have made a special point of information about Auschwitz published in the *Polish Fortnightly Review* relating to the supposed extermination of Jews there, and in particular what it published in that regard, what it did not publish, and why.

It should be noted that, when referring to Auschwitz, the *Polish Fortnightly Review* always uses the Polish designation of Oswiecim.

Lastly, the abbreviations and acronyms used in this article are as follows:

ACPW: Akcja Cywilna Pomocy Wiezniom (Civil Action in Aid of the Prisoners)

AK: Armia Krajowa (Home Army)

BBC: British Broadcasting Corporation

BIP: Biuro Informacji i Propagandy (Office of Information and Propaganda)

PGE: Polish Government-in-Exile

PFR: *Polish Fortnightly Review*

PWCK: Pomoc Wiezniom Obozow Koncentracyjnych (Aid for Concentration Camp Prisoners)

RAF: Royal Air Force

SOE: Special Operations Executive

SS: Schutzstaffel (Protection Detachment)

ZWZ: Zwiazek Walki Zbrojnej (Union for Armed Conflict)

1. POLISH INSTITUTIONS DURING THE WAR

1.1 The Polish Government-in-Exile

After the occupation of Poland by the Germans and Soviets in September of 1939, a Polish government was formed that

was determined to continue the struggle for independence, sovereignty, liberty and the territorial integrity of the Polish Republic. This new government believed that these objectives could be achieved only after the crushing of the Third Reich and by means of an alliance with the Western powers.

The cabinet was sworn in on 1 October 1939 before the new president, Wladyslaw Raczkiewicz. General Wladyslaw Sikorski was the prime minister.

For obvious reasons the cabinet met in exile. First it set up in Paris. Later, in the face of the German advance, it moved to Angers, in the western part of France. Finally, after the sudden collapse of France in June of 1940, it fled to London.

The PGE was recognized by all the Allied nations, including (from July of 1941 to April of 1943) the Soviet Union.[2]

The PGE maintained contact with occupied Poland, though its contacts of course were carried out clandestinely. Instructions, orders, directives and in general all kinds of information destined for Poland were almost always transmitted by means of the Polish section of the Special Operations Executive (SOE). The SOE, whose political chief was the British Minister of Economic Warfare, was an organization charged with carrying the war to the territories occupied by Germany. The Polish section of the SOE cooperated closely with the Polish General Headquarters in London; it sent radio messages and frequently dropped agents by parachute. Starting in 1942, the dropping of agents became routine; and from 1944 on, even airplane landings were made on improvised airstrips.[3]

1.2 The Delegatura

The Delegatura, which operated from 1940 into 1945, embodied the PGE's clandestine representation inside Poland. It was headed by a delegate (*Delegat*) and three substitutes. The delegate was assisted by a committee made up of members of the political parties on which the PGE was based. The Delegatura functioned as a shadow government and had numerous sections, corresponding to the ministries of a regular administration. The organization extended to the provinces, districts and townships and so was a broad underground network that covered all of Poland. In practice, the Delegatura directed a true alternative government, a secret state with its own educational system, its courts, its welfare

organizations, its intelligence service and its own armed forces.[4]

1.3 The Armia Krajowa

Paralleling the Polish armed forces which fought the Germans openly under British command and which were made up of Poles who had managed to escape from Poland, there existed an actual secret army, the *Armia Krajowa* (Internal Army), which operated secretly within the borders of prewar Poland.

The AK was formed in February of 1942 on the basis of a prior clandestine military organization, the *Zwiazek Walki Zbrojnej* (Alliance for Armed Conflict). General Stefan Rowecki was its first commander. After the latter's detention by the Germans in 1943, General Bor-Komorowski was appointed to the post.

The AK was organized as a real army, with a general staff, professional officers, an intelligence service, a service corps, etc., and it was divided territorially in accordance with the administrative division of the prewar districts. Thus, for example, in the organization chart of the AK, the Auschwitz zone was part of the district of Silesia.

In terms of manpower, it is reckoned that in the first half of 1944 the AK numbered between 250,000 and 350,000 men, including more than 10,000 officers.[5]

2. CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION BETWEEN AUSCHWITZ AND LONDON

2.0 Preliminary Considerations

Our immediate concern will be to find out whether the PGE in London could know what was going on in Auschwitz and, specifically, whether it could have had knowledge of a gigantic slaughter of Jews supposedly taking place in the camp.

In sum, this is a matter of determining the sources of information available to the PGE. For that it will be necessary first to establish whether in fact there were clandestine resistance organizations in the concentration camp, then whether or not they were able to obtain trustworthy information and get it out of the camp, and lastly whether they could get this information to London.

2.1 The Clandestine Resistance and Intelligence Organizations inside the Camp

A resistance organization existed in the concentration camp as early as October of 1940. It was founded by a Polish officer, Witold Pilecki, who had been arrested and sent to Auschwitz in September of 1940. About the same time, a resistance group of the Polish Socialist Party was also established; and later, in 1941, a rightist organization was formed under the direction of Jan Mosdorf. Finally, in May of 1943, an international resistance organization was created, the *Kampfgruppe Auschwitz* (Auschwitz Combat Group), which took in members of various nationalities, principally of socialist and communist ideology.[6]

The various organizations established contact with one another more or less frequently, depending upon their national or ideological affinities.

Among the objectives of the resistance was that of "gathering evidence relative to crimes committed by the SS and transmitting it abroad."[7]

As the concentration camp installations were expanded, the clandestine organizations grew proportionately. In Birkenau, an underground organization created by Colonel Jan Karcz was in existence by April of 1942. Karcz recruited a large number of members and created his own "apparatus," the only way to direct clandestine operations in such a large camp. Some of Karcz's men were placed in blocks of Jews expressly to try to help alleviate their suffering. Contact between the Birkenau organization and that of the main Auschwitz camp was maintained on an almost daily basis by means of a liaison. Gathering information was one of the principal tasks of the Karcz group.[8]

In about the middle of 1943, a secret organization was established in the Birkenau women's camp. One of its activities was the passing of information about life in the camp. Contacts between this women's group and the main camp were effected by means of a "mailbox" where secret messages were delivered and received.[9]

The growth of the resistance organizations' membership, from the time of the camp's opening, was spectacular. By 1942, Pilecki's organization alone had around 1,000 members, divided between Auschwitz and Birkenau. Pilecki states that in just one month, March 1942, he personally recruited more

than 100 persons for his group alone. The nationalist and socialist organizations grew as well.[10] In the same year, Colonel Kazimierz Rawicz, leader of a clandestine organization of prisoners, prepared a plan for a massive revolt in the camp and surrounding area, a plan which he sent to the commander of the AK so that he could set the date for initiating the action.[11]

The resistance groups were so strong by 1942 and 1943 that they had managed to introduce their tentacles into the nerve centers of camp life. Their members controlled the hospital, the work assignment office, and exercised vital functions in the central office, the kitchen, the construction office, the food and clothing warehouses, many of the prisoner work detachments (*Kommandos*) and even the political department.[12]

The clandestine groups had even gained the complicity of some members of the SS, mainly *Volksdeutschen*,[13] who had promised them assistance and access to the munitions depot in the event of an uprising.[14]

In view of the foregoing, several conclusions must be drawn:

a. that resistance organizations were already functioning by the end of 1940, scarcely more than a few months after the opening of the camp;

b. that these organizations had a considerable number of members and had spread throughout all sectors of the extensive prison complex of Auschwitz-Birkenau by at least the year 1942; and

c. that therefore, if there had been any systematic killing of Jews from 1942 on, the resistance organizations would have been in a position to know of it in detail.

2.2 The Resistance Organizations outside the Camp

Clandestine organizations also existed at an early date in the area surrounding the concentration camp. In 1940 the ZWZ created the Oswiecim (Auschwitz) district, which formed part of the Bielsko "Inspectorate." In 1942, the ZWZ took the name of Armia Krajowa.[15]

The resistance was very active in the Oswiecim district. *The Polish Fortnightly Review* gives evidence of this. It mentions,

for example, that several freight trains were derailed on the outskirts of Oswiecim in July of 1943.[16]

It was pointed out in the foregoing section that there were plans for an uprising in Auschwitz. These plans merited the attention of the general staff of the AK, which sent one of its men to the area to get a more precise idea of the situation. The officer in question was one Stefan Jasienski, who had arrived from England by parachute. Jasienski, a specialist in intelligence work, was sent from Warsaw to the immediate area of Auschwitz at the end of July of 1944. Given the importance of his mission, he was provided with all necessary contacts in the area and especially with means for secretly effecting liaison with the "military council" of the camp.[17]

Clandestine organizations were also created for the sole purpose of giving assistance to the prisoners of Auschwitz and maintaining contact with them. Thus, by the second half of 1940, a group called *Akcja Cywilna Pomocy Wiezniom* (ACPW-Civilian Action for Prisoner Assistance) was formed, the principal task of which was the collection of food, medicine and clothing, and then getting them into the camp through their camp contacts. These same contacts also served for passing messages back and forth. In May of 1943 a committee was formed in Cracow named *Pomoc Wiezniom Obozow Koncentracyjnych* (PWOK-Aid for Prisoners of Concentration Camps), the aims of which were similar to those of ACPW. The PWOK, despite the plural in its name, worked exclusively in behalf of the prisoners of Auschwitz.[18]

Having established the existence of clandestine organizations both within and outside the camp, we now have only to see how contact was established between them.

2.3 Contacts between the Camp and the Outside

Contacts between the interior of the camp and the outside were facilitated by the location of Auschwitz. As the author Walter Laqueur acknowledges, Auschwitz did not lie in a wilderness, but in a densely industrialized and very populous area, near such important cities as Beuthen (Bytom), Gleiwitz (Gliwice), Hindenburg (Zabrze) and Kattowitz (Katowice). Auschwitz, moreover, was a virtual "archipelago," with about 40 administratively dependent subcamps.[18]

Besides the peculiar situation of Auschwitz, contacts were facilitated by the fact that many of the prisoners worked

outside the camp together with members of the civilian population, and also because many civilian laborers worked within the camp.

Specifically, with regard to the civilian workers, it suffices to say that there were hundreds of them and that there were as many Germans as Poles. These workers arrived at the camp in the morning and left in the evening after finishing their day's work.[20] They were employed because of the great amount of work to be done in the camp and the fact that there were hardly enough specialized workers among the prisoners. And civilians and prisoners worked together as often as not.[21]

Due to the growing number of prisoners and the work done outside the camp, the Germans found it impossible, despite their measures of vigilance and control (barbed wire fencing, watchtowers, police dogs, patrols, etc.), to prevent contact between the prisoners and the local population, which was exclusively Polish. Segments of the population formed part of the resistance organizations. In particular, the prisoner Kommandos working in the neighborhood of the camp frequently conversed with the Polish civilians. Upon occasion the civilians hid food, medicine and packages in previously arranged locations for the prisoners to pick up. The SS guards in charge of these Kommandos often looked the other way or else allowed themselves to be bought off in exchange for a good meal.[22]

As far as that goes, the possibilities for contacts were innumerable and extended to all the camps, subcamps and installations linked with the Auschwitz prison complex: such as the Rajsko subcamp, the fish nurseries of Harmeze, the camp for free workers, and the big industrial complex set up at Monowitz for the fabrication of gasoline and synthetic rubber.[23]

Such contacts, above all those relating to the exchange of letters and packages, soon acquired a regular character. A clandestine organization in the camp would quickly set up a permanent connection enabling it to pass information regularly by letter to a resistance group in Cracow. Some 350 of these letters have been preserved in that city, "a fraction of a much more significant total."[24] The exchange of parcels between the camp and the outside grew to such an extent that, for example, a group of prisoners took it upon themselves to secretly make overcoats for AK partisan units operating in the vicinity of the camp. The packages were delivered by

prisoners who worked in the agricultural fields or at nearby subcamps.[25]

Furthermore, the existence in Auschwitz of a clandestine radio transmitter has been confirmed. It was secretly installed in the cellar of block 20 in the spring of 1942. By means of contacts and couriers the leadership of the Silesia district of the AK succeeded in finding out the wavelength on which it was transmitting. The transmitter was in operation over a period of seven months, sending information about living conditions in the camp, in spite of which the Germans never managed to discover it. It stopped sending in the fall of 1942.[26]

There were even German personnel in the camp who collaborated with the resistance, such as Maria Stromberger, a nurse who carried messages from the camp to the heads of the AK in Cracow and Silesia and in turn brought in illegal correspondence, medicine, arms and explosives. Along with her, a group of SS guards offered to help the prisoners by acting as couriers.[27]

As the result of all that, there existed even in the first year of the camp's life a permanent, even though fragile, liaison between the camp and the intelligence section of the Cracow district of the secret army; by the end of 1941 a special cell had been set up at AK headquarters in Cracow for liaison with the Auschwitz camp.[28]

Clandestine contacts between Auschwitz and the outside were already so frequent and well organized by 1942 that Pilecki, founder of one of the resistance groups within the camp, was in "constant relationship" not only with the headquarters of the AK in Warsaw but also with the commandants of the districts of Cracow and Silesia.[29]

Moreover, the information secretly got out of Auschwitz was not limited solely to messages and reports prepared by the resistance. On occasion it included even entire volumes of official German documentation, such as, for example, two volumes of the "Bunker book" (*Bunkerbuch*) in which were noted all the admissions and discharges taking place in the camp prisons. These documents were smuggled out at the beginning of 1944.[30]

The ways by which information was passed were not always strictly clandestine. On numerous occasions messages left Auschwitz by much simpler means: carried by prisoners released by the Germans. Thus, to cite only a few cases

connected with the resistance group founded by Pilecki, a first report went out by that means as early as November of 1940; in February and March of 1941, two others were sent; and at the end of 1941 another prisoner, Surmacki, was released unexpectedly and took with him to Warsaw a message from Pilecki himself.[31]

An unusually large number of prisoners was released during 1942: there were 952 releases during the first half of that year and 36 in the following six months. There was a number of releases in 1943 as well, and at the beginning of 1944 a considerable number of Jewish women were released, thanks to the intervention of a German industrialist.[32]

Another means by which information was passed to the outside was provided by the escapees. Sometimes the only purpose of the escape was to send messages out of the camp. An example of this kind of escape is that of Pilecki himself. This Polish officer decided to flee in order to persuade the heads of the AK to accept his plan for an uprising in Auschwitz and incidentally to provide information about the general situation in the camp. Pilecki escaped on 27 April 1943. Four months later, on 25 August, he reached Warsaw, where he contacted the officer who handled Auschwitz at AK headquarters.[33] Two other members of the Pilecki group had escaped previously with the identical objective of passing information to the headquarters of the AK.[34]

One may conclude from what has been stated above that because of its geographical situation and its special characteristics as a work camp open to civilian workers, Auschwitz was not the most adequate place for keeping secrets. If to that we add the efficiency with which the resistance groups worked, operating radio transmitters, enlisting the complicity of German guards, organizing escapes and utilizing released prisoners for their purposes, we should have to conclude that, for the Polish resistance, the Auschwitz camp was practically transparent. Accordingly, if there had been any massive extermination of Jews in Auschwitz, it would without doubt very shortly have been known in detail in the resistance headquarters in Warsaw.

2.4 Communications between Poland and London

All known sources indicate that the clandestine communications between Poland and London were on a

regular basis and that the information transmitted was abundant. General Bor-Komorowski, the commandant of the AK, has pointed out that the secret reports:

> were regularly dispatched by radio to London and in the years 1942-4 numbered 300 per month. They contained details concerning every aspect of the war. Apart from radio transmission, the essential facts of our Intelligence material were microfilmed and sent every month to London by courier.[35]

The information moreover went from the one place to the other with relative rapidity. The couriers traveled to London via Sweden or across western Europe and took several weeks, sometimes as much as two months, to arrive. Short messages, on the other hand, could be sent daily by radio to London. The Polish resistance had about a hundred radio transmitters at its disposal.[36]

Courier liaison with London was at first—from 1941 until the end of July of 1942—maintained through several members of the Swedish colony in Warsaw who, when returning to Sweden, carried messages from both the AK and the Delegatura. The periodical reports on the situation within Poland (*Sprawozdanie sytuacyjne z Kraju*) published by the PGE were based principally on material carried by the Swedes.[37]

Beginning with the second half of 1942, maintenance of communications was taken over by the Polish couriers. The most famous of these was Jan Karski (Kozielewski). Karski lived clandestinely in Warsaw in 1941 and 1942, devoting himself to psychological warfare ("black propaganda") against the German occupiers. At the end of 1942 the leadership of the resistance ordered him to carry information to London. Karski left Poland secretly in October of 1942 and arrived in England the following month after traveling across Germany and France. In London he drafted a report which became famous. The Karski case was widely heralded in the Allied newspapers. Karski even made a propaganda tour of the United States, where he met with important figures, including President Roosevelt himself.

Jan Karski was very well informed. He had specialized in the study of the underground press. Cognizant of the great historical importance of the latter, he had put together

probably "the richest collection of Polish underground material existent—newspapers, pamphlets, and books."[38] Moreover, he had occupied a privileged observation post during his period of secret activities in Poland. Thanks to his job as liaison and to his frequent contact with the upper echelons of the resistance, both civilian and military, Karski "was able to survey the entire structure of the underground movement and to form a detailed picture of the situation as a whole in Poland." [39] For that reason the leaders of the Polish underground sent him to London.

Another especially well-informed courier was Jan Nowak (Zdzislaw Jezioranski). Nowak was selected in 1943 to travel secretly to England, carrying the maximum possible information. With this in view, Nowak met that summer with the head of the *Biuro Informacji i Propagandy* (BIP-Bureau of Information and Propaganda) of the AK. The chief of the BIP was "in a sense minister of AK internal propaganda and policy. He controlled not only the military underground press, but also a widespread information network."[40] On order of this person, Nowak met also with the section heads of the BIP, among them the head of the "Jewish section," with all of whom he held "long and exhaustive" conversations over a period of one month.[41] In consequence, when he set off for London in the summer of 1943, Nowak had to be one of the persons best informed about what was going on in Poland.

Nowak arrived in London in December of 1943. Some months later, in mid-1944, he was ordered to return to Poland, where he arrived via parachute. He took part in the Warsaw uprising; after that was crushed, he managed to escape to London in January of 1945.

In short, if there had been a massive extermination of Jews in Auschwitz, the leadership of the resistance within Poland would not have failed to communicate it to their superiors in London, either by means of radio messages or by courier. Specifically, couriers such as Jan Karski and Jan Nowak—men specially trained to carry the maximum possible information to London—would certainly have communicated this terrible occurrence to the Polish authorities in exile.

2.5 Conclusion

It is impossible to accept that the PGE did not know what was taking place in Auschwitz. Apart from the obvious

reasons, we must also take into account the level of capability the information and intelligence system of the Polish resistance had achieved. The AK had a most efficient intelligence system, which extended its tentacles even beyond Poland. It had sections assigned to researching the economic and military problems of the German forces in Poland and behind the Russian front, and others charged with obtaining information on the economic situation inside Germany, on ship movements in the ports of the Baltic and the North Sea, and on German morale.[42] For example, in the spring of 1942 the leaders of the AK received detailed information on the number and position of the German divisions in the Ukraine and on the preparations the Germans were making to exploit the oil fields of the Caucasus.[43] The Poles also succeeded in obtaining top-quality information about some of the most highly guarded secrets of the Reich. Thus, in the spring of 1943, the AK received information that the Germans were carrying out experiments with mysterious weapons on Peenemünde, on an island in the Baltic Sea. A few weeks later Polish agents had obtained detailed plans of the area of the experiments and had sent them to London.[44] Similarly, at the end of 1943 the intelligence service of the AK detected tests the Germans were making with the V-2 rocket in the area of Sandomierz (Poland), following which extensive reports on the secret new German weapon were sent to London. It so happens that the head of this secret investigation, Jerzy Chmielewski, had been under arrest in Auschwitz and had been released on bail in March of 1944. Chmielewski personally flew to London with the reports and several components of the V-2 rocket.[45]

The BIP of the AK, furthermore, from February of 1942 on had a Section for Jewish Affairs whose principal function was to collect information on the situation of the Jewish population.[46]

In sum, the intelligence system of the Polish resistance was so well developed and so efficient that had there actually been a massive extermination of Jews in Auschwitz, it would have been known practically at once, in detail. In turn, detailed reports about the Auschwitz extermination would have reached London by courier in a relatively short time. Briefer reports would have been radioed immediately.

In addition, the massive annihilation of Jews in Auschwitz would have been so impossible to hide that, as author Jozef Garliński has recognized, had there been no intelligence organization whatsoever, "the secret could still not have been kept."[47]

All the facts clearly indicate, therefore, that if a slaughter of hundreds of thousands of Jews had taken place in Auschwitz, the PGE *would necessarily have known of it.*

3. AUSCHWITZ AND THE EXTERMINATION OF JEWS IN THE *POLISH FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW*

3.0 Preliminary Considerations

The fact which forcibly stands out after examination of the PFR collection—with the proviso that the issues of the fourth quarter of 1944 could not be examined—is that up to the 1st of May of 1945 (No. 115), *there is not the slightest revelation that Jews were exterminated in Auschwitz.* Only in issue 115, published when the war was practically over and the Allied atrocity propaganda about the German concentration camps was in full swing, do we find the first reference to the extermination of Jews in Auschwitz: it concerns the testimonies of two women who had been detained in the camp (see appendix 1).

In short, the official organ in English of the Polish Ministry of Information—its principal medium of information and propaganda abroad—did not reveal until the spring of 1945 the slightest indication that there had been a gigantic massacre of Jews, a slaughter moreover that had allegedly gone on continuously over a period of three years, from the beginning of 1942 to the end of 1944.

It must also be emphasized that the Auschwitz camp is repeatedly mentioned in the PFR, although there is no intimation that it was a place where Jews were being exterminated; and at the same time, while the extermination of Jews is frequently cited, there is never an indication that it was being carried out in Auschwitz.

Let us look, then, at these two aspects of the question more thoroughly.[48]

3.1 Auschwitz Is Mentioned Repeatedly, but Without Reference to Jewish Extermination There

Following now in chronological order are all the references to Auschwitz that appeared in the PFR up to May of 1945:

a. Article "The Concentration Camp at Oswiecim" (no. 21, 1 June 1941, pp. 6-7).

The article points out that the telegrams that arrived from Auschwitz communicating the death of prisoners "first focused the attention of all Poland on this place of torture at the end of last year" (p. 6). It also indicates that the mortality rate was very high—between 20 and 25 per cent—due to ill treatment by the guards, to the exceptionally bad conditions, to the mass executions and to illness contracted because of the cold, overwork and nervous tension. Families were authorized to receive urns with the ashes of the deceased. The work conditions and food were horrible. The prisoners did not receive shoes until the 19th of September of 1940. There was only one towel for 20 persons. The work day started at 4:30 a.m. Two hundred prisoners had been released and had returned to Warsaw, although in a lamentable state of health, inasmuch as a "released prisoner is as a rule a sick man, tuberculous and with a weak heart, and in a state of nervous collapse" (p.7).

Let us emphasize that by the end of 1940 "the attention of all Poland" was centered on Auschwitz and that by the middle of 1941 the PGE already had detailed data regarding the interior of Auschwitz, though invested with the characteristic tone of atrocity propaganda.

b. Article "Oswiecim Concentration Camp" (no. 32, 15 November 1941, pp. 5-6).

According to the author of the article, the Auschwitz camp, "which is the largest in Poland, merits a detailed description" (p. 5). Next, as in the previous article, the general situation of the camp is described. The barracks had chinks and lacked heating. The prisoners lacked their own towels, which spread infections. Moreover, many persons "suffering from venereal diseases are deliberately sent to the camp" (p. 5). Work began at 5 a.m. and was exhausting. The prisoners had to work even when they were ill. The roll calls were terrible: they were the cause of frequent deaths. A system of collective responsibility had been imposed on the prisoners, so that

punishments were frequent and were applied by means of a large repertory of tortures. The winter of 1940-1941 was distinguished by its high mortality rate, with figures running between 70 and 80 corpses per day (one day 156). The death rate went down in the spring and following summer to 30 persons a day. At the end of November of 1940 there were 8,000 Poles in Auschwitz, divided into three groups: political prisoners, criminals, and priests and Jews. Those in the last group were the worst treated "and no member of the group leaves the camp alive" (p. 6).

The most important thing to point out here is that at the end of 1941 the PFR was in a position to publish "a detailed description" of what was happening in Auschwitz.

c. Article "German Lawyers at Work" (no. 40, 15 March 1942, p. 8).

This concerns the text of a radio message from Stanislaw Stronski, Polish Minister of Information, which was broadcast by the BBC's Polish news service on 11 March 1942. Stronski points out that all "the German war criminals, from the degenerate Frank in the Polish Wawel to the degenerate overseers in Oswiecim concentration camp, are responsible for the fact that in a land in which their very existence is a crime, they are murdering a hundred for one."

d. Article "Pawiak Prison in Warsaw and Oswiecim Concentration Camp" (no. 47, 1 July 1942, pp. 2-3).

In this article it is said that besides the main camp built in the vicinity of Auschwitz, there was another nearby "in which the brutalities are so terrible that people die there quicker than they would have done in the main camp" (p. 2). The prisoners said this camp was "paradisiac" [*paradiesisch* = paradisiac/heavenly] "presumably because from it there is only one road, leading to Paradise" (p. 2).

The article here no doubt refers to the Birkenau camp, the construction of which had begun in October of 1941.[49]

The prisoners of both camps, the author of the article goes on to say, were annihilated in three ways: "by excessive labour, by torture, and by medical means" (p.2).

The prisoners of camp "paradise" in particular had to do very hard work "chiefly in building a factory for artificial rubber production near by" (p.2).

In fact, in April of 1941 the Germans had begun constructing a large chemical complex of the I.G. Farben company designed for the manufacture of synthetic rubber and gasoline. The Auschwitz prisoners were used as laborers in the construction of this complex.[50]

The Germans, the writer of the article continues, made use of a "scientific" method for killing prisoners. It consisted in the administration of injections which slowly affected the internal organs, especially the heart. Moreover, it is "universally believed that the prisoners are used for large-scale experiments in testing out new drugs which the Germans are preparing for unknown ends" (p. 2). In the context of the experiments conducted on the prisoners, the use of poison gas with a homicidal purpose is described:

> It is generally known that during the night of September 5th to 6th last year about a thousand people were driven down to the underground shelter in Oswiecim, among them seven hundred Bolshevik prisoners of war and three hundred Poles. As the shelter was too small to hold this large number, the living bodies were simply forced in, regardless of broken bones. When the shelter was full, gas was injected into it, and all the prisoners died during the night. All night the rest of the camp was kept awake by the groans and howls coming from the shelter. Next day other prisoners had to carry out the bodies, a task which took all day. One hand-cart on which the bodies were being removed broke down under the weight (p. 2).

Something paradoxical would seem to have been produced here: the PFR knew—and published—data on the incidental extermination of a thousand persons at a time when it was presumably completely unaware of the massive and regular extermination of hundreds of thousands of Jews throughout 1942, 1943 and 1944.

On the other hand, the thesis of the extermination of a thousand Russians and Poles in the underground shelter of Auschwitz and its later evolution in the "Exterminationist" doctrine has been completely discredited.[51]

The article also points out that a section for women had recently been formed in Oswiecim (p. 2). From that may be inferred that the article contained information on Auschwitz from at least as late as March of 1942, since the first transport of women arrived at the camp on the 26 March 1942.[52]

Finally, the article records that Oswiecim had the capacity for 15,000 prisoners, "but as they die on a mass scale there is always room for new arrivals" (p. 3).

e. "*Furor germanicus*" (no. 47, 1 July 1942, p. 8).

This is the title of a talk by Stanislaw Stronski broadcast by the Polish news service of the BBC on 1 July 1942.

The *furor germanicus* is produced, according to Stronski, because the "Germans are raging," and now that they "are satiating their age-old lust for domination, they are swimming in the blood of the defenceless and luxuriating in the torments of their victims." According to Stronski, the Polish government had at that time "a very clear picture of the methods of government, i.e., the German persecutions and barbarities in Poland during the first six months of this year" and that the "latest reports from Poland confirm the sombre news which has come in great detail during the last six months, and convey the incredible dimensions of the crimes." These reports had to be truly recent, since the introductory note to this issue indicated that it corresponded "to the latest possible date" and that for the most part it "relates to the situation at the beginning of June, less than a month ago" (p. 1).

The only reference to Auschwitz in Stronski's radio message is the following: "In addition to the torture camps for men, with Oswiecim as the chief, there are now torture camps for women, such as the one near Fürstenburg (Mecklenburg) known as Ravensbrück."

So that in spite of this "very clear picture" of the situation in Poland and the recentness of the information, the PGE seemed not to know of the killing of Jews that was supposedly being carried out in Auschwitz from the beginning of 1942.[52]

f. Press conference statement of the Polish Minister of the Interior, Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, on 9 July 1942 (no. 48, 15 July 1942, pp. 4-6).

In his extensive statement referring to the latest events that had occurred in Poland and in which he emphasizes that the *furor teutonicus* had reached "a murderous paroxysm" (p. 6), Mikolajczyk only mentions Auschwitz in passing: "In the concentration camp at Oswiecim itself the number of prisoners held has risen in the course of three months by 8,000" (p.5).

g. In the article "Concentration Camps" (no. 48, 15 July 1942, p. 3), Auschwitz appears in an account of 23 concentration camps "where Poles are confined."

The article indicates that groups of prisoners are continually being sent to Oswiecim from all the prisons in Poland and specifically some hundreds of them in the months of March and April of 1942. There are notices of the demise of prisoners "who are unable to stand up to the rigours of the camp" and indication also that large groups of prisoners go to work every day on the construction of a synthetic gasoline plant in the immediate area. Lastly, precise information is given on deceased prisoners.

h. In another article, "Polish Youth in the War" (no. 56, 15 November 1942, p. 8), Auschwitz appears as one of the places where young Poles 12 to 18 years of age were interned.

i. The article "Children in Prisons and Concentration Camps" (no. 77, 1 October 1943, p. 5), reports:

> Other reports from Poland say that children under the age of 12 sent with the transports to the camp at Oswiecim are not accepted by the camp authorities, but are killed on the spot, in special gas chambers installed for the purpose. This information first came to hand in December, 1942, and has since been repeated in several reports.

From the context we infer that this concerns Polish children. This is the only reference to gas chambers in Auschwitz prior to 1945.

3.2 The Extermination of Jews Is Mentioned Repeatedly, but with No Reference to Auschwitz

Following in chronological order are the references to the extermination of Jews that appeared in the PFR up to May of 1945:

a. The article "Pawiak Prison in Warsaw and Oswiecim Concentration Camp" (no. 47, 1 July 1942, p. 3) reports: "It is also well known in Poland that last year a party of Jews was taken off to the neighbourhood of Hamburg, where they were all gassed."

So the alleged fate of *a party* of Jews in Hamburg was "well known" in Poland, whereas the *routine* slaughter of Jews that was supposedly taking place in Auschwitz was not known—or not revealed.

b. Article "Destruction of the Jewish Population" (no. 47, 1 July 1942, pp. 4-5).

According to the writer, the first manifestations of the new repressive measures against the Jews, in the form of mass shootings, took place in Nowy Sacz, Mielec, Tarnow and Warsaw. A little later the Lublin ghetto was obliterated. The German press said that the ghetto had been transferred to the locality of Majdan Tatarski, "but in fact almost the entire population was exterminated" (p. 4). A certain number of Jews from the ghetto were put into freight cars that were taken outside the city "and left on a siding for two weeks, until all inside had perished of starvation" (p. 5). However, most of the Lublin Jews were taken to Sobibor, "where they were all murdered with gas, machine-guns and even by being bayoneted" (p. 5). Detachments of Lithuanian auxiliary police (*szaulis*) had been brought to Poland to carry out these mass exterminations. It is also noted that there was confirmation of the "complete extermination" of the Jews in the areas of the East. Cities such as Molodeczno and Baranowicze had been left completely *judenfrei* (free of Jews) (p. 5). Some thousands of Jewish children were murdered in Pinsk in the fall of 1941. In turn, in March of 1942, 12,000 Jews were liquidated in Lwow, where wholesale crimes were still going on. In the cities of Southeast Poland, "Ruthenian [or Ukrainian-Ed.] organizations organize hunts after the Jews who are still hiding in numbers in the villages" (p.5).

c. On 8 July 1942 the Polish National Council, a sort of parliament-in-exile, in a resolution directed to the parliaments of the free nations, alerted them to the "newly revealed facts of the systematic destruction of the vital strength of the Polish Nation and the planned slaughter of practically the whole Jewish population" (no. 48, 15 July 1942, p. 3).

d. The following day, 9 July, a press conference took place in which several Polish dignitaries living in exile participated (no. 48, 15 July 1942. pp. 4-8). Mikolajczyk, the Minister of the Interior, said that the "wholesale extermination of the Jews" had begun (p. 4). He said there had been a number of killings of Jews in the Belzec and Trawniki camps, where "murders are also carried out by means of poison gas" (p. 6). He also cited killings of Jews in some twenty localities, with figures of the victims, depending on the location, of from 120 to 60,000. The methods of extermination were by machine guns, hand grenades and poison gas (p. 6).

At the same press conference, Dr. Schwarzbart, a Jewish representative on the Polish National Council, mentioned killings in about thirty places, with figures of the victims, depending on the location, that varied between 300 and 50,000 (pp. 7f.).

In short, between these two notables, some fifty places in Poland were mentioned where there allegedly were slaughters of Jews. Significantly, Auschwitz—or Oswiecim in accordance with the Polish designation—does not appear in any of these accounts.

e. Number 57 of the PFR, published on 1 December 1942, is a monograph devoted to the extermination of the Jews of Poland. A large part of its contents makes reference to the deportation of the Jews of Warsaw begun in the summer of 1942. In this connection it is stated that the Jews were deported in trains in which the floors of the freight cars were covered with quicklime and chlorine (p. 3). The deportees were taken to three execution camps: Treblinka, Belzec and Sobibor. "Here the trains were unloaded, the condemned were stripped naked and then killed, probably by poison gas or electrocution" (p. 3).

This issue also contains an "Extraordinary Report from the Jew-extermination Camp at Belzec" (p. 4). This report allegedly came from a German employed in the camp. It says that the place is overseen by Ukrainian guards. The deportees arrived in trains and no sooner had they arrived than they were taken out of the train, stripped, and ordered to take a bath. In reality they were taken to a big building "where there is an electrified plate, where the executions are carried out."

Once electrocuted, the victims were taken by train out of the camp enclosure and thrown into a pit 30 meters deep. This pit had been dug out by Jews, who were also assassinated once they had finished their task. In their turn, the Ukrainian camp guards "are also to be executed when the job is finished."

Surprisingly, the PFR had managed to publish a report from the interior of Belzec camp, thanks to the revelations of a German employee and in spite of security measures severe to the extreme of liquidating the Ukrainian guards periodically to avoid witnesses. Yet the PFR had not thus far published even a single indication that Jews were being murdered in Auschwitz, notwithstanding that this supposed slaughter had started at the beginning of 1942 and that there were very abundant sources of information about the camp.

But what is most important to make clear is that in an issue in the form of a monograph on the extermination of Jews in Poland and published a year after the supposed killings in Auschwitz began, the name of this concentration camp is not mentioned even a single time.

f. Issue no. 71 of the PFR, published on 1 July 1943, is also a monograph devoted to the extermination of the Jews of Poland. Its sole contents are the testimonies of two Jewish women who escaped from Poland in the fall of 1942. The first testimony is titled "Agony of the People Condemned to Death" (pp. 1-7) and narrates the vicissitudes of a Jewish woman and her family in various ghettos. The second report bears the title "What Happened in the Radom Ghetto" (pp. 7-8) and relates details of the life there.

Auschwitz is not mentioned in this issue either, and this notwithstanding that during the period in question what was happening there could not possibly have been concealed, since the Exterminationists maintain that from the summer of 1942 an annihilation on a large scale, due chiefly to the arrival of large convoys of Jews from Slovakia, France, Belgium and Holland, was being carried out there.[54]

g. Finally, in January of 1944 a bare notice gives details of a revolt in which "Jews held in the death camp at Treblinka revolted in a desperate struggle against their murderers." The revolt had taken place at the beginning of August of 1943 (no. 84, 15 January 1944, p. 4).

4. CONCLUSION

4.0 Preliminary Considerations

I believe that throughout this study two facts have remained sufficiently clear:

a. that the PGE had sufficient sources of information available to it to know in detail what was going on in Auschwitz;

b. and that the PFR, the principal propaganda organ in English of the Ministry of the Interior of the PGE, made no mention that a slaughter of Jews was taking place in Auschwitz until practically the end of the war, in May of 1945. In sum, the PFR reported extensively on this concentration camp, but never to the effect that Jews were being annihilated there; and in the same fashion, it alluded frequently to the extermination of Jews but never said that it had taken place in Auschwitz.

The truth is that the PFR, which was able to know—and no doubt did know—what was occurring at Auschwitz, *said absolutely nothing* about the extermination of Jews that had supposedly been carried out in this camp during a period of more than three years, from 1942 to May of 1945.

The next step consists in asking oneself *why* the PFR failed to disclose anything about this massacre when, according to all the evidence, it must have known of it in detail.

In my opinion, there are three considerations which can be put forward to justify, or attempt to justify, the silence of the PFR:

4.1 The PGE Knew What Was Going on in Auschwitz, but Did Not Wish to Broadcast It and Thereby Relegate the Suffering of the Poles to a Matter of Secondary Importance

This argument has been advanced by the Israeli professor David Engel. According to Engel, the Poles had a powerful political reason for not centering the attention of the world on the extermination of Jews in Poland: widespread publicity about this event would have made the sufferings of the Poles seem minor in comparison, which could earn them less attention and sympathy from the international community. And so, Engel says, information about the "final solution" was filtered through to the West by the PGE only when such

16.

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CONTENTS

DOCUMENTS FROM POLAND.
GERMAN ATTEMPTS TO MURDER A NATION.
(1) After Himmler's Visit—(2) Pawiak Prison in Warsaw and Oswiecim Concentration Camp—(3) The Ravenbruck Women's Preventive Detention Camp—(4) Extermination of the Polish Intellectuals—(5) Destruction of the Jewish Population—(6) The Ten Martyrs of Pruszkow—(7) A Letter Smuggled Out of Prison—(8) Extracts from Another Letter—(9) Poles Indomitable to the End.
President Roosevelt, Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden on German Responsibility.
Furor Germanicus.

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DOCUMENTS FROM POLAND

GERMAN ATTEMPTS TO MURDER A NATION

The information on acts of savagery committed by the Germans in Poland, which we give in this number, brings the story down to the latest possible date. For much of it reldtes to the situation at the beginning of June, less than a month ago. And it confirms that the terror which the Germans unleashed in Poland three years ago, and which has raged there ever since, is still continuing in all its violence and inhumanity.

All the documents following originate from the General Gouvernement area of German-occupied Poland. Certain of them (Nos. 1, 2 and 9) are extracts from depositions made by a Pole who recently escaped from Poland. The others (3 to 8) are from reports received by the Polish Government in London direct from Poland.

We let the documents speak for themselves.

(1) AFTER HIMMLER'S VISIT

Ever since the spring the whole of the General Gouvernement has been in the grip of a terror far exceeding anything previously achieved during the German occupation. In the general view this is linked up with Himmler's visit to the General Gouvernement last spring, during which he is said to have confronted the General Gouvernement administration with a number of urgent tasks, the chief being:

1. The liquidation of the Polish secret organizations.
2. The liquidation of the ghettoes.
3. The crushing of illegal trade.
4. The supply of a million workers to Germany.

All the activities of the occupant authorities since that time have been directed towards the realization of these postulates, and frequently steps are taken which cover more than one.

After Himmler's visit there was a revival of the mass man-hunts and round-ups in the streets of the larger towns. Following are a number of the more extreme instances of these activities:

In Warsaw the entire staff and all the customers in the café *Dana* at Bracka Street, No. 18, were arrested. This arrest was preceded by the following characteristic circumstance. For some months previously the café had had a regular visitor, who was very free with his drinks, spent large sums, entered into conversation with other visitors and passed on all kinds of secret information. Thus he came to be well known and well liked by the staff, and also by the other visitors to the café. On the day of the arrests two police cars drove up to the door and at the head of the detachment was this same regular visitor, with a revolver in his hand. One of the waitresses, who recognized him, called out to him in [illegible] sie, ich verstehe nich[illegible] understand Polish). In the confusion one of the Poles present saved himself by [illegible] to the back stairs, and up into the loft.

Figure 1

information could exacerbate hatred of the Nazi regime in general and at the same time not relegate the suffering of the Polish people to a lower plane. In particular, and with respect to Auschwitz, the Polish authorities considered this camp a symbol of the tribulations of the Poles themselves, and thought that it might cease to be so if information about the massive annihilation of the Jews that had occurred there should be broadcast worldwide.[55]

This argument does not seem convincing, for various reasons. In the first place, news about the extermination of Jews in Poland did not occupy a secondary position either in the PFR or in the official documents of the PGE (see Appendix 2). On the contrary, the prominence given news relating to the extermination of Jews over other news in the PFR is quite apparent, especially in the second half of 1942 (see 3.2). In this connection, various official declarations of the PGE published in the PFR place more emphasis on the atrocities committed against the Jews than on those committed against the Poles themselves. Let us look at a few examples:

a. In a press conference held on 9 June 1942, Minister of the Interior Mikolajczyk, said: "Still worse is the situation of the Jews . . . Hunger, death and sickness are exterminating the Jewish population systematically and continually" (no. 48, 15 July 1942, p. 6).

b. At the same press conference, Dr. Schwarzbart, member of the Polish National Council, pointed out that the organized killings of Jews "surpass the most horrible examples in the history of barbarism" (no. 48, 15 July 1942, p. 7).

c. Mikolajczyk, speaking in the name of the PGE, stated on 27 November 1942:

> The persecutions of the Jewish minority now in progress in Poland, constitute however, a separate page of Polish martyrology.
>
> Himmler's order that 1942 must be the year of liquidation of at least 50 per cent of Polish Jewry is being carried out with utter ruthlessness and a barbarity never before seen in world history (no. 57, 1 December 1942, P. 7).

d. Lastly, a resolution of the Polish National Council on 27 November 1942 calls attention to "the latest German crimes, unparalleled in the history of mankind, which

> have been carried out against the Polish nation, and particularly against the Jewish population of Poland" and accordingly condemns "the extermination of the Polish nation and other nations, an extermination the most appalling expression of which is provided by the mass-murders of the Jews in Poland and in the rest of Europe which Hitler has subjected" (no. 57, 1 December 1942, p. 8).

So if the reports about atrocities committed against the Jews had become of primary concern, at least during the second half of 1942, it is not logical that the PFR should not even mention the name of Auschwitz, where, supposedly, more atrocities against the Jews were being committed. Furthermore, by the end of the second half of 1942 the Auschwitz camp had ceased to be a kind of symbol of the suffering of the Poles, at least insofar as the PFR is concerned. In fact, from 1 July 1942 on there are scarcely any references to the existence of Auschwitz in the publication. Auschwitz during that time was not a symbol of anything. It practically disappeared from the pages of the PFR, submerged in fact by the avalanche of reports about the extermination of Jews.

If anything, the Poles had a strong political reason for putting a special emphasis on the propaganda about atrocities against the Jews. The Poles in exile, for reasons we shall immediately go into, longed for a rapprochement with world Jewry in order to obtain the support of this powerful international force.

After the Soviet aggression against Poland in September of 1939, the USSR annexed important portions of Polish territory. Since 1941, the PGE had based its strategy with respect to the USSR on the nonrecognition of the Soviet annexation of those territories by England and the United States. The Anglo-Soviet treaty of 1942, however, weakened this hope. As even Engel acknowledges:

> In this situation the Poles were more in need of influential friends than ever before. In view of their belief in the crucial role played by Jewish organizations in the formation of British and American opinion, they had to continue to try to win the Jews to their side, no matter how much effort would be required to do so, and almost at any cost. Hence the latter half of 1942 was a period of intensified Polish overtures to Western and Palestinian Jewry.[56]

Consequently, if the PGE needed Jewish support at practically any price, it would not have been logical for it to suppress news reports about a slaughter of Jews in Auschwitz. On the other hand, the dissemination of this news in the context of the propaganda concerning atrocities against the Jewish population would no doubt have made it easier for the PGE to approach the Jewish international circles whose support it so eagerly sought.

Moreover, and on quite another plane, passing over Auschwitz in silence was counterproductive for the PGE's one-time idea of bombing this concentration camp. In fact, as early as January of 1941, the PGE requested of the British government that the RAF bomb Auschwitz. The proposal was rejected, but, as Engel also recognizes, there is no reason to suppose that the Poles had since that time abandoned the idea that the activities of the camp could be paralyzed by military action on the part of the West. He writes:

> In this context, a serious Polish campaign to publicize the especially egregious fate of Auschwitz's Jewish prisoners might conceivably have aroused sufficient anger within Western public opinion to force the British government to reconsider its attitude [with regard to the bombing of Auschwitz].[57]

In short, it is not true that the extermination of the Jews was of secondary importance in the propaganda policy of the PGE, since in fact the PFR did give it extensive coverage. Nor is it true that the PGE considered Auschwitz a symbol of the suffering of the Poles that it must, in its propaganda, put before news of the extermination of the Jews. We have already seen, on the contrary, that from the second half of 1942 on the PFR practically forgot about Auschwitz in order to feature precisely the news reports of the extermination of Jews. Ultimately, the PGE had the greatest possible political interest in emphasizing the propaganda about atrocities against the Jews. Accordingly, it would have been logical for the PGE to build up the role played by Auschwitz in these supposed atrocities.

In view of all the foregoing, we must conclude that this first reason alleged to justify the silence of the PFR is not valid. It would seem, therefore, that the reason for the silence of the PFR must be sought elsewhere.

4.2 The Secret Reports on the Extermination of Jews in Auschwitz Reached London Very Late, and Therefore Were Published at the End of the War

This is the explanation provided for the fact that the first news about the killings of Jews in Auschwitz appeared in the PFR on the 1st of May of 1945 (see Appendix 1).[58]

Simply put, this argument would mean that the reports on the annihilation of Jews in Auschwitz, which supposedly got under way at the beginning of 1942, did not reach London until three years later.

Examination of the available data, however, makes this notion easy to refute. Thus, for example, an article with detailed information about Auschwitz up to September of 1940 was published by the PFR in June of 1941 (no. 21, 1 June 1941, pp. 6f.). Engel has shown likewise that the first clandestine report about Auschwitz left Poland on 30 January 1941 and reached London on 18 March of the same year.[59] It has already been indicated previously (see 2.4) that communications between Poland and London flowed smoothly. They were instantaneous if the messages were transmitted by radio and generally took a few months if they were sent by courier. With regard to radio messages, there exists a radiogram sent from Poland by clandestine radio station "Wanda 5" on the 4 March 1943 which contains news about Auschwitz up to 15 December of 1942.[60] Another radiogram, sent by the clandestine radio station "Kazia" on 7 June 1943, contains news from inside Auschwitz up to April of the same year.[61] These offer conclusive evidence that reports concerning Auschwitz were known in London within the space of a few months.

Consequently this justification, to explain the silence of the PFR, can not be accepted either.

4.3 The PFR Did Not Report on the Extermination of Jews in Auschwitz Simply Because No Such Extermination Occurred

This, in the opinion of this writer, is the appropriate conclusion to be drawn from all the available facts. Let us briefly review these facts:

a. the PGE had the capability of knowing, through numerous channels of communication, what was going

on inside Auschwitz; if a physical extermination of Jews had been systematically carried out in the camp, the PGE would doubtless have known of it in a very short space of time;

b. the PGE did not, until the end of the war, publish in the PFR, its principal propaganda organ in English, any information to the effect that a great slaughter of Jews had taken place in Auschwitz, and the silence of the PFR is shared by a most important official declaration of the PGE as well (see Appendix 2);

c. the PGE, and hence the PFR, had no motive for suppressing reports of atrocities committed against the Jews; on the contrary, this aspect constituted one of the central points of its propaganda.

The only explanation that would seem to fit, then, to justify the silence of the PFR is that a slaughter of Jews never took place in Auschwitz, at least none significant enough to be publicized.

This is the conclusion derived from the rigorous application of the historians' argument *ex silentio*. According to this, a given historical assumption is considered not to have happened when it is not cited by contemporaries, always supposing these two circumstances to be present:

a. the contemporary authors could know and had to know the fact in question; and

b. they ought to have reported it.[62]

Thus, for example, it is admitted that the Franks did not hold regular assemblies, because the principal chronicler of the period, Gregory of Tours, did not mention them and doubtless would have if they had existed.[63]

These two necessary conditions can be applied perfectly to our case:

a. the PFR could know and had to know that the Jews were being annihilated on a massive scale; and

b. it ought to have reported it, since the question of the extermination of the Jews constituted one of the central points of its propaganda.

And if it did not report it, it was because in all probability a massive extermination of Jews never took place. This, therefore, is the only satisfactory explanation for the silence of the *Polish Fortnightly Review*.

Appendix 1.

Issue 115 (1 May 1945) of the *Polish Fortnightly Review*

In this issue, for the first time, information was published concerning the extermination of Jews in Auschwitz. This revelation occurred more than three months after the arrival in Auschwitz of the Soviet troops, and at a time when the war was practically over (it ended officially in Europe on the 8th of May). At that time a tremendous worldwide propaganda campaign was being waged on the atrocities committed in the German concentration camps already occupied by the Allies (principally Bergen-Belsen and Buchenwald); a few months earlier, in November of 1944, the War Refugee Board, an official U.S. organization charged with rescuing and assisting the victims of the war, had published three testimonies in which were described massive killings of Jews that had taken place in Auschwitz.[64]

Issue number 115 of the PFR, bearing the generic title "Polish Women in German Concentration Camps," is devoted exclusively to Auschwitz. It contains two testimonies of women prisoners, an account of women "gassed" and a brief report on medical experiments.

1. First testimony: "An Eye-Witness's Account of the Women's Camp at Oswiecim-Brzezinka (Birkenau). Autumn, 1943, to Spring, 1944" (pp. 1-6).

The introductory note indicates without embellishment that this is the testimony of a woman, an eyewitness, who gives an account of things that happened in the second half of 1943 and the beginning of 1944. It indicates also that the document reached London "by devious routes" (p. 1).

A brief examination of the text in question permits the conclusion that it is without value as a historical source and is nothing but a propaganda production.

In the first place, no details whatsoever are provided as to its provenance. Who wrote it, when and where it was written, or through what agency it reached London is not revealed. If the war was practically at an end, what danger could the author be supposed to incur by revealing her name and personal details? Nor is there any indication as to whether this person was liberated from Auschwitz, whether she escaped, or whether she sent her report clandestinely while still a prisoner. The omission of these details as to the origin of the

document, without evident reason, makes it more than suspect. Furthermore, the writer also fails to mention any dates, such as the date of her arrival at the camp; or what duties she discharged while at the camp.

With regard to her description of life in the camp, the witness relates happenings that are very hard to believe. For example, she says she was in the "Sauna" just at the time a special selection of women prisoners for the camp brothel took place, at which she also watched an interpretation of pornographic songs by a prisoner who was a former cabaret singer, and the execution of a Cossack dance by a Gypsy. Both women were completely naked (p. 4). She also managed to be present at an inspection in the hospital, during which a German doctor, who was stressing the importance of maintaining good hygienic conditions, carefully examined the walls for dust or cobwebs while appearing to be indifferent to the piles of corpses and the lack of medicines and water (p.4).

The witness also states that she saw the crematory furnaces, which never ceased operation, and from the chimneys of which continuously poured great clouds of smoke, and flames of up to 10 meters high (p. 5). The incessant activity of the crematories was due to the annihilation of the Jews. Trains arrived every day from all over Europe. Ten percent of the passengers were interned in the camp; the rest went straight to the gas chamber (which is always referred to in the singular). She also claims to have seen the actual extermination in the gas chamber of 4,000 Jewish children from the ghetto of Terezin (Theresienstadt). In fact, according to the witness, the gas did not kill but only stunned them, since it was expensive, and the Germans wished to be sparing with it. Consequently the victims woke up in the trucks transporting them from the gas chamber to the crematory and were flung into the fire alive (pp. 5f.).

The author of this testimony, no doubt conscious of the enormities she is relating, repeats several times that her information is strictly true, that she has seen it all personally. and that, besides, this is only a small part of the truth (pp. 2 and 6).

In short, the first document published by the PFR on the extermination of the Jews of Auschwitz is historically unacceptable.

2. Second testimony: "Report Made by a Girl Fifteen Years Old" (pp. 6-7).

REPORT MADE BY A GIRL FIFTEEN YEARS OLD

The concentration camp for women at Oswięcim is really at Brzezinka (Birkenau) not far from Oswięcim, but the address for both men and women is the same: "Auschwitz (i.e., Oswięcim), Konzentrationslager." The men's and women's camps at Brzezinka are newer, and are much worse than the men's camp at Oswięcim, because of the lack of organization.

The women's camp occupied a large area, and consists of thirty blocks (or barracks) both brick and timber. The locality is unhealthy, swampy. The camp is surrounded by wire charged with high-tension electric current. The men's camps have two rows of this type of fencing. Guards' huts are placed at intervals along the wire. The guards are equipped with both ordinary and hand machine-guns. Similar huts are scattered quite thickly about the area outside for a distance of several kilometres from the camp. The blocks inside the camp consist of barracks for living accommodation, hospitals, warehouses for storing the prisoners' belongings, baths, tailors' shop and kitchen.

Of the living barracks one is set aside as a punitive block (No. 25) and one for better conditions (No. 12). This last barrack is occupied by office workers (political officials), workers in the warehouses and members of the camp band. A normal block contains from 800 to 1,000 and more women. Such a block is a very long barrack; in it are three rows (lengthways) of three-tiered bunks, or rather, compartments. On each compartment sleep from five to eight people. Each compartment is three times as broad as a prison bed. The bedding consists of straw palliasses and two blankets for three persons. It depends on one's ingenuity whether one gets more blankets. Most of the prisoners sleep in their clothes. All they possess (e.g., packets of food, and small personal belongings) is stored under the palliasse, in a hole of the roof, etc. The barrack has many windows in the walls and the roof. In the winter there are two iron stoves for the entire barrack. Buckets for the usual purposes stand in the yard outside the barrack. One is allowed to go out to them at night. In block No. 12 each person has her own bed, sheet, blankets, and the block is clean. Accommodation is better than usual in the punitive block, for there is more room, but the block is completely isolated from all the others and one cannot have any contact with others, which is quite easy in the case of prisoners in the other blocks. Inhabitants of block No. 12 do not go outside the camp to work, but do particularly hard work inside, such as digging trenches, carrying soil, etc., without regard to the weather.

A commandant is in charge of the camp, with German wardresses in uniform under him. They guard the camp area inside and take the roll-calls. The guards' huts are serviced by men (many of them Ukralnians). In addition there are the "posts," consisting of youngsters in Gestapo uniform, who supervise work in the fields. (These are not to be feared.) There are also men in charge of various sectors, known as commands, who are specialists on the work which they supervise. In addition to these German authorities there are the minor authorities drawn from the women prisoners themselves. One is the senior in the camp, and under her are the block supervisors, known as "blocks," who are in general authority over the particular barrack, with the added privilege of being allowed to beat their charges, which they are fond of doing. Under these are the "stubes," who are responsible for sections of the block. The "block" has her own room attached to the barrack, the "stubes" sleep with the other prisoners. There are also women prisoners who supervise during labour, these usually being German criminals. The "stubes" wake up the prisoners at about four a.m., at five a.m. there is coffee, and at 5.30 the prisoners go outside the block for roll-call, which is at six a.m. After it there is the march to work. Dinner is taken at the place of work from twelve to two o'clock. Work ends at five o'clock, there is the march back to camp, and at six o'clock the roll-call and supper. After the supper the prisoners are left to themselves until nine p.m., after which there must be silence, and the lights in the barracks are turned off. The entire area of the camp is brilliantly lit up all night.

Most of the prisoners work in the open. The weaker go to collect medical herbs, work in the tailors' shop and twist ropes. Most of them are older women. The doctor decides whether a prisoner is to be assigned lighter work. The food each day is: morning, only coffee; dinner, tinned soup, or with margarine; supper, coffee, two hundred grammes of bread with jam or margarine, or something similar. Twice a week each prisoner gets half a loaf of bread additional. Food parcels can be received even every day. They arrive unbroken. Bread and food constitute the currency with which one can buy anything, from warm clothing to the regards of the "block" or the hospital nurse. (It is a fundamental condition of survival that the prisoner must have a large quantity of food sent to the camp.) The parcels may contain soap, tooth-powder, tooth-brushes, toilet paper, but no clothing. Prisoners may write once a month, and receive letters several times a month.

Prisoners are sent to the hospital on developing a temperature of 38 degrees C., but the prisoners are afraid of the hospital owing to the ease with which infectious diseases can be picked up there. A separate barrack for infectious diseases has now been established. There are an average of two thousand sick in a camp of twelve thousand. Half of them are infectious, with typhus, typhoid, and dysentery. Almost all who have been any time in the camp have had all these. Formerly the daily mortality was 200, but now it averages fifteen to fifty. The hospital is overcrowded, with three patients on each bed. A German doctor is in charge, but under him are some thirty women doctors, prisoners of various nationalities. Owing to the insanitary and unhygienic conditions the camp is dirty and lousy. There is nowhere to wash and nothing to wash with. There is a bath and change of clothes once a month. A new washing place has now been made, and maybe things are better.

When a transport of prisoners arrives it goes to the transit barracks. There political women officials (themselves prisoners) take down personal details and tattoo numbers on the arms (it is not very painful), then others shave all heads (this is done only once, and afterwards one may grow one's hair). They collect all the clothing, see the prisoners through the baths and issue camp clothing: a shirt, drawers, an overall, an apron, kerchief, socks or stockings, boots and foot-wraps. One can keep one's own house-slippers, but all others are taken. The clothing issue in the winter is the same, plus a ragged cowl and a cotton kerchief. The new arrivals when dressed are placed in a quarantine block, whence, however, they go out to normal work the next day. After three weeks they are transferred to the permanent blocks.

The Jewesses have a special mark on their arms. The German women are not tattooed or shaved. The prisoners have triangular badges on their arms: red to indicate political prisoners, green for criminal prisoners, black for prostitutes. Jewesses have badges sewn on their chest. All the types of work have special clothing.

In the winter the women work exactly like the men. They pull down houses, uproot tree stumps, shift snow (all useless work, the only reason for it is to tire out the prisoner). Every day several women frozen to death are brought in. The morning and evening roll-calls last several hours, and are held in the frost outside the barrack. The sick were carried out to the roll-call, and it was forbidden to cover them with anything. (The hospital has no roll-call whatever now.) There were no separate hospital blocks whatever, and the sick lay together with the well. Hospital blocks were organized only in February-March. Now things are still better, for three branches have been organized in the hospital: for light illnesses, and inflammation of the lungs, typhus, and dysentery. Formerly they were all kept together.

There were no closets whatever in the winter. One had to relieve oneself beyond and between the blocks. This, together with the swampy ground, created an uncrossable mire of filth, which the prisoners were ordered to clean up with their bare hands, without any implements. There was no water whatever. Water was brought from Oswięcim for the soup and coffee. There was no means of washing at all. The dirt and lice were appalling. From time to time a "general roll-call" was held, and this meant standing for several hours, sometimes up to twenty, in the frost. And then every tenth woman, or women picked at a glance, or through caprice, or those who were not strong enough to run at full speed to the block after the roll-call, were transferred to the punitive block, at that time this simply meant a wait of a few days before transfer to the gas-chamber. Such roll-calls were quite frequent.

At that time every fifth man was taken. One night, at two a.m., a roll-call was held, to be spent on the knees, and it lasted till nine a.m. It was held outside the block in the frozen filth. Now the roll-call lasts an hour at the most. In the winter the average daily mortality is between two and three hundred. Of prisoners brought to the camp some time ago only an average of ten to twenty per cent. remained alive. Recent transports of prisoners have a relatively low mortality. The majority of the deaths are Jewesses, or Greek women, who cannot stand the climate. Apart from this almost all the prisoners suffer from dysentery, probably owing to the complete non-observance of cleanliness.

Figure 2

The introductory note says that this is the testimony of a Polish girl regarding her stay in the Birkenau women's camp during the second half of 1943 and the beginning of 1944 (p. 1). Just as in the previous case, the facts as to the origin of the document are not stated. Judging from the language and the style in which it is written, it does not seem to be the work of a fifteen-year-old girl.

With regard to the contents, the most important thing to note is that it contains not the slightest reference to the extermination of Jews. In only one passage is allusion made to the "gas chamber," in which those selected at roll call because of their poor physical condition are going to end up. The rest of the document is surprisingly objective, given the circumstances and the time in which it was published. Because of its interest we reproduce it below. [pages from *Polish Fortnightly Review* numbered 53a and 53b]

3. Other information (p. 8).

Issue 115 also contains an account of women annihilated with poison gas at Birkenau in 1943, in which information is given month by month from February of 1943 to December of 1944. The victims are sorted into three groups: Poles, Jews and others. According to this information, the number of Polish and "other" women is much larger than that of the Jewish women.

Lastly, there is a brief report about medical experiments performed on women in block number 10 of Auschwitz.

Appendix 2.

An Official Document of the Polish Government-in- Exile: "The Mass Extermination of Jews in German Occupied Poland" (Archives of the SPP, 2318)

This concerns an official document of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the PGE published in London in December of 1942. It contains various official texts and declarations of the PGE put out between 27 November and 17 December of 1942.

The document claims to be bringing together the "most recent reports" received from Poland "during recent weeks" on the "new methods of mass slaughter applied during the last few months" (pp. 4-5).

The information about the extermination of Jews contained in this document is represented as complete. At the outset, the document establishes a chronological account of the principal milestones in the extermination policy of the Germans. Thus, it notes that the first steps leading to the extermination phase were taken as early as October of 1940, when the Warsaw ghetto was established (p. 5). Later, beginning with the German-Soviet war, great massacres of Jews were carried out, especially in the eastern provinces. Around the middle of July of 1942, the word was given to commence the process of liquidation, "the horror of which surpasses anything known in the annals of history" (p. 6). Finally, at the end of July of 1942, the deportation of the inhabitants of the Warsaw ghetto to the extermination camps began (pp. 8-9).

The document enumerates the principal places where the killings were being carried out and describes the extermination methods. It says that the deportations from the Warsaw ghetto were directed towards the extermination camps of "Tremblinka [*sic*], Belzec and Sobibor," employing freight cars whose floors were covered with quicklime and chlorine. Upon arrival at the camp the survivors from the freight cars were murdered by various means, "including poison gas and electrocution," after which they were buried (pp. 8-9). In Chelm (Kulmhof) the Germans were also using poison gases (p. 6). In other places such as Wilno, Lwow, Rowne, Kowel, Tarnopol, Stanislawow, Stryj and Drohobycz, the method was shooting (p. 6).

The most important thing to note is that this official document, which claims to have exhaustive and very recent information on the extermination of Jews in Poland, does not once mention Auschwitz. It must be taken into account, moreover, that this text was published in December 1942, practically a year after the supposed extermination of Jews in Auschwitz had been initiated and six months after the "killings" took on a systematic character with the arrival of large convoys of Jews from France, Slovakia, Belgium and Holland.

The document further contains a report of great interest relative to the deportation to Poland of Jews of other countries. Specifically, it speaks of "the many thousands of Jews whom the German authorities have deported to Poland from Western and Central European countries and from the German Reich itself" (p. 4). These Jews brought from abroad had been concentrated in ghettos (p. 15). According to the thesis generally accepted today, a good part of these Jews were to end up at Auschwitz. For example, it is stated that up to 1 December 1942, 45 convoys of Jews arrived at this concentration camp from France, 17 from Belgium, 27 from Holland and 19 from Slovakia.[65] Specifically, all the Jews of France and Belgium who were deported to Poland in 1942 supposedly ended their journey in Auschwitz.[66] So that, estimating half a thousand persons per convoy, around 100,000 Jews from these countries would have arrived at Auschwitz in 1942. Of this number, the partisans of the Exterminationist thesis affirm, only a small part were considered fit for work and interned in the camp, and the rest sent without further ado to the gas chambers.

But if the PGE knew that the Jews of Western countries were being deported to Poland, they would doubtless have to know that a good part of them were going to end up at Auschwitz. The silence of the PGE is therefore very significant and suggests a very different hypothesis: that many of the Jews deported to Poland from France, Belgium, Holland and Slovakia during 1942 never reached Auschwitz. The fact that in the document we are discussing it is indicated that these Jews were concentrated in ghettos reinforces this hypothesis.

Notes

1. Engel, D, *In the Shadow of Auschwitz*, pp. 192, 172.
2. Duraczynski, E., *Polish Government in Exile*, pp. 1177-1178.
3. Garlinski, J., *Poland, SOE and the Allies*, pp. 21-29, 90.
4. Duraczynski, E., *Delagatura*, pp. 356f.
5. Duraczynski, E., *Armia Krajowa*, pp. 88f.
6. Jarosz, B., *Le mouvement de . . .*, pp. 145-147, 150.
7. Jarosz, B., *Le mouvement de . . .*, pp. 158.
8. Garlinski, J., *Fighting Auschwitz*, pp. 97f.
9. Garlinski, J., *Fighting Auschwitz*, pp. 123.
10. Garlinski, J., *Fighting Auschwitz*, pp. 110.
11. Jarosz, B., *Le mouvement de . . .*, p. 110.
12. Garlinski, J., *Fighting Auschwitz*, p. 175.
13. Poles of German origin who had chosen to hold German nationality after 1939.
14. Garlinski, J., *Fighting Auschwitz*, p. 205.
15. Jarosz, B., *Le mouvement de . . .*, p. 151.
16. No. 84, 15 January 1944, p. 5.
17. Garlinski, J., *Fighting Auschwitz*, p. 253.
18. Garlinski, J., *Fighting Auschwitz*, pp. 46, 153.
19. Laqueur, W., *The Terrible Secret*, pp. 22f.
20. Laqueur, W., *The Terrible Secret*, pp. 24.
21. Garlinski, J., *Fighting Auschwitz*, pp. 43
22. Garlinski, J., *Fighting Auschwitz*, pp. 43-45.
23. Garlinski, J., *Fighting Auschwitz*, pp. 155ff.
24. Langbein, H., *Hommes et femmes à Auschwitz*, p. 252.
25. Garlinski, J., *Fighting Auschwitz*, p. 126.
26. Garlinski, J., *Fighting Auschwitz*, pp. 100f.
27. Garlinski, J., *Fighting Auschwitz*, pp. 206-208.
28. Garlinski, J., *Fighting Auschwitz*, p. 46.
29. Garlinski, J., *Fighting Auschwitz*, pp. 102, 143.
30. Garlinski, J., *Fighting Auschwitz*, p. 230.
31. Garlinski, J., *Fighting Auschwitz*, pp. 54f, 112.
32. Laqueur, W., *The Terrible Secret*, p. 169.
33. Garlinski, J., *Fighting Auschwitz*, pp. 167-173.
34. Garlinski, J., *Fighting Auschwitz*, pp. 101-103.
35. Bor-Komorowski, T., *The Secret Army*, p. 150.
36. Laqueur, W., *The Terrible Secret*, pp. 103, 107.
37. Laqueur, W., *The Terrible Secret*, pp. 103f.
38. Karski, J., *Story of a Secret State*, p. 217.
39. Karski, J., *Story of a Secret State*, p. 253.
40. Nowak, J., *Courier from Warsaw*, pp. 164f.

41. Nowak, J., *Courier from Warsaw*, pp. 166, 172-174.
42. Bor-Komorowski, T., *The Secret Army*, p. 150.
43. Bor-Komorowski, T., *The Secret Army*, pp. 122f.
44. Bor-Komorowski, T., *The Secret Army*, p. 151.
45. Garlinski, J., *Poland, SOE and the Allies*, pp. 150-154.
46. Duraczynski, E., *Armia Krajowa*, p. 89.
47. Garlinski, J., *Fighting Auschwitz*, p. 89.
48. All of the quotations which follow, unless otherwise indicated, are from the PFR, with the issue, date and corresponding page numbers given in parentheses following each quotation.
49. Czech, D., *Kalendarium der Ereignisse im . . .*, p. 159.
50. Czech, D., *Kalendarium der Ereignisse im . . .*, p. 86.
51. See in this respect the work of Mattogno, C., *The First Gassing at Auschwitz*.
52. Czech, D., *Kalendarium der Ereignisse im . . .*, p. 189.
53. Rudolf Höss, the first commandant of Auschwitz, notes in his memoirs that the extermination of Jews in this camp had begun "probably" in September of 1941 or in January of 1942 (Höss, R., *Kommandant in Auschwitz*, pp. 159f.
54. Buszko, J., *Auschwitz*, pp. 114-115.
55. Engel, D., *In the Shadow of Auschwitz*, pp. 177, 201-203.
56. Engel, D., *In the Shadow of Auschwitz*, p. 147.
57. Engel, D., *In the Shadow of Auschwitz*, p. 209.
58. Or in the fall of 1944, should the issues of that period—which I have not been able to find—have information on the matter.
59. Engel, D., *In the Shadow of Auschwitz*, p. 305.
60. The text of the English translation of this message, made in London, is dated 31 March 1943. (Archives of the SPP, 3.16).
61. The text of the English translation of this message, made in London, is dated 10 June 1943. (Archives of the SPP, 3.16).
62. Garcia Villadas, Z., *Metodología y crítica históricas*, p. 319.
63. Langlois, Ch.V. and Seignobos, Ch., *Introducción a los estudios históricos*, p. 190.
64. These testimonies are known as the "Protocols of Auschwitz." A critical study of them may be seen in my work, *Los 'Protocolos de Auschwitz': ¿una fuente histórica?* (Alicante: García Hispán, 1990).
65. Czech, D., *Kalendarium der Ereignisse im . . .*, pp. 189-347.
66. Klarsfeld, S., *Le Mémorial de la déportation des juifs de France*, p. 13 by my numbering. Klarsfeld, S. and Steinberg, M., *Mémorial de la déportation des juifs de Belgigue*, p. 22 by my numbering.
67. Duraczynski, E., *Polish Government-in-Exile*, pp. 1177-1178.

Reflections on the Second World War, Free Speech and Revisionism

DOUG COLLINS

(Based on presentation to the IHR Tenth International Revisionist Conference, October 1990)

When I accepted the invitation to make this address I made it clear that I am not an expert on what is called "the Holocaust," and would not be able to tell you anything about this subject that you don't already know.

But I may be able to bring the perspective of one who was a prisoner in Germany during the darkest year of the war—the year after Dunkirk. My views were shaped by my experiences, and by this I mean not just combat experiences and its effects, but also the values that were at stake—including freedom of speech—values that are not always respected by pressure groups that should know better.

Some people write convincingly about things of which they know nothing at first hand. They are able to do this even when they make it all up. I should know because I've been a journalist for a long time and have seen all the tricks of the trade. Copying one another's stories and going with the tide has, unfortunately, become the custom in today's journalism, which is why it's not easy to get any fair play for dissident views of current issues.

In forming an accurate perspective about an issue, there's nothing like being on the scene. And I was on the scene when Hitler was making his first moves toward mastery of Europe. Later I gained perspective of another and more restricted kind from behind the barbed wire of German prisoner of war camp, Stalag VIIIB.

My Views on Hitler

In order for you to understand my perspective, I must tell you right up front what I think of Adolf Hitler and the Nazi

period. To put it mildly, I do not believe that Hitler was some kind of misunderstood Boy Scout whose reasonable aims were thwarted by a sinister Winston Churchill or a duplicitous Franklin D. Roosevelt. And, simple soul that I am, I have always thought that the side that is responsible for starting a war is the side whose tanks advance thirty miles the first day, and which occupies countries that would prefer not to be occupied.

Hitler was also a dictator who had no compunction about knocking off dozens of his close comrades, let alone others. Anyone who doubts this has only to consider the events of June 30, 1934, the "Night of the Long Knives," when Hitler ordered the deaths of stormtrooper chief Ernst Röhm and many others.

Nor do I accept the view that Hitler had a soft spot for the British and the British Empire. In 1945, while I was with an Intelligence Section of SHAEF [Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force], I read the original German document of the plan for Operation Sea Lion—the German invasion of Britain—as well as the German directives for the occupation of Britain. These stipulated that anyone over the age of twelve who insulted a member of the German occupation forces was to be subject to the death penalty, and all males between the ages of 17 and 45 who were not working in war-related industries in the United Kingdom could be sent to Germany and Poland to work as forced labor—in preparation for the German attack against the USSR.

Prisoner of War

As a prisoner of war in Stalag VIIIB we knew nothing of all that, of course. But we did know that we weren't in a Club Med vacation resort, and that our prospects for the future were not favorable. In spite of that, our morale was pretty good. In our imperial ignorance and possibly arrogance, it simply never to occurred to us that we could lose the war. The unhappy thought did sometimes pop into my head, of course, that we might be prisoners for many years, and that it could be quite a while before we returned to the pleasant world of fish and chips and summer holidays on the beaches. When such dreary thoughts came to mind, I would engage in daydreams of dining out in London.

When I was a prisoner in the German stalags in 1940 and 1941, the huts were stuffed with smelly, lice-ridden torsos, and rations were practically on the starvation level. One loaf of bread per day for five men, plus very watery soup. Rumor had it that conditions in some of the work camps were heavenly, and that the soup served there was so thick you could stand your spoon up in it. Whatever truth there many have been to such stories, during my year as a prisoner in Germany I never came across anyone who had personally experienced such conditions. In our camps, at any rate, nobody waxed fat. I myself developed a severe case of jaundice. There's no doubt that the death rate would have been quite high if it had not been for the Red Cross parcels we received.

I mention all this because some people seem to believe that conditions in the concentration camps were really not so bad. Well, I was never in a concentration camp, although during one of my escape attempts, on a proverbial dark and stormy night, I did nearly walk into a camp of the Auschwitz complex by mistake, which shows how clever I was. It must have been the neighboring camp of Birkenau, as I determined last year during a visit to Poland on the fiftieth anniversary of the outbreak of the war.

My point here is that there can be no doubt that the death rate in the concentration camps was high. I was with the British troops when they liberated the Bergen-Belsen camp in 1945, and what I saw there is not something I ever want to see again. Nor do I accept that the death rate there was due almost entirely to unavoidable disease. There is, I think, no point in denying the obvious, and for me the obvious is that if the prisoner of war camps weren't all that wonderful, the concentration camps would certainly have been worse.

On the more positive side, I can confirm that—with regard to British and later American prisoners—the Germans in most respects did honor the terms of the international agreements on the treatment of prisoners of war. They did not confiscate the food parcels, for instance, even though they often contained items that were scarce in wartime Germany, such as tea, coffee, chocolate, and so on.

But there were some awful exceptions. It is the duty of a prisoner of war to try to escape, and for my failures I spent a lot of time in solitary confinement in cells. No complaints about that—win some, lose some, as they say. But there was

also the infamous case at Stalag Luft III, where 53 British and Commonwealth air force officers were murdered after being recaptured.

Life for prisoners of war was full of contrasts. During that visit to Poland last year, I met a former British enlisted man who had struck a German guard. Legally, he could have been shot. Instead, he was sentenced to 15 years hard labor, and went home when the war ended. And even though life in the stalags was grim in the year after Dunkirk, conditions improved somewhat as time went on. It became possible to take correspondence courses. Some prisoners got an education that way. There were theatrical productions. Conditions in some working camps were better than others, especially after Red Cross parcels began to arrive regularly and it became possible to trade with the locals. I have even heard of a few cases where prisoners employed on farms managed to get some female sleeping company. I never had such luck myself. Perhaps I should have stayed longer.

Conditions were incomparably tougher for the Soviet prisoners of war in German hands, a reflection of the brutality of the war in the East. It is generally estimated that two million Soviet servicemen died in German prison camps. Almost as many Germans died in Soviet hands: 1,750,000, according to West German figures. In his book *Die Verlassene Armee* (The Forsaken Army), author Heinrich Gerlach reports that of the 91,000 Germans taken prisoner at Stalingrad in early 1943, fewer than 5,000 were still alive at the end of the war in May 1945. And many of these never returned home.

It is very likely that the death tolls of both German and Soviet prisoners of war would have been much lower if the USSR had been a signatory to the international agreement on the treatment of such prisoners. We also know that there were many German atrocities in the Soviet Union, and many Soviet atrocities in eastern Germany, not to mention the expulsion at the end of the war of some ten million German civilians from lands that had been German for centuries.

In 1947, when I was an Intelligence Officer with the British Control Commission in Germany, I was once sent to the border of the British and Soviet occupation zones to screen prisoners returning from the USSR to get whatever information they might offer on conditions there. I had also been told to have any former Waffen SS men of officer rank

arrested and sent to camps in our zone. Instead, I sent them all home. Instructions or no instructions, I was not about to arrest walking skeletons, which is what they were.

As I've mentioned, Russians in Germany were also badly treated. During my visit to Poland last year, I returned to the site of Stalag VIIIB in what had been German Upper Silesia but is now part of Poland. We saw a large memorial to the 40,000 Soviet prisoners of war who died there—or one in five of the 200,000 who were sent there. They had no shelter of any kind and simply lived in holes in the ground, even during the winter. British prisoners in the adjacent Stalag proper witnessed this tragic business. I did not witness anything of that myself, because I was long gone by the time the Soviet POWs arrived. But I've spoken to many former British prisoners who did, and they were not lying.

As I hope this little account helps to show, I am not the sort of man who can easily be persuaded that black is white. Flights of fancy I leave to others. I like what Clemenceau, the French premier known as the Old Tiger, said during the First World War. "When this war is over," he declared, "many reasons will be given as to why it started. But no one will ever be able to say that it was because the Belgians invaded Germany." Not a bad way of putting it, in my opinion. At the same time, I want to make it clear that I hold no grudges. On the contrary, I have contempt for those who act as if the war ended last week. There are grandfathers in Germany today who were five-year-olds when the last shot was fired in 1945. Why should they be made to feel guilty? One might as well hold me responsible for the excesses of Lord Kitchener during the South African War of 90 years ago.

Free Speech in Canada

Let me now jump ahead to take a look at recent efforts in Canada to stifle free discussion on historically and racially touchy subjects—a matter that is closely connected with the Second World War. I won't deal here with the situation in the United States, which you know more about than I do. But up in The True North Strong and Free—which is how our national anthem describes Canada, anyway—freedom of speech is under severe attack.

It started in the mid-1960s when a few pimply-faced youths were running around Toronto painting swastikas and various

graffiti on walls. By 1971, as a direct result of Jewish group pressure, the so-called "hate laws" were passed. These make it illegal to say nasty things about any identifiable group—unless, as it turned out, one said nasty things about the Germans or any other similarly "safe" target.

As it happened, I was in Ottawa at the time reporting on the Parliament. I witnessed some of the debate on the legislation, which was highly contentious. One member of parliament called it a legal monstrosity, which it was and still is. The bill was passed by a vote of just 89 to 45. In other words, it was passed by a minority of MP's, 127 of them having found pressing business elsewhere that day. That was when Canada was starting to become Wimpland. To paraphrase a former Canadian prime minister on the subject of wartime conscription, "Free speech if necessary, but not necessarily free speech."

The dangers inherent in the hate laws were clear. And before long, charges were laid against a bunch of loonies who had been agitating against an American Shriners' convention in Toronto. Those charges were dropped, but were nevertheless a sign of things to come. Today, anyone who takes on any minority group does so at his peril. For even if it's not a matter of legal action, it will be a matter of public castigation.

Many of you know about the case of James Keegstra, the Alberta teacher who has been before the courts for years because he told his students that the Holocaust was a hoax. Keegstra lost his job, became the subject of national vilification, was hauled into court, and was convicted and sentenced. On appeal, the conviction was overturned. The provincial attorney general should have then dropped the matter. Instead, responding to Jewish pressure, he sent the case to the Supreme Court of Canada, which is still considering it. [It was later decided to subject Keegstra to yet another trial on the same charges.]

Another Canadian teacher, Malcolm Ross, has been in a similar situation. His case is even worse than Keegstra's because he has never mentioned the Holocaust or the Jews in his New Brunswick classroom. Ross has merely written books about these subjects. But as a result, he has been hounded mercilessly, and has had to appear repeatedly before "human rights commissions"—I call them human wrongs

commissions—and before the courts. He reminds me very much of Sherman McCoy, the anti-hero of Tom Wolfe's novel *Bonfire of the Vanities*, who was forced to become a life-long litigant. And this in a country—Canada—that with marvelous hypocrisy boasts of its great tradition of freedom. Sadly, there are now as many loopholes in that tradition as there are in the tax laws. In the broadcasting world, for instance, truth is no defence if the Canadian Radio, Television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) decides that a broadcaster is using the truth for reprehensible purposes. Although Canada's new Constitution does guarantee freedom of speech, astoundingly it makes an exception, as it says, whenever a democratic society might reasonably decide otherwise. I call it the Hypocritic Oath, for greater two-facedness hath no man. The Constitution was written that way, naturally, to please the minorities and their pressure groups which now have so much influence in Canada, not the least of which is the Canadian Jewish Congress and its allied organizations. All this is reminiscent of the so-called "affirmative action" laws, those acts of hypocrisy and discrimination with which you are well acquainted here in the United States, and which we now also have in Canada.

The biggest scandal of its kind in The True North has been the Zündel case, which has been dragging on for six years. As most of you know, Ernst Zündel was charged with "spreading false news likely to do harm to a public interest"—itself a truly Orwellian concept—because he had reprinted a booklet entitled *Did Six Million Really Die?* Initially, his persecutors and prosecutors wanted him charged under the "hate laws." But after it was determined that he would probably win such a case, the obscure "false news" statute was pressed into service.

It was as a journalist that I became interested in the Zündel affair. I had never heard of Zündel before he was charged. But I wanted to know why anyone in a democratic society could possibly be charged with "spreading false news." Doesn't everybody spread false news? Don't Santa Claus and the weatherman spread false news? Indeed, does not every politician in the country spread false news? Doesn't every newspaper spread false news? Hadn't I, in reporting what the politicians had to say, spread false news? Mindful of all this, when Zündel's attorney, Doug Christie, asked me to appear as a witness for the defense in the first Zündel trial (of 1985), I readily agreed.

The trial was a revelation. The judge was as biased as they come. So biased, in fact, that when the case went to appeal it was thrown out on God only knows how many grounds. As I wrote at the time, the judge himself had spread false news by misdirecting the jury. The day I appeared as a witness, and for no reason at all that I could detect, he took to shouting at Christie. I was reminded of Charles Laughton's Captain Bligh bawling out Clark Gable's Fletcher Christian, "Do you know what you are doing, Mr. Christian!"

The Media Dodge Responsibility

But that wasn't the worst of it. The biggest surprise was the indifference of the media. In light of the implications of the Zündel case for Canadian society, every major newspaper, magazine and television and radio station in the country should have been knocking on the door of that courthouse demanding to be heard. "False news?!," they should have been yelling and writing, "What is this nonsense?" Instead, they kept quiet.

It has been said, you know, that the journalists of Germany were silent when Hitler came to power. Well, I can tell you that they could hardly have been more silent than the journalists of Canada were in the Zündel case. When the trial was over, a couple of "Oh dear me" editorials appeared in the Toronto press. And that was it. One can be very sure of one thing, however: If any attorney general in the country had tried to put some Marxist professor on trial for saying that Stalin's crimes were fiction—which would certainly be false news—the uproar in the Canadian media would have been audible in Timbuktoo. In such a case, the politicians would have scrambled to defend freedom. But Canadian politicians are as expert as any in the noble art of the double standard. Uriah Heep had nothing on them.

When the verdict in the first Zündel trial was set aside on appeal, the case should have been dropped, if only out of consideration for the taxpayer. The trials, each lasting months, cost the taxpayers millions of dollars. Also, by this time a different political party had taken power—the misnamed Liberal Party—and it would have been easy and right for the new attorney general to have said that all sides had their day in court, and that was an end to it. But against all logic, apart from the logic of political lickspittling, a new trial was ordered.

There then followed more education for the innocent, including me. The biggest lesson was the blatant way in which the Canadian Jewish Congress and its allied groups managed to lean on the media. There was a time, you know, when anyone going to a Canadian newspaper or broadcasting office with a request that an important trial—or indeed any trial—should be played down or ignored would have been shown the door in short order. But from the Toronto *Globe and Mail*, to the Canadian television networks, to lesser outlets, almost total silence reigned in print and on the air. The single exception was the *Toronto Star*, the largest-circulation newspaper in the country. But even this paper played things safe. Instead of giving this remarkable trial the coverage it deserved, the *Star* decided to run only brief daily reports on page two, always under short and very innocuous headlines. It was the first time in the paper's history that such a thing had been done. Its laughable excuse was that this coverage made it easier for readers to find the tepid, page-two articles about the trial in the paper. Well, this silly argument could have served just as well for running the articles on the same page every day among the classified ads.

The reason why Jewish groups didn't want any publicity is no mystery. Zündel knew how to work the media, and these groups did not want a repeat performance of the first trial. On that occasion, the entire country witnessed his stunts—such as walking to the courthouse carrying a big wooden cross on his shoulder. Whether such antics did him any good with the public I don't know, but they certainly got him into the news. Even worse, from the Jewish point of view, was that the media had reported on the points made by the defense. Headlines such as "Nazi gas chambers unproven, court told" and "Camp gas chambers fake, Holocaust revisionist says" appeared in newspapers across the country. One can't blame Jewish groups for disliking such coverage, of course. Jews are certainly not alone in wanting things played their way. But one can find fault with the spinelessness of Canada's Fourth Estate, which is brave enough when it comes to stories of smelly tuna fish being put into cans. But there's more than one kind of fish that stinks, and in the case of the second (1988) Zündel trial, the role of the Canadian media was like that of the piano player in the whorehouse, if I may mix my metaphors.

There was a sequel to all this that involved me. After I wrote a column about how the pressure groups had been able to draw a blanket over the trial, a Jewish professor in Vancouver complained to the British Columbia Press Council. I don't think you have press councils here in the United States, and you're not missing much. In Canada these are voluntary bodies whose members are the newspapers themselves. Each council—which is mostly made up of laymen—hears complaints made by the public. Councils cannot fine journalists or send them to jail, although one never knows what the future may hold. The idea is that by their judgments they should exert what is called "moral pressure."

Sometimes they get things right and sometimes they don't. On an earlier occasion, another Jewish professor brought me before the press council when I reviewed Arthur Butz's book, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*. I might not have reviewed it—indeed, I might never have even heard of it—except that my interest had been aroused because the book had been placed on the list of forbidden imports—again as a result of Jewish pressure. I found the book to be fascinating, and I recommended it as an alternate view. At the same time I bashed those who had banned it. I should mention here, incidentally, that it is quite common in Canada for books to be banned in response to complaints from pressure groups. For example, the best-selling book *None Dare Call it Conspiracy* had been banned for years. Such an order means that a book cannot be imported or sold in stores, nor can it legally be sent through the mails. In the case involving my review of Butz's book, the council found against me, incredibly enough, even though it is supposed to uphold freedom of the press. But my position has always been that press councils can press my pants.

To come back to the case involving my column about the blackout in the second Zündel trial, the council refused to hear the professor's complaint. Perhaps they were tired of looking at my strikingly handsome features. Or it could have been that what I had written on the matter was unassailable. Jewish delegations had in fact visited all the mainstream media, and those media had complied with their demands. To give just two examples in the television field: The Canadian Television Network (CTV) mentioned the trial only on the day it opened, while the nationally-owned Canadian Broadcasting

Corporation (CBC) mentioned it not at all. Not while it was in progress, that is. Both networks eagerly leapt into action, naturally, when Zündel was found guilty. That made it all newsworthy. One consequence of the blackout, by the way, has been that hardly anyone in Canada has heard of the Leuchter Report, a devastating document if there ever was one.

Free Speech Under Attack

When I said a moment ago that one never knows what the future may hold, I wasn't joking. You Americans are lucky to have the First Amendment, because freedom of speech is now under attack not only in Canada but in several European countries, including Britain, which claims to have given birth to it. In short, a lot of people are inclined to talk freedom of speech but not to practise it.

It was my pleasure a couple of years ago to point out that the rarely invoked Canadian law against "spreading false news" bears a striking resemblance to similar legislation enacted by Mussolini in Italy. Even the wording is similar. Here's the text, in part, of Mussolini's 1924 law:

> If any newspaper or periodical, by false or misleading news causes any interference in the diplomatic action of the government . . . or hurts the credit of the nation at home or abroad . . . and if the newspaper or periodical . . . incites to crime or to class hatred . . . or insults the nation, such newspapers shall be suppressed.

And here is the wording of democratic Canada's "false news" law:

> Everyone who willfully publishes a statement, tale or news that he knows is false, and that causes, or is likely to cause, injury or mischief to a public interest, is guilty of an indictable offense and is liable to imprisonment for two years.

In what respect, I ask, is this Canadian "false news" goose fundamentally different from the Italian "false or misleading news" gander?

I must make one other point about the Zündel case that should tell you a lot about the situation in our country. In the first trial Zündel was sentenced to 18 months imprisonment, and to nine months in the second. This is nothing less than savage, considering that rapists and bank robbers often get away with less. (The Zündel case is still before the Supreme

Court of Canada, by the way, but I'm not holding my breath for a just decision. Let's hope I'm wrong.)

And consider this: after the first trial, the then Minister of Immigration took only five minutes to issue a deportation order against Zündel, who is still a German citizen. Compare that with the decision of an immigration appeal board to allow an immigrant from Guyana to stay in Canada. The immigrant was a member of a gang that specialized in robbing restaurants. During an armed robbery of a McDonald's restaurant, he had brutally attacked the 21-year-old female manager and threatened to rape other female employees. After six months in jail, he was released on parole, but then had his parole revoked on account of drug offenses. This fellow has been given permission to stay in our country. Don't hold your breath in the hope that Zündel will receive equally generous treatment. Zündel's German.

Views on the Holocaust

Let me conclude with some views on the Holocaust. I don't know whether six million Jews died in Europe during the war, but I have my doubts about it. That would be six times as many British and Empire soldiers as died in the whole terrible slaughter of the First World War. To me the Six Million figure is not credible, even though one hears it repeated constantly on television and in the other media. I admit that my view is not based on professional research, but neither is most of the orthodox stuff put forward in the media. Most journalists simply repeat what they have been told. I did much the same when I wrote my memoir *P.O.W.*, in stating in a footnote that millions had died in Auschwitz.

A lot of questions rather naturally come to mind about the Holocaust story. For instance: if the Six Million figure is unquestionably accurate, why is it that Jewish organizations are so keen to hound those who dispute it? Although I was in the war for six years, it wouldn't bother me one bit if some group were running around claiming that the war didn't take place. I know it did. I suspect, therefore, that there's some truth to the Jewish quip that "there's no business like Shoah business." This is not to say, of course, that Jews were not disgracefully treated and that a large number of them did not die, simply because they were Jews.

There are other flaws in the official story. We knew there were crematoria in Bergen-Belsen when I saw the camp in 1945, but no one talked about gas chambers. Indeed, we did not hear of gas chambers at that time, nor did I ever see any. So I was surprised later to read reports in the press that there had been gas chambers at Belsen. Well, I thought, maybe I missed something. Later, it turned out that, in fact, there had been none in any of the concentration camps in western Germany, including Belsen. The extermination gas chambers, it was said later, had all been in the East.

During my recent visit to Poland, I found Auschwitz to be a decidedly gloomy place. I am confident that during the war it was a hell hole. When our tour of the camp began, we were told that four million people had died there. But by the time we left, the guide was saying that some Polish sources were putting the total at one million. The Four Million figure, we were told, had been announced by the Soviets soon after they arrived at the camp in 1945. It was also featured in the Soviet film about Auschwitz that is shown to visitors. But now the Poles, as well as Israeli professor Yehuda Bauer, have reduced that total by more than half. Israel's Yad Vashem Holocaust center says that it makes no difference to the Six Million figure we are always hearing about. If that is so, it must be a true marvel of mathematics.

All of this is very confusing. Also puzzling is that Auschwitz survivors are to be found in such large numbers. I understand that there are thousands of them in the Chicago area alone. Well, if the Nazi killing machine was so efficient, how is that any survived? Perhaps that's too simple a question. But as I've said, I'm a simple fellow. I could go on in this vein, but as I've told you, I have no claim to be an expert on this subject. I can claim some knowledge, however, of related matters. I recognize attacks against open discussion and free speech, no matter how clever the casuistry in which they are clothed. And I don't want to hear anyone say they are in favor of freedom of speech *but* . . . Freedom of speech is indivisible. You either have it or you don't. I know, too, that the common weal is not served by hate laws passed by weak-minded politicians who would sell their mothers for a vote or a campaign contribution. I am equally sure that war crimes trials held fifty years after the end of the war are unlikely to serve the ends of justice, but are very likely to serve the ends of

vengeance. As Lord Hailsham said in Britain during the debate over "war crimes" legislation in that country: "What these people want is a lynching party."

How Many Jews Died in the German Concentration Camps?

CARL O. NORDLING

It is well known that the majority of those who were interned in the German concentration camps during part of the Second World War did not return to their homes after liberation. Most of these people were Jewish. It has been a common belief that about 6 million Jews died in these camps, intentionally killed in accordance with a grand program for the physical extermination of the entire Jewish population of Europe. Most laymen presume that this was proven by the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg in 1946. The International Court did not prove anything of the sort, however, and historians who have dealt with contemporary German or Jewish history have long since modified this description in various degrees.

Recently, new light has been shed on Jewish population loss in the Second World War by the German Walter N. Sanning in his book *The Dissolution of East European Jewry*. This is an investigation of twentieth-century Jewish demography and migration, done with carefulness and objectivity. It is based on more than 50 publications containing statistical population data on Jews in various countries, including migrations, fertility, mortality etc. Sanning's most quoted source is, however, Gerald Reitlinger's book *The Final Solution*, written in the 1950's. (One could say with some justice that Reitlinger laid the foundation for Sanning's work.) The great majority of statistical data used by Sanning is taken from the *American Jewish Year Book* (various issues), the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (1971) and the *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia* (1943). As far as I can judge, Sanning's sources appear to be the best ones obtainable.

It has been said of Sanning's work that "not one in a thousand undergraduates could find fault with it" and that "only a few more graduates would be competent to identify its flaws and to convincingly question its credibility."[1] If that be the case, I feel more or less obliged to comment. I have spent

three decades working professionally with the same kind of demographic complexes and processes, and therefore I regard myself as one of the few who would be competent to identify at least the grosser flaws and mistakes in a work of this kind. After a careful reading of Sanning's book, however, I have found no mistake or misconstruction of a type that would change its conclusions to any appreciable degree. Nor am I aware of any other serious criticism of Sanning's results or methods in the eight years that have elapsed since his book first appeared in German (as *Die Auflösung des osteuropäischen Judentums*). As a general appraisal, I would say that as far as the book deals with Jewish population losses within the German sphere of influence, it is the most reliable investigation done in the entire post-war period. This does not mean, of course, that it is guaranteed to be faultless, nor that it answers the question of how many Jews died in the German concentration camps.

Although nobody has been able to discover any faults, the book may of course contain such. Therefore, other methods should be used to check the reliability of the significant figures. Fortunately, I possess statistical material that lends itself to a check of some of Sanning's results. Furthermore, Sanning's and my own material, taken together and compared with still a few other pieces of statistical information, might enable us to form a fairly reliable answer to the question posed in the title of this article.

The statistical material at my disposal consists of data concerning 722 *identified* European Jews from the German sphere of influence. The biographies of all these 722 are to be found in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, and they can be regarded as a representative sample of Jews of a certain level of culture in the late 1930's. Persons of old age are overrepresented in the group, however, and none of the 722 was born later than 1909 (according to the principle of selection that I decided upon). This should be kept in mind, since it appears that emigration was much less frequent among those born before 1880 than among the younger people. And, of course, mortality was much higher among the older group than among the rest of the population. It is also significant that a great number of distinguished Jews had already emigrated before 1938 and were therefore unable to take part in the more general emigration that seems to have occurred in the years

1939 to 1941. Distinguished Jews presumably had more foreign contacts and perhaps realized the danger of impending persecutions earlier than others. Therefore, my group of identified Jews of 1938 probably includes a relatively high proportion of persons who were prone to stay where they were, even under adverse conditions. A statistical survey of the fates of all these 722 Jews has been published in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. 10, no. 2.

Sanning has used the year 1939 as one of his "stop lines," and for this year he has found 5,044,000 Jews present in the area under consideration.[2] By means of a series of complex calculations he is able to demonstrate that no less than about 2,200,000 Jews emigrated from the area in the period between the German attacks on Poland and on the Soviet Union (i.e. 1939-41). In other words, 44% of the Jewish population in what became the German sphere of influence would have left the danger zone before the real danger materialized. Although this figure took me by surprise, I cannot find that Sanning has erred on this point. Comparison with the group of 722 identified Jews shows that among them 33% (of those present in 1939) emigrated before the end of 1941. (See Table 1.)

The cause of the difference between 44% and 33% is easily explained by considering the special make-up of my sample group. For instance, if we look at the identified Jews born 1880-1909 and consider the whole period from 1938 to 1944, we find that no less than 51% emigrated. Those born after 1909 (i.e. about half the population) may have been even more prone to emigrate. Besides, Jews who were not renowned or in the public sector certainly had possibilities (in many cases) to change their ethnic affiliation and (in some cases) even their names and identities. By such means ordinary Jews could slip away more easily than well-known people.

Evidently, we have to consider Sanning's number of 2,847,000 Jews present in the German sphere of influence in June 1941 as the best estimate so far (certainly with margins of error). This figure will therefore be used as the base for the following comparison. With the aid of Table 1, we are now going to compare the percentages of certain significant sub-groups.

Fortunately for our purposes, the bureaucratic Germans carefully registered and numbered the detainees in the Auschwitz concentration camp and in the Theresienstadt

ghetto. While the latter was solely inhabited by Jews, the former had a mixed clientele consisting of various persecuted groups of people, such as Gypsies, conscientious objectors, homosexuals, vagrants, political adversaries and hard-boiled felons. Since it is commonly held that the Jews were by far the largest group, we will assume here that they made up 60% of all Auschwitz detainees. This granted, we find that 8.6% of all the available Jews (the "basic" group) were registered, sooner or later, in the Auschwitz camp. In many cases this happened after a previous stay at Theresienstadt. The corresponding figure for the group of identified Jews is 8.5%. Pending the arbitrariness of the above-mentioned figure of 60%, no statistically significant difference can possibly be exposed in this case. According to the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 65% of the Auschwitz detainees were eventually recorded as having died within the camp, and another 20% are supposed to have died after transfer to satellite camps or during the final evacuation of the camp proper (i.e. Auschwitz and Birkenau). The total number of missing Auschwitz detainees would thus be 207,000, or 7.3% of the "basic" number. This may be compared with the confirmed proportion of 7.6% missing out of the "basic" number of identified Jews. (See Table 1.)

From the book on Theresienstadt by H.G. Adler we learn that 141,000 were registered as inhabitants, or internees, of this German-created Jewish town in Bohemia.[3] This number equals 5.0% of the "basic" number, which corresponds perfectly with the fact that 5.0% of the identified Jews (of 1941) were also brought to Theresienstadt. The majority of the internees of this ghetto, however, were sent to Auschwitz (and are thus included in the above mentioned number of registered prisoners). This fate befell only a fourth of the identified inhabitants of the ghetto—probably because these contained a higher proportion of so-called "prominent" Jews who were exempt from being moved to other camps. (All the Danish Jews were for some reason placed in this category.) The group of identified Jews also suffered a much lower death rate than the rest (31% each as against 63% among the ghetto remainers in each case). It follows that the percentage of survivors was much higher in the case of the identified Jews than among the inhabitants in general.

There is hardly any reason to contest the accuracy of the camp registration numbers quoted above. If they are correct, it

follows that the "basic" number of 2,847,000 Jews present in June 1941 must also be fairly accurate. This is so because we know from the sample of identified persons what percentages of camp detainees are to be expected, and we have found percentages that fit in with these expectations.

Those who died in Auschwitz and Theresienstadt represent a little less than half the total loss in all the German concentration camps as far as the identified Jews are concerned. As for the Jewish population in general, the total number of camp deaths would be contained within Sanning's category "Jews missing in the German sphere of influence." This number of "missing" turns out to be 304,000, according to Sanning's primary method of calculating. As a check, Sanning has used another method as well. This secondary calculation results in a number of 330,000 missing out of a "basic" number of 2,738,000 (within a somewhat narrower sphere of influence). The primary number of "missing" represents 10.7% of the "basic" number, the secondary 12.1% of the "basic" number. These percentages should be compared with 12.3% missing due to other causes than normal mortality among the group of identified Jews. At the first glance, this looks like a rather good agreement. But due to the coarse statistical methods used by Sanning, these figures can have "no claim to absolute certainty"—to use Sanning's own words. He says that the available data on population size, migration, flight and deportation, fertility and mortality rates, mixed marriages and assimilation tendencies are often so vague that a slight variation in the calculation procedure might well change the result by several hundreds of thousands of persons in the "missing" category. Therefore, what Sanning really has achieved is only to show that the number of missing Jews at the end of the war in the German sphere must have been between, say, 150,000 and 500,000. The lower figure can be ruled out immediately on account of the number of registered deaths in Auschwitz and Theresienstadt. The best estimate seems to be the assumption that these deaths amounted to about 51% of all Jews missing from German concentration camps, in accordance with the proportion among the groups of identified Jews. This would mean approximately 470,000 missing altogether from the camps. Since about 50,000 would have died "naturally," according to the normal mortality rate, there would be some 420,000 "missing" from a statistical point

of view. This is 14.7% of the "basic" number to be compared with 12.3% in the case of the identified Jews.

It may perhaps contribute to the check if something could be said about the number of survivors from the concentration camps. One man who should have known the number of Jewish detainees in the camps was SS leader Heinrich Himmler. Fortunately, a certain Jewish representative was in the position to interview him on this matter as late as April 1945. This was Mr. Norbert Masur from Sweden, who went to negotiate with Himmler about a possible liberation of imprisoned Jews. During these talks Himmler mentioned the number of Jews still alive in some of the camps: 25,000 in Theresienstadt, 20,000 in Ravensbrück, from 20,000 to 30,000 in Mauthausen, 50,000 in Bergen-Belsen and 6,000 in Buchenwald. Later information indicates that some of the figures were too high, and that the Buchenwald number was far too low. The sum was probably fairly correct. But Himmler intimated that 150,000 Auschwitz Jews should also be counted among the survivors. According to the SS leader, these would have been alive in the camp until its evacuation. This may be fairly true, but apparently Himmler had no count of survivors *after* the evacuation, and he seems to have had no idea of what had happened to the evacuees. We know from other sources that only a minority of them survived the transport in open railroad cars in the bitterly cold winter, perhaps about 30,000 to 50,000. Then there were many other camps with Jewish detainees, not mentioned by Himmler, and it seems reasonable to assume some 30,000 or 40,000 survivors among them. That would mean around about 200,000 Jewish survivors from all the German concentration camps. A total mortality of 70% among the Jewish detainees would follow from these assumptions. This is a very high figure from other points of view. The mortality in the corresponding group of identified Jews was "only" 75%, although they were much older than inmates in general and should have been much more prone to die under the conditions. Perhaps we have estimated somewhat too high a number of deaths and/or a little too low a number of survivors, after all.

In any case, the number of Jews missing in the German sphere turns out to be very far from the "established" figure of six million. Shouldn't we expect some cardinal error in the whole reasoning just because of this great discrepancy?

Certainly, some further checking seems required. But first, let us remember that we have considered here only the number of Jews who died in the German concentration camps, not all the European Jews who died in the war. Among the 5,500,000 Jews in the Soviet sphere (in 1941) more than one million died, according to Sanning's investigation. These deaths include both "normal" victims of the war and victims of German and Soviet persecution. Secondly, the Jewish "basic" population of about 2,850,000 couldn't possibly have suffered a loss of something like six million. This figure should have been discarded long ago, especially since Reitlinger proved it to be unrealistic nearly 40 years ago. The reasonable question to ask is rather this: In view of the proclaimed anti-Semitic policy of the National Socialists and Hitler's talk about *Ausrottung*, how could more than two million escape deportation? What about the famous German efficiency?

Part of the answer comes from Himmler himself, who said to Mr. Masur: "I have left 450,000 Jews in Hungary"—as if he had done it out of humanity. (The real reason probably was lack of transport facilities at the time when Hungary came under direct German rule.) Romania never came under direct German rule, and consequently very few Romanian Jews were deported to German camps. The Romanian government pursued an anti-Semitic policy of its own, and Hitler was satisfied with that. More than half a million of the "basic" number were Romanian Jews. Much the same conditions prevailed in Italy, France, Croatia and Slovakia, and the Gestapo had to be content, in most cases, with shipments of non-naturalized Jews from these countries. Naturalized Jews in Belgium, Bulgaria and Finland seem to have been entirely exempt from deportation. In Poland, hundreds of thousands of Jews were allowed to stay in the city ghettos (until they revolted as in Warsaw 1943). Most of the Jews in Denmark escaped the planned deportation by fleeing over the Sound to Sweden—and the German Army and Navy did virtually nothing to prevent them.

The fate of the non-deported Jews was often very miserable, especially in the case of Poland, and it certainly deserves a special study.

Another problem that would deserve a special study from a statistical point of view is the alleged system of transporting old Jews incapable of work to camps in the East with the sole

intention of killing them immediately upon arrival. It would be unavailing to look for such cases in the registers, since the allegation requires that the murder took place without any notice taken of the names and identities of the victims. All that can be said here is that the alleged practice could hardly have been responsible for any large number of deaths. If that had been the case, there would certainly have been many more than 32 missing after Auschwitz among all the identified Jews reported by the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*. And, since a quarter of the identified Jews sent to Auschwitz were aged 65-80, we would probably have seen several cases of "killed on arrival" in their biographical notices. Instead, we find two rather unexpected examples. The *Encyclopaedia Judaica* reports of Gisi Fleischmann (47) that she was "killed on arrival," and of Raymond Lambert (49), "gassed upon arrival." On the other hand, it says that e.g. Béla Bernstein (76) "died" in Auschwitz and Eduard Duckesz (76) "perished" within the camp. It is not even certain that the *Encyclopaedia* is to be relied on in the case of Fleischmann, since later information reports her as deported to Birkenau (Auschwitz) in August and murdered about 18 October (Martin Gilbert in his book *The Holocaust*, 1986).

Our general conclusion must be that the question posed in this article's title cannot be answered with any precision as long as we have recourse only to the above-mentioned sources. The general magnitude was certainly half a million, but the actual number of Jews who died in the German concentration camps might well have been as low as 300,000 or as high as 600,000. In order to establish a more precise answer to the question, more sample investigations should be accomplished. Any Jewish society, club, school class or small community might constitute such a sample, if only all or most of its members could be traced through the war. The study of a sufficient number of such samples would probably answer the above question and a number of other questions as well.

I shall finish this article by referring to just one small sample group of deported Jews from the Holocaust literature:

Albert Düssel taken to Auschwitz, later to Neuengamme, died there 1945

Mrs. "van Daan" taken to Auschwitz, later to Buchenwald, died there 1945

Peter "van Daan" taken to Auschwitz, later to Mauthausen, died there 1945

Statistical Data Concerning Jewish Population in German Controlled Area Compared to the Corresponding Figures For a Sample of Identified Jews in Same Area

TOTAL JEWISH POPULATION				IDENTIFIED PERSONS	
Category	**Thousands**	**%**	**%**	**Number**	**Category**
Present 1939 (Source: Sanning)	5,044			629	Present Jan. 1939 (Source: *Enc. Judaica*)
Emigrated 1939-41 (Source: Sanning)	-2,197			- 206	Emigrated 1939-41 (Source: *Enc. Judaica*)
Present 1941	= 2,847	100	100	= 423	Present December 1941
Jews registered at Auschwitz (assuming that 60% of all registered were Jewish) (Source: *Enc. Judaica*)	244	8.5	8.6	36	Deported to Auschwitz (Source: *Enc. Judaica*)
Missing in May 1945 (85% of all according to *Enc. Judaica*)	-207	7.3	7.6	-32	Missing in May 1945 (Source: *Enc. Judaica*)
Survived Auschwitz	= 37	1.3	0.9	= 4	Survived Auschwitz
Registered at Theresienstadt (Source: H.G. Adler)	141	5.0	5.0	21	Deported to Theresienstadt (Source: *Enc. Judaica*)
Forwarded from Ther. (Source: H.G. Adler)	-88	3.1	1.2	-5	Forwarded from Ther. (Source: *Enc. Judaica*)
Died in Theresienst. (Source: H.G. Adler)	-33.5	1.2	1.2	-5	Died in Theresienst. (Source: *Enc. Judaica*)
Survived Theresienst.	= 19.5	0.7	2.6	= 11	Survived Theresienst.
			17.0	72	Missing after deport. to concentration camps (Source: *Enc. Judaica*)
Missing not due to emigration or normal mortality (Source: Sanning)	304	10.7	12.3	52	Missing not due to normal mortality (72-20)
Alive in conc. camps April 1945 according to Himmler (Source: N. Masur)	275	9.6	5.7	24	Alive in conc. camps May 1945 (Source: *Enc. Judaica*)

Note: All figures refer to Jews living in the countries under German control in June 1941.

Table 1

Margot Frank taken to Auschwitz, later to Belsen, died there 1945
Anne Frank taken to Auschwitz, later to Belsen, died there 1945
Mrs. Frank taken to Auschwitz, later to Belsen, died there 1945
Mr. "van Daan" taken to Auschwitz, last seen there in 1945
Mr. Frank taken to Auschwitz, survived in camp hospital.

This gives some idea of what can be achieved by means of the study of samples of known individuals.

Sources: Adler, H.G.: *Theresienstadt*, 1941-1945. Tübingen, 1960

Encyclopaedia Judaica. Jerusalem, 1972.

Sanning, W.N.: *The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry*. Costa Mesa, California, 1990.

Masur, Norbert: *En jude talar med Himmler*. Stockholm, 1945.

NATIONALISM & ANTISEMITISM IN MODERN EUROPE 1815-1945 by Shmuel Almog. Translated from the Hebrew by Ralph Mendel. Oxford, New York, et al: Pergamon Press, 1990, 160 pp., illustrated, $56.00; ISBN 0-08-037254-6 Hardcover; $17.00 ISBN 0-08-037774-2 Paperback.

Reviewed by Frederick Kerr

The addition of "Holocaust Studies" to school curricula has emerged as a growth industry in American education. Courses are being included for high school and college students, with the objective that no one may pass through the Halls of Ivy without becoming familiar with "the historical record of Jewish victimization." Courses require textbooks, and *Nationalism & Antisemitism in Europe 1815-1945*, by Shmuel Almog, is the first in a series prepared for use by college students and high school instructors by the Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Antisemitism of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in cooperation with the Zalman Shazar Center for Jewish History of the Historical Society of Israel. Editions are simultaneously being made available in the United States, Britain, Canada, Germany, Brazil, Australia, Japan and the People's Republic of China.

In his preface, Prof. Almog admits that the drive to focus attention on this topic has been prompted as a response to "the revisionist denial that the Holocaust ever occurred, or the attempt to diminish its magnitude." Revisionism and the new wave of nationalism sweeping through the former satellites of the crumbling Soviet Empire "obligate us to probe the history of Jew-hatred (and) the persistence of this phenomenon."

The extermination of Jews at Auschwitz and elsewhere is a "given" in this volume. What the author seeks to reveal is the persistence and continuity of anti-Jewish sentiment throughout Europe following the fall of Napoleon. Wherever peoples strove for self-determination, Jews were viewed with distrust by patriotic elements. Consequently, Almog observes, "modern antisemitism is incomprehensible without reference to nationalism."

Over some seven chapters, the author argues that mistrust of Jews was widespread and not limited to religious cranks or ignorant peasants. The very process of political evolution from dynastic monarchies to indigenous nation-states often led to the removal of Jews from their former influential positions in these realms.

Almog's survey draws attention to policies and events that may cause more thoughtful students to pause and ponder just what was transpiring during this period. For example, the Russian monarchy is portrayed as anti-Semitic. Yet, in his chapter "Revolutions and Counterrevolutions," the author mentions that the Tsarist occupation regime in Poland prohibited anti-Jewish pamphleteering.

It was the murder of Tsar Alexander II in 1881 that sparked off anti-Jewish riots in Russia. Thereafter, government authorities began to re-examine the role played by Jews and their relationship to the majority population. A memorandum prepared for the newly crowned Tsar Alexander III by the future Interior Minister Nikolai Ignatyev (1832-1908) is excerpted by Almog:

> In Petersburg there exists a powerful group of Poles and Yids which holds in its hands direct control of banks, the stock exchange, the bar, a great part of the press, and other areas of public life. Through many legal and illegal ways it exerts an enormous influence over the bureaucracy and the general course of affairs. Parts of their group are implicated in the growing plunder of the exchange and in seditious activity . . .

German anti-Semitism was marked by the participation of prominent intellectuals and artists, such as Richard Wagner. In Germany, Jews came to be viewed in a new light following the failure of the revolutions of 1848. The creation of the German Empire corresponded with a growing suspicion that Jews were "dual loyalists." The 1892 Tivoli Conference of the Conservative Party issued a platform that openly called for curbing "the ruinous Jewish influence."

Anti-Jewish sentiment spread throughout Europe in the aftermath of the First World War, touched off by the Balfour Declaration, and, more immediately, by events in Russia, and Eastern and Central Europe. "The large numbers of Jews in the Communist parties," Almog notes, "magnified the historic enmity toward Jews." Almog lists Jews who played stellar roles in the Communist revolts in Russia, Germany and Hungary.

He even points out that many of them assumed aliases, but to no avail, for "soon enough their former names—Bronstein, Radomislsky, Rosenfeld, Zederbaum, Sobelsohn—were also revealed . . . The public regarded them as an attempt to deceive the world about the true origin of the revolutionaries, so as to veil the Jewish character of the Revolution."

Nationalism and Anti-Semitism highlights Polish attitudes toward their own Jewish "problem." Here, readers learn, quite likely for the first time, that anti-Jewish feelings perhaps ran stronger in Poland than in Nazi Germany. The author cites a 1938 British Foreign Office report on a meeting between the Director of the Central European Desk and the Polish Ambassador:

> Poland's Jewish problem was much more serious than Germany's. The Jewish population was proportionately much greater. The Germans were persecuting the Jews largely for reasons of doctrine; in Poland the problem was a very pressing economic one . . . The [Polish Jews] would make good colonists in such a place as Northern Rhodesia, and would be anxious to emigrate at the rate of some 100,000 per year.

Almog goes on to point out that during the years 1936 through 1938, the Polish government repeatedly asked Great Britain and France to assist them in resettling Jews out of Europe to African colonies or Palestine.

Brief mention is also made of anti-Jewish activities before and during the Second World War in Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary, and France.

Extermination, the author concedes in his summary on "War and Holocaust," was not foreseen as the "answer" to Europe's Jewish problems. He goes on to admit that "there is no indication that the 'Final Solution' was planned prior to the outbreak of the war (and perhaps not even before the German invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941)."

At this point *Nationalism & Antisemitism in Modern Europe* terminates. Other books in the series will undoubtedly deal with the "mechanics" of the Holocaust. Perhaps against the author's intentions, what the reader of this book comes to see is that Jews were held suspect by respectable elements throughout Europe. Far from answering students' questions, this book may well raise more questions about the relationship between nationalism and "anti-Semitism," and the causes of the latter.

THE WEB OF DISINFORMATION: CHURCHILL'S YUGOSLAV BLUNDER by David Martin. San Diego and New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1990. Hb., 425 pp., $29.95; ISBN 0-15-18074-3.

Reviewed by Robert Clive

In the weeks preceding Hitler's pre-emptive attack on Stalin, events in the Balkans took a turn for the worse. On March 25, 1941, Yugoslav Prime Minister Cvetkovic went to Vienna, where he signed the Tripartite Pact. Germany agreed to respect Yugoslav sovereignty and not demand right of passage for Axis troops. Two days later, a British and American-engineered coup overthrew the Council of Regency and deposed Prince Paul. Seventeen-year-old King Peter became the figurehead for a government headed by Yugoslav Air Force Chief of Staff Gen. Simovic. While the anti-Axis shift was popular among Serbian segments of the population, it was markedly less so among the Croats.

Hitler's response to the change of government in Belgrade was to issue Directive 25, which ordered immediate planning for the invasion of Yugoslavia and Greece. The German leader here acknowledged that he might be forced to delay Operation Barbarossa—the invasion of the USSR—to allow these new operations to take place, thus securing his southern flank.

German forces invaded Yugoslavia and Greece on April 6. On the 10th Zagreb radio announced the establishment of an independent Croatian republic under their nationalist leader Ante Pavelic. On the 11th Italian and Hungarian Army divisions launched cautious attacks on Yugoslav positions. Belgrade surrendered to Gen. von Kleist on the 12th; on the 14th King Peter fled the country; and on the 17th, former Foreign Minister Cincar-Markovic signed an armistace with the Germans, who lost fewer than 200 dead in the Yugoslavian campaign. Ten days later, Athens fell to the Wehrmacht.

Despite the armistice, a Yugoslav government-in-exile was recognized and operated out of London throughout the rest of the war. It called upon all Yugoslavs to take up arms. This challenge was most effectively supported by the Serbian royalist Gen. Draza Mihailovic, who at the time of the Axis invasion was in charge of the Operations Bureau of the General Staff. Mihailovic quickly established his Home Army

resistance movement in Serbia and in January 1942 was appointed commander-in-chief of the armed forces and war minister by the government-in-exile.

Throughout most of 1942, Mihailovic enjoyed the unqualified support of the Western Allies, who lionized him in their press as the greatest resistance leader in Axis-occupied Europe. Early in 1943, the mood in London began to shift toward support for Joseph Broz Tito, head of a small Communist-led movement. By the end of the year a dramatic switch in policy occurred, with the anti-Communist Mihailovic being cut off from further support. London, Washington, and Moscow were now unanimous in their backing of Tito's Red "Partisans."

Even after the government-in-exile stripped him of his official duties, Mihailovic fought on against the Germans. But at war's end, he was accused of treason against the new Tito-led government. On March 25, 1946, seventeen months after the Soviet Army captured Belgrade, the still defiant Mihailovic was captured and, on July 17, executed by a Red firing squad. Tito imposed a Communist regime that reigned for 45 years. As we go to press, the Yugoslavia he ruled is in the process of disintegration.

How it came to pass that the West turned their backs on Mihailovic is a question that has troubled David Martin for over four decades. His first book on the topic, *Ally Betrayed*, was published in 1946. The Hoover Institution issued his 1978 study, *Patriot or Traitor: The Case of General Mihailovich*. This third volume represents the culmination of Martin's efforts to defend and rehabilitate Mihailovic. It is not a mere reiteration of previously explored material, but is based on research conducted in Mihailovic's own archives, those of the Yugoslav government-in-exile, British state papers for the period 1941-1945, and interviews with over one hundred people directly involved.

Martin concludes that the fateful change in British policy was due to a remarkably successful campaign of disinformation and sabotage launched some six to eight months before Winston Churchill terminated further support for Mihailovic and proceeded to provide enthusiastic backing to Tito. British intelligence agencies, especially the Yugoslav Section of Special Operations Executive (SOE), headquartered first in Cairo and later in Bari, Italy, was the locus of the anti-

Mihailovic elements. It was the Yugoslav Section that was responsible for relaying intelligence about resistance activities to SOE-London and the British Foreign Office. The Cairo office, Martin shows, engaged in large-scale falsifications, by failing to acknowledge Mihailovic's efforts directed against Axis occupation forces, and by grossly inflating the scale of Tito's activities and the level of support his Partisans enjoyed throughout the area.

After sifting through thousands of pages of previously classified records, the author concluded that one man was primarily responsible for engineering this history-making campaign: James Klugman, deputy chief of SOE Yugoslavia Section. Klugman, it emerges, was, with Kim Philby, Guy Burgess, Anthony Blunt, and Donald Maclean, another member of the nest of Cambridge Communists who moled their way into strategic positions in British intelligence during and after World War II.

Klugman, the son of a prosperous Jewish merchant, was born in London in 1912. He attended Trinity College, Cambridge and became a leader in the European Communist youth movement in the 1930s. After his wartime service as an intelligence and coordinating officer, reaching the rank of major, in the Yugoslav Section of SOE, he became a member of the executive committee of the British Communist Party and editor of *Marxism Today*. Michael Straight described Klugman, who died in 1977, as "a warm-hearted and compassionate intellectual whose commitment to Communism left him no time for such minor preoccupations as taking a bath or cleaning his fingernails."

In February 1942 Klugman was posted to the Yugoslav Section of SOE. There, according to Martin, Klugman was able to orchestrate the campaign against Mihailovic. He was the first to receive messages from the field. He wrote the situation reports, briefed his superiors, and drafted position papers. Through the doctored reports he passed along, Klugman portrayed the Home Army as inactive and ineffective; charged that members of Mihailovic's staff were collaborators who concentrated their military operations against the heroic Partisans; and claimed that Mihailovic had lost most of his popular following.

Klugman's reports in turn influenced the line taken by the Political Warfare Executive, Secret Intelligence Service (M16),

the Foreign Office, and BBC. Klugman possessed almost unlimited possibilities for misinforming those who ultimately set policy.

Martin strips away the layers of myth surrounding Tito's wartime efforts. It turns out that Mihailovic's Home Army vastly outnumbered the Partisans, who, with a view toward post-war politics, fought most of their battles against Mihailovic, not the Axis occupation forces. The Partisans deliberately provoked retaliatory strikes on peaceful villages, by slipping into areas, killing a few Axis soldiers, and then stealing away. Villages "liberated" by Tito's thugs often endured a reign of terror. Many Yugoslavs felt better off under Axis control.

Churchill, who reveled in the dramatic, eagerly boosted Tito's reputation as a resistance leader. Based on Klugman's reports, the Prime Minister claimed that the Partisans were tying down 24 crack German divisions. In fact, only eight understrength divisions, along with some Bulgarian and Croatian Ustase units, were deployed in Yugoslavia during 1943 to the fall of 1944. According to Martin, it is doubtful if Tito's forces killed as many as 5,000 Germans before the Red Army stormed into the country in October 1944.

The author discloses that in March 1943 Tito sent a delegation to German headquarters at Sarajevo proposing a truce so that they could both concentrate against the Home Army. Additionally, Tito promised to fight against the British should they land troops in Yugoslavia. For unknown reasons, this offer was turned down by Reich Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop.

It is noteworthy that the OSS (Office of Strategic Services) was less impressed with Tito. Based on a 40-page field report filed by Capt. Walter Mansfield at the end of March 1944, the U.S. offered to continue supplying Mihailovic. OSS's founder and chief, "Wild Bill" Donovan, argued that the Western Allies needed to keep their options open in the Balkans. This proposal was flatly rejected by Churchill. Col. S.W. Bailey, of British intelligence, actually called for Mihailovic's assassination.

The OSS retained its contacts with the Home Army. On November 9, 1944, after the Red Army invaded the area, Donovan received a field report from Lt. Col. Robert McDowell, a Balkan specialist from the University of

Michigan who was considered to be the most qualified intelligence officer, British or American, on matters pertaining to Yugoslavia. McDowell's report flatly contradicted the stance taken by British intelligence. It was his "considered judgement" that during the months preceeding the Soviet assault on Belgrade, Mihailovic's ill-equipped forces did far more than the Partisans to kill, capture, and disrupt the Wehrmacht. McDowell further disclosed that Tito's units engaged in wholesale acts of terrorism against Yugoslav peasants. Copies of his report were forwarded to President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill.

Martin's account is not without significant defects. The author glosses over the strident Serbian chauvinsim of General Mihailovic and his followers, which led the Chetniks to commit many atrocities in the savage warfare which raged between Serb and Croat in the ruins of Yugoslavia. It is fair to point out, as has former IHR editorial advisor Ivo Omrcanin in his *Enigma Tito*, that Britain's traditional divide and rule policies in the Balkans impelled them to back both anti-German guerrilla movements, particularly since Mihailovic's Serbian Chetniks had no drawing power whatsoever among Croats, Slovenes, and other of Yugoslavia's national and ethnic groups.

In his efforts to fix blame on the comparatively low-ranking Klugman, Martin scants the responsibility of Klugman's superiors, above all Winston Churchill, who after all was firmly allied with Stalin and his Soviet Union, next to whom Tito and his Partisans were small fry indeed. Martin's mistake is one which has been made repeatedly by writers whose anti-Communism was a Cold War *Spätlese*, and who exonerate the Roosevelts and the Churchills in their search for Soviet agents who were more often carrying out than subverting their governments' policies.

Nevertheless, Martin's study, which culminates a lifetime of devotion to Mihailovic and his cause, is a timely reminder that the leaders of Britain, like those of America, could be as faithless to their friends as they were ruthless to their enemies: the fate of Poles, Yugoslavs, Czechs, and other central and east Europeans unwise enough to be anti-Communist as well as anti-German is a standing rebuke to the self-congratulatory fustian with which keepers of the Churchill flame customarily celebrate his role in the Second World War.

A Prominent Holocaust Historian Wrestles with a Rising Revisionism

MARK WEBER

Defenders of the crumbling Holocaust story are confused and frustrated about how best to respond to the increasingly "sophisticated" arguments of Revisionists, a leading Holocaust historian says. Writing in the April 1991 issue of *Dimensions*, the Zionist Anti-Defamation League's "Journal of Holocaust Studies," Deborah Lipstadt declares that Revisionist historians must be relentlessly "exposed" and denounced, while carefully avoiding any discussion of what they actually write and say.

Lipstadt teaches history at Occidental College in Los Angeles. She is the author of *Beyond Belief: The American Press and the Coming of the Holocaust, 1933-1945*, and is currently working on a book about Holocaust Revisionism. If it is anything like this essay, her forthcoming work will be little more than a polemical smear job.

Holocaust Revisionism can no longer simply be "brushed off," she writes in her essay, "Resisting History," because Revisionists have adopted a much more serious and scholarly approach in recent years:

> Lately, the deniers' work has become more virulent and dangerous, in part because it has become more sophisticated. Their publications, including *The Journal of Historical Review*, mimic legitimate scholarly publications. This confuses those who do not immediately know the *Journal's* intentions.

To demonstrate that Revisionist "books and journals have been given an academic format," an illustration of the front cover of the Spring 1990 *Journal* accompanies Lipstadt's essay.

Lipstadt sees dark clouds on the horizon. For one thing, "the impact of revisionist claims on young people is of valid concern since they are the most willing to listen." Revisionists "have also strengthened their ties with influential political groups both within the United States and Europe," she warns

gravely. One such group, she adds, is France's National Front. "Although these groups are small, their influence and power seem to be increasing rapidly."

Ms. Lipstadt expresses particular concern at the worldwide impact of American execution expert Fred Leuchter's forensic investigation of the alleged gas chambers of Auschwitz and Birkenau, and his conclusion that they were never used as extermination facilities.

While the overall impact of Holocaust Revisionism is still quite limited, Lipstadt sees no reason for complacency:

> What is clear, however, is that the existence of Holocaust denial has given relativism a cloak of respectability. Denial has stretched the parameters of debate so far to one side that questions once considered outlandish and dismissed as historically untenable now find acceptance . . . These include doubts about fundamental aspects of the Holocaust—the existence of gas chambers, Hitler's knowledge of the Final Solution, and the innocence of the Jews.

Responding to the arguments and facts presented by Holocaust Revisionists is very hazardous, Lipstadt contends, because what they write and say is now such a sophisticated mixture of truth and falsehood that they are "confusing readers who are unfamiliar with the deniers' tactics." On another occasion, Lipstadt has said that, "unless you're a specialist, it's hard to debate them [the Revisionists]." (New York *Daily News*, Oct. 15, 1990, p. 29.) Moreover, she writes in her ADL essay, "to debate them [Holocaust Revisionists] is to risk giving their efforts the imprimatur of a legitimate historical option."

In Lipstadt's view, responding to the Revisionists is a fruitless task:

> The speciousness of their arguments, not the arguments themselves, demands a response. The insidious way in which denial enters the mainstream—often disguised as relativism—must be fully exposed . . . We need not waste time or effort answering the deniers' contentions.

Contradicting herself somewhat, Lipstadt makes a feeble effort to refute Revisionism by giving a distorted and essentially dishonest summary of what she contends are the "claims" of "the deniers." Without citing a shred of evidence, she falsely charges, for example, that "the revisionists draw a great deal of inspiration from the *Protocols* [*of the Elders of Zion*]."

Quoting from a 1962 essay by American Revisionist historian Harry Elmer Barnes, Lipstadt contends that "for some deniers, Hitler . . . was a man whose only fault was that he was 'too soft, generous and honorable.'" What Barnes actually wrote is not quite so simplistic:

> While the theory of Hitler's diabolism is generally accepted, there are very well informed persons who contend that he brought himself and Germany to ruin by being too soft, generous and honorable, rather than too tough and ruthless. They point to the following considerations . . .

(From "Revisionism and Brainwashing," reprinted in *Barnes Against the Blackout*, p. 251.)

Lipstadt also writes:

> Deniers acknowledge that some Jews were incarcerated in places like Auschwitz, but, they maintain, the camps were equipped with recreational facilities like swimming pools and dance halls.

While Lipstadt can safely assume that most of her readers will "knowingly" dismiss this latter contention as absurd nonsense, there were, in fact, recreational facilities in the camp, as numerous former inmates have recalled. (One such Auschwitz survivor, Marc Klein, confirmed that "the SS administration allowed regular amusements for the prisoners," including cabaret performances and soccer, basketball and water polo matches. [*JHR*, Summer 1991, pp. 133-134.])

Perhaps Lipstadt's most grotesque distortion of the truth is her assertion that "For the deniers what happened to the Jews is beside the point: Jews were not victims, they are victimizers." As anyone familiar with the writings of Rassinier, Faurisson, Butz and Irving is aware, no serious Revisionist denies the victimization of millions of Jews in Germany, Poland, Hungary, Romania, Ukraine and other European countries. They were deprived of their liberty and property, rounded up, and brutally deported to crowded ghettos and camps where hundreds of thousands died under miserable and often horrible circumstances.

In a recent talk at San Diego State University, Lipstadt compared Holocaust "deniers" to those who believe that the earth is flat, and wrongly asserted that Holocaust Revisionism was begun by "the neo-fascist George Lincoln Rockwell . . . in the 1950s."

In fact, the generally acknowledged pioneer of Holocaust Revisionism was Paul Rassinier, a French wartime Resistance activist who was arrested by the Gestapo and interned in the Buchenwald and Dora concentration camps. After the war, he authored a series of books that took issue with the extermination legend. His first was a memoir of his camp experiences published in 1948, which was followed by *Le Mensonge d'Ulysse* in 1950. (One could also plausibly argue that the first Holocaust Revisionist was Hermann Göring, who declared before the Nuremberg Tribunal in 1946 that there had not been any German program or policy to exterminate Europe's Jews.)

Lipstadt, who is not stupid, must know full well that much of what she says and writes is quite simply not true.

If Revisionist arguments are really as nonsensical as Lipstadt insists, she and others would presumably have no difficulty whatsoever refuting them. But as Lipstadt is certainly aware, efforts to seriously refute Revisionist arguments are almost invariably a calamity for the "Exterminationist" side.

The Pressac fiasco is a good case in point. Large amounts of money were spent by the "Nazi-hunting" Klarsfelds and their allies to publish and distribute Jean-Claude Pressac's 564-page book about Auschwitz, which was meant to be a definitive response to the Revisionists. As *Journal* readers know, Pressac's 1989 work has proven, in fact, to be a tremendous, if unintentional, boost to the Revisionist view of the Holocaust issue.

After reassuring readers that only twisted or misguided minds could give any credence to Revisionist arguments, Lipstadt declares, rather paradoxically, that these absurd "flat earth" views pose a grave danger to the very foundations of our social order. "Holocaust denial," she warns darkly, is "an attack on the most basic values of a reasoned society."

If anything, it is polemical writing like Lipstadt's, with its barely veiled assault against the principle of free speech and free inquiry, that really strikes at the foundations of a free and reasoned society. Her words are all the more ominous because they are sponsored by the Zionist Anti-Defamation League, with its formidable financial resources and political clout.

Anxious about what she calls "the dangers of free inquiry," and troubled by the Revisionist commitment to free speech, Lipstadt warns:

> It is this commitment to free inquiry and the power of mythical thinking that explains, at least in part, how revisionists have attracted leading figures and institutions. [MIT professor] Noam Chomsky is probably the best known among them. Chomsky wrote the introduction to a book by French revisionist Robert Faurisson . . . Chomsky's example shows why the dangers of free inquiry should be taken seriously.

(To be precise, Chomsky did not endorse Holocaust Revisionism. He simply defended the Revisionists' right of free speech.)

Lipstadt continues with what amounts to an oblique attack against the principle of free speech:

> Those who are committed to the liberal idea of dialogue fail to recognize that certain views are beyond the bounds of rational discourse . . . In the case of Holocaust denial, reason becomes hostage to a particularly odious ideology.

What is implied here is that only the ADL-approved version of Second World War history should be tolerated.

Lipstadt is not optimistic. "Many people," she notes with dismay, now "regard revisionist arguments as a test of free speech."

"It is only when society comprehends this group's real intentions," Lipstadt warns, "that we can be sure that history will not be reshaped to promote a variety of pernicious objectives." The Revisionists' hidden motives, she rather predictably explains, are "racism, extremism, and virulent anti-Semitism." These days, this is just about the most terrible accusation that anyone can make. What's worse, this charge is almost impossible to disprove, especially when made by an organization as influential as the ADL.

For ADL publicists like Lipstadt, it simply does not matter that articles and essays by Jewish and non-White writers have appeared in the IHR's quarterly *Journal*, along with explicit denunciations of racism, and that the IHR publishes and distributes writing by some of the best-known and most widely read historians in the world today.

Similarly, it doesn't matter that Harry Elmer Barnes, who is correctly identified by Lipstadt as a prominent American Revisionist historian, made clear his personal view of Hitler and his regime in the very essay misleadingly quoted earlier by Lipstadt.

> The truth about 1939 in no way involves or necessitates any approval of Hitler, National Socialism or the National Socialist regime [wrote Barnes] . . . Nothing that I have ever written or ever shall write is even more remotely designed to "rehabilitate Hitler." . . . The National Socialist regime was assuredly not one for which I have either public or personal affection . . . As an American liberal, I could hardly be regarded as admiring any form of conservative totalitarianism.

(From "Revisionism and Brainwashing," reprinted in *Barnes Against the Blackout*, pp. 244, 245, 248.)

In any case, the racism/anti-Semitism charge is ultimately irrelevant. In the final analysis, Revisionist arguments must stand or fall on their own merits, or lack of them. To dismiss them because of the real or imagined motives of the Revisionists would be like rejecting the one-time "extremist" findings of Nicholas Copernicus—that the earth revolves around the sun—by charging that he was motivated by hatred of the papacy and the Church.

Holocaust Revisionism is particularly insidious, Lipstadt maintains, because it "robs the Holocaust of its uniqueness and its capacity to offer the world ethical, moral and political lessons. It reduces the Holocaust to a merely relative evil."

As any serious student of history understands, of course, every historical episode is both unique and relative. While every event—just like every person—is unique, each historical event also has parallels with similar happenings in the past and future.

History is the record of *human* behavior—in all its complex tragedy and glory—which is precisely why it is so fascinating and so well worth studying and understanding. Just as experience and maturity enable us to anticipate how other human beings are likely to act in given circumstances, so also does a study of history help to understand and anticipate how societies, nations and governments are likely to act in given situations.

To review any historical era or event thoughtfully and objectively is, inevitably, to "relativize" it. Contrary to what Lipstadt believes, though, it is only by taking a sober, thoughtful and dispassionate view of the fate of European Jewry during the Second World War that humanity can draw useful lessons from this dark chapter of history.

What Lipstadt and those like her implicitly argue is that Jewish history must be treated differently than the history of

any other people or nation. It must be treated with a special reverence, she suggests, and viewed not historically, but theologically.

Even her constant use of the term "Holocaust denial" is revealing. She treats "The Holocaust" as something close to sacred dogma—much as a devout Christian might regard the Resurrection of Christ—which only blasphemous heretics would dare "deny." (To deny the validity of Christianity in the State of Maryland was a crime punishable by death until 1826.)

For partisan moralists like Lipstadt, the fate of Europe's Jews during the Second World War must never be regarded as one of many grim chapters of human history. Instead "The Holocaust" must be considered as a grand but simplistic drama of Good versus Evil, a morality play about innocent victims and satanic victimizers.

In this essay, Ms. Lipstadt shows how at least one arm of the powerful Holocaust lobby is frantically trying to cope with the increasingly influential phenomenon of Holocaust Revisionism, and provides, however unintentionally, some revealing insights into this lobby's ominous agenda for our society. Her frantic protests nothwithstanding, Lipstadt also demonstrates that she is herself guilty of the very prejudice and close-mindedness she so lightly imputes to Revisionists.

At the same time, this essay is encouraging. Lipstadt acknowledges the effective and growing impact of Holocaust Revisionism, and concedes that Revisionist arguments are difficult to refute. Finally, this essay confirms that the forces of intolerance and bigotry are not invincible, and that historical truth can prevail over even the most formidable of adversaries.

A Call for a Congressional Investigation

The Murder of Rudolf Hess

D.D. DESJARDINS

I was in Ohio on August 17, 1987 when news came of the death of Rudolf Hess at Spandau Prison. Within several days, it was reported that Hess had committed suicide, a version endorsed several weeks later by his Allied jailers (the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, and France) in official communiqués:

> Rudolf Hess hung himself from the bar of the window of a small building in the prison garden, using the electric cord of a reading lamp. Efforts were made to resuscitate him. He was rushed to the British Military Hospital, where, after several further efforts, he was pronounced dead at 4:10 p.m. local time.
>
> A note addressed to the Hess family has been found in his pocket: "Thanks to the directors for addressing this message to my home. Written several minutes before my death."

It was then only a passing thought that Hess might have been a victim of foul play rather than a man who would willfully take his own life. The Hess I'd learned about through reading Eugene K. Bird's *Prisoner No. 7* or G. Gordon Liddy[1] did not seem the sort of man who would leave this world voluntarily, but rather as a man true to his ideas and idols, defiant to the end.

It was not until May, 1989, while in Paris during a short stay, that I happened across an article in *Le Figaro Magazine* (No. 13871) written by Jean-Pax Méfret which suggested Hess' death was something other than suicide. Had it been a matter of some tabloid announcement, a Gallic version of our *National Enquirer*, that would have been easy to dismiss, but here it was in one of France's most prestigious weeklies.

The twists and turns of Jean-Pax Méfret's year-long investigation led him through various clandestine contacts and secret rendezvous, often with persons who, knowing his

profession, were careful about their identity and what they said.

A chance meeting in March, 1988 between Méfret and an Allied officer stationed in Berlin, for example, gave a lead which helped spark further investigation when the officer suddenly confided: "Rudolf Hess . . . he did not commit suicide" (and again after a momentary pause), "Hess did not commit suicide." The officer met Méfret again the following day and, under a guarantee of anonymity, revealingly hedged his earlier statement:

> Forget what I told you the other evening. In any event, this matter can't leak out: everything has been perfectly arranged. The outbuilding was burned down within 48 hours. Even the cord which Hess supposedly used to hang himself has gone up in smoke. No one will ever be able to prove that this old Nazi didn't kill himself.

What the Allied officer said about proof, seven months after Hess' death, would soon be contradicted by several key testimonies. One of these was by Abdallah Melaouhi, Hess' medical attendant at Spandau since August, 1982. Broadcast in an interview over B.B.C. news February 28, 1989, Melaouhi stated categorically that he did not accept the official suicide thesis. On the day of Hess's death he described how his normal visit time of 11:20 was changed to have him arrive 40 minutes earlier, and how later that day when he entered the room where Hess was supposed to have hanged himself, ". . . everything was topsy-turvy, yet the cord was in its normal place and still plugged into the wall."

A more telling testimony is the report of Professor Dr. Wolfgang Spann, the medical expert hired by the Hess family to perform a second autopsy, which had not yet been made public at the time of Méfret's article. Spann's detailed examination of the neck failed to corroborate the autopsy of the Four Powers' pathologist, J.M. Cameron, who reported a suicide: Spann found that Hess had died from strangulation, not hanging.[2]

Through the services of an anonymous Spandau employee, Jean-Pax Méfret obtained a copy of a letter written by Rudolf Hess dated 27 October, 1984 to the "governments of the four powers of allied military protection of Berlin-Spandau." In this letter, Hess, at age 90, describes his state of health as part of a request for liberty. This description, predating Hess' alleged

suicide by almost three years, starkly contrasts with that of a man who could, with very little time and under the surveillance of his guard, noose an electric cord, tie it to the bar of a window and hang himself. Here is a translation of the letter:

> Until recently, I was three-fourths blind. Yet part of my left eye was still in perfect condition. Since the morning of Friday, 17 August, it has meanwhile developed that I was no longer able to read normal sized letters of newspaper text. Even certain 4 centimeter characters printed in the title of a paper were no longer visible. There is nothing left in their place but empty space . . . The detachment of the retina will continue until such time as I become totally blind . . . Within the time of twenty minutes while I walk in the prison garden I experience heart problems. This forces me to sit down and to rest so as to take up my activity for a short period . . . I have oedema of the legs which only goes away on condition I elevate my legs both day and night. I also have weakness in my thighs of which the muscles no longer control bending of the knees, so much so that I can no longer raise myself, not even with the use of my cane. It is necessary for another person to help me get on my feet . . . My intestines are displaced to the right, forming a large lump below the abdomen. A few steps suffice to provoke extreme pain.

Is this the description of a man who could hang himself? Not unless it can be supposed Hess's condition improved dramatically in the course of the three-year interval.

Another telling document obtained by Méfret is the letter Rudolf Hess wrote to Mr. Keane, the American Director of Spandau. Dated 4 April, 1987 (just four months prior to Hess's death), it reads as follows:

> As motive for my previously submitted request concerning the dismissal of the American guard *Jordan* [emphasis added]: he is of poor upbringing, yes, very overbearing and harmful towards me. All the others are amicable, polite and helpful in my regard. Even the directors are of the highest manners. Mr. Jordan has now become a danger to my health. I pass my two hours with him with great difficulty, with a continuous elevation of my blood pressure of 120 beats per minute (125 can be fatal). To repeat, the strain of his presence accelerates my heart rate. As you have told me, Mr. Jordan is here as a guard employed by the Senate and held accountable to Civil Service regulations. The Senate must therefore approve his

dismissal. I sincerely implore the Senate to do this, for the sake of the state of health of a 93-year-old man.

The prison log for 17 August, 1987, the day Rudolf Hess died, contains two very interesting entries. The lesser of the two is that at 10:20, Hess put in a request for 30 packets of tissue paper, two sheets of writing paper, a ruler, and three rolls of toilet paper; hardly the request of a man intending suicide just a few hours later. Second are the entries for 14:10 and 14:30. The entry for 14:10 states Hess went for a walk in the garden accompanied by Jordan, the American guard mentioned in the above letter. Twenty minutes later (although there is some question in that the time of 14:30 has been visibly altered from the original entry), Jordan reports that "an incident" has occurred. The French guard Audoin arrives on the scene and tries to resuscitate Hess, apparently without avail, as is the case with trying to find Mr. Keane. Hess does not arrive at the British Military Hospital until 15:50, a full hour and 20 minutes after the "incident."

The foregoing evidence obviously raises some very serious questions about the death of Rudolf Hess: Was Jordan hired as part of a plot to assassinate Hess? Why was the American Director, Mr. Keane, unwilling to entertain Hess's concern regarding Jordan's behavior? Why was Spandau fortress destroyed within 48 hours of Hess's death, particularly the outbuilding where he died and the alleged suicide instruments?

It is true that Hess had apparently attempted suicide at least once, in February, 1946, and it is also true there were no known Allied attempts on his life during the 41 years prior to August, 1987. On the other hand, costs to maintain Spandau Prison, with its 600 cells, 100 full-time employees and guard detachments for the Four Powers, had soared to over 100 million dollars annually. Rudolf Hess, the last remaining prisoner at Spandau since the release of Albert Speer and Baldur von Schirach in 1966, had incontestably become the most expensive prisoner in the world. This is only one of several plausible motives, however.

In August, 1990, supported by the above information, I contacted Congressman Earl Hutto, requesting an official investigation into the circumstances surrounding Hess' death. Within a month I received a cordial reply stating there were no current plans for such an effort, although my comments

would be kept on hand ". . . should Congress hold hearings on this matter." Mr. Hutto forwarded a copy of my letter and article (which included important photostats from the *Figaro* article), to the Subcommittee on Immigration, Refugees and International Law within the House Committee on the Judiciary. As a follow-up, I sent a second copy of the article in October, 1990 directly to New York committee member Hamilton Fish, Jr.

It is strongly urged that those interested in the Hess affair and our nation's responsibilities to truth and honor to write the Subcommittee on Immigration, Refugees and International Law[3] requesting an official investigation into the death of Rudolf Hess. Not only was Spandau prison under U.S. control at the time of his death, but as I have pointed out, there is reasonable concern that an American guard by the name of Jordan may have played a role.[4]

Notes

1. See *Parade*, February, 1981, pg. 6, "G. Gordon Liddy: Why Hess Will Never Break."
2. See *Mord an Rudolf Hess?*, by Hess' son Wolf Rüdiger (Leoni am Starnberger See, Germany: Druffel, 1989), pp. 191-229 for Cameron's and Spann's autopsies and Spann's official report to the author. (*Mord an Rudolf Hess?* and its English translation, *Who Murdered My Father, Rudolf Hess?* are available from the Institute for Historical Review.
3. Subcommittee on Immigration, Refugees, and International Law (Bruce A. Morrison [D-CT], Chairman), B370B Rayburn H.O.B., Washington, DC 20515-6217. Telephone: 1-202-225-5727.
4. Sources close to the Hess family tend at this time to doubt that Jordan himself, who still lives in Berlin and is employed by the U.S. Army, carried out the murder, but believe that he is a key witness. Their suspicion focuses on the British. —Editor

Revisionism and Censorship Down Under

JOHN BENNETT

George Orwell said that "anyone who challenges the prevailing orthodoxy finds himself being silenced with surprising effectiveness. A genuinely unfashionable opinion is almost never given a fair hearing." J.S. Mill said that "unmeasured vituperation, employed on the side of prevailing opinion, deters people from expressing contrary opinions, and from listening to those who express them."

Historical Revisionists, such as the UK historian David Irving, whose books are in libraries and bookshops throughout the Western world, Professor Faurisson, Professor Butz and myself, who, after much research, much of it uncontradicted, have concluded there was no plan to exterminate Jews in World War II; there were no mass gassings; and fewer than one million Jews died of all causes, face such vituperation. O'Brien, a member of the "thought police" in Orwell's novel, *1984*, said: "Who controls the past controls the future. Who controls the present controls the past."

Dissident thinkers who challenge the accepted version of the past cannot expect a fair hearing in Australia, are subject to "unmeasured vituperation" and are not given a fair hearing. Thus my attempts to query the extent of the Holocaust of Jews in World War II have led to me being described as "more evil than Himmler and Pol Pot" (*Quadrant*), a "pathological raver" (*New Statesman*), "unhinged" (*Commentary*), "comic" and "bizarre" (*The Age*), "scum" (*3AW*) and "dangerous and foolish" (Derryn Hinch, *3AW*). A play written by a Jew from Sydney called "The Diary of Anne Frank—a Forgery?" describes me as a vicious evil neo-Nazi professional propagandist who poses as a civil libertarian and is utterly discredited. I am not afforded a right of reply to such attacks.

Gerard Henderson attacked me in an article in *The Australian* in 1989 headed "It's Time to Muzzle Lunar Rights Baying," and I was attacked in a feature article in the *Sydney*

Morning Herald in 1989 headed "Lies, Damned Lies and Hogwash." The Press Council predictably rejected my complaint about the failure of the *SMH* to publish a reply. Phillip Adams attacked me in three feature articles in *The Australian* in 1990 claiming that I was masquerading as a civil libertarian, that I was carrying on where Julius Streicher, the editor of *Der Stürmer*, left off, and that I had been spewing hate since the 1930's (I was born in 1936 and did not become a Revisionist until 1979).

Adams regards those querying the extent of the Jewish Holocaust as committing blasphemy—a curious view for a self-proclaimed skeptic and atheist. Is the official version of the Holocaust his religion? Was the recent reduction in the official figure for deaths at Auschwitz, from 4 million to about 1 million, blasphemy? The camp records indicated an even lower figure. Anti-Zionist Jews, such as Dr. Alfred Lilienthal, who support freedom of speech for Revisionists, claim that the "official" version of the Jewish Holocaust has become a new religion for many Jews, and for non-Jews such as Mr. Adams. It is the religious aspect of the Holocaust which places the freedom of speech of Revisionists at such risk. Anti-Zionist Jews such as Dr. Lilienthal and Noam Chomsky have defended the freedom of speech of Revisionists. The Jewish writer J.G. Burg, who was a Holocaust survivor, has denied that gassing took place at Auschwitz, and the Jewish historian Arno Mayer agrees with Revisionists that the extent of the Holocaust has been exaggerated.

The *Sunday Age*, owned by the Fairfax group, published three feature articles in July and August 1990, discussing whether alleged "racists" such as myself (and I was the only person named) should be dealt with by racial vilification legislation. The articles were triggered by a complaint against *Your Rights* to the NSW Anti-discrimination Board by the NSW Jewish Board of Deputies. The *Sunday Age* devoted more than 100 column inches to the three articles and an "over the top" cartoon and allowed me about six column inches in reply. The headings in the articles attacking me were "The Right to Be a Racist" (with a cartoon of a Neanderthal ape spewing forth hate), "Package Poison with an Inbuilt Antidote" and "Cloaking Hate with Freedom's Mantle" (with the cartoon repeated). The contents of the articles, and several letters attacking my views, did not create a climate for objective

debate and sometimes approached "unmeasured vituperation." Even if the "pathological ravings" of "unhinged," "evil" revisionists are "poisonous," the "ravings" may, if examined, and if not refuted, eventually be largely accepted.

"Freedom of the Press" seems to mean freedom for press proprietors and editors, accountable to no one, to indulge in character assassination and not give any, or any adequate, space for a reply. The only reply from me published by the *Sunday Age* (August 8, 1990) stated that Terry Lane, who wrote the first two articles and who has previously objected to racial vilification legislation because of its threat to freedom of speech, now says (August 12) that material found to be "offensive" and "poisonous" by "Nanny State" must be dealt with, by forcing the writer of the material to give equal space to those offended, and to participate in a public debate. Those seeking to censor the section in the 17th edition of *Your Rights* (written by myself) discussing Zionist power, the extent of the Jewish Holocaust, and the use of the Holocaust as a propaganda weapon for Israel oppose freedom of speech on those issues, and would reject Mr. Lane's suggestions, which are acceptable to me (without compulsion). The suggestions would be an interesting precedent for disparate groups objecting to material as diverse as *The Last Temptation of Christ*, Salman Rushdie's book *The Satanic Verses*, Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice*, the New Testament, and daily references to the Jewish Holocaust in the media with negative stereotyping of Germans.

Mr. Lane, who has said that he would, "never ever" discuss the Israeli-Palestinian conflict again "because the consequences of doing so are altogether quite unnerving," has not given any explanation for his retreat on the issue of freedom of speech, especially for those he has described as "soft targets," including Historical Revisionists such as David Irving, Professor R. Faurisson and myself. My letter in reply concluded by stating that the heading to an article by Mr. Lane, "The Right To Be A Racist" (July 29), may have inferred I am a racist. I reject notions of racial superiority and racial discrimination but accept that people prefer their own kind.

After the publication of my letter, I was attacked in a *Sunday Age* feature article, headed "Cloaking Hate in Freedom's Mantle," by Mr. S. Rosenkranz, the president of the Jewish Community Council of Victoria. My unpublished reply stated

that Mr. Rosenkranz claims (falsely) that I say the Holocaust didn't happen or was a hoax, and also claims my views are racist—a word he uses often and without definition. He also falsely claims that I criticize a film for portraying Jews as, "in general," admirable (I said, "without exception") and says that the view falsely attributed to me is racist. Words such as "blasphemous" and "racist" are designed to inhibit debate, and those using such words against independent thinkers such as Historical Revisionists (Terry Lane's "soft targets") rely on those attacked being given no right of reply.

Mr. Rosenkranz, having attributed to me views I do not hold, then argues that such views are "racist," and should be dealt with by draconian anti-free speech legislation. He also justifies further free speech restrictions because the U.K., etc. have such restrictions. This is a "copy-cat" argument, which ignores the increase in racial tensions in the U.K. caused by such restrictions, documented in Russell Lewis's book *Anti-Racism—A Mania Exposed.* His argument that we should adopt restrictions because of a U.N. Covenant ignores the dominance of anti-free speech countries in the U.N. and the need to tailor laws relevant for Australia. He ignores the adequacy of existing laws to deal with criminal offences by racists. Mr. Rosenkranz's tunnel vision leads him to regard Revisionist comments in a brief section of a pamphlet with a yearly circulation of 10,000 as being "racist" on the basis of misquotations (Has he read *Your Rights*?), while he appears to lack the empathy to realize the almost daily stereotyping of Germans and Arabs in films from Hollywood with a nightly viewing audience of often more than 200,000 people are offensive to those groups. Instead of singling out a minor pamphlet for special treatment, he should consider the daily harm done by Hollywood films (often designed to help Israel) to Germans and Arabs. Why should these groups not have equal space to answer those vilifying them?

The almost daily references to the Jewish Holocaust in the media are because, as Professor W. Rubinstein has said, the Jewish Holocaust is the number one propaganda weapon for Israel. His claim that Jews have become the new socio-economic and political elite of the West helps to explain the passage of selective discriminatory war crimes legislation, described by Jim McClelland in an address with which he launched *Sanctuary*, a book by Mark Aarons, as "a sop to the

Jewish lobby." There have been many other sops. The strength of the Zionist lobby in Australia, and its role in pushing for War Crimes legislation and for racial vilification legislation as a means of imposing political censorship of Revisionists challenging the official version of the Jewish Holocaust, is discussed in a leaflet headed *War Crimes Vendetta*, available from the Australian Civil Liberties Union (ACLU).

Those attacking Revisionists with vituperative language will have, at some stage, to answer Revisionists, who point out that the Wannsee Conference, setting out Nazi policy for Jews, refers to evacuation to the East, not extermination; that Fred Leuchter, described in *The Atlantic* as the main authority on execution procedures in the U.S.A., including gas chambers, has found that Jews could not have been gassed by Zyklon B at Auschwitz; that the crematoria known to have existed could not have disposed of the numbers claimed to have been killed; and that an extermination campaign of which the Vatican, the Red Cross, the German resistance to Hitler, Allied Intelligence and German Intelligence were not aware could not have existed. The fate of Anne Frank, shunted from camp to camp and dying of typhus (which Zyklon B was used to combat); the survival of members of the immediate family (siblings and parents) of some of the best-known names of the Holocaust (Simon Wiesenthal, Anne Frank, Elie Wiesel, etc.); the number of survivors claiming compensation from the West German government; and the survival of the small ghetto boy photographed with his hands raised, help to validate the Revisionist case.

Those seeking to censor, intimidate, and even imprison Revisionists will be in an interesting position if the Revisionist position becomes at some stage the prevailing orthodoxy. Academic historians who refuse to answer Revisionists, and people in the media who belittle or ignore them, may be queried as to whether they have justified the power and influence given to them. The critical question, not asked and not answered, is whether the "unfashionable opinion" is correct. There are many examples in history of fashionable opinions becoming modified or abandoned. One justification for freedom of speech, given by John Stuart Mill, is that those holding unpopular opinions may be correct, or closer to the truth, than the prevailing orthodoxy.

My unpublished reply concluded by stating that as well as

reading *Your Rights*,the Leuchter Report, and the minutes of the Wannsee Conference, Mr. Rosenkranz should read John Stuart Mill (*On Liberty*), tolerate the expression of arguments he dislikes, and endeavor to answer them.

The Holocaust is so important to Zionist Jews that Professor Friedländer has said that "the Revisionist School of historians, those who say the Holocaust never existed, that it is a Jewish invention, are more worrying than countries' political positions," while Professor F. Littell has said "You can't discuss the truth of the holocaust. That is a distortion of the concept of free speech. The United States should emulate West Germany, which outlaws such exercises."

I cited some of the methods used to silence Historical Revisionism in Australia in *Censorship of Dissident Opinions*, available from the ACLU. More drastic measures are used in some other countries. A Revisionist received a two-year jail sentence in Canada, a Revisionist in France was assassinated, Professor Faurisson was suspended from his teaching position in France, Henri Roques had his Ph.D. (granted for research on aspects on the Holocaust) revoked, a retired judge in West Germany had his law degree revoked and the plates of his book *The Auschwitz Myth* seized, other writers in West Germany have been jailed, and the headquarters and warehouse of the Institute for Historical Review was burnt to the ground in the U.S.A. For further information, write to the ACLU for a leaflet headed *"The Worldwide Persecution of Dissent."*

All of the attacks on Revisionists (including Jewish Revisionists) I have mentioned have one thing in common. They are subjected to character assassination but no, or very little, attempt is made to refute their arguments.

[This article is adapted from *Your Rights 1991*, published by John Bennett for the Australian Civil Liberties Union, Box 1137, Carlton 3053, Australia. —Ed.]

Swedish Professors Defend Revisionism on Trial

R. CLARENCE LANG

What is the driving conviction behind Holocaust Revisionism? One answer might be that historical truths cannot be decided in or by the courts, for ultimately there can be no historical scholarship without freedom of research and expression.

Yet, up to now the Holocaust propagandists have used the courts on a broad scale to becloud this simple, basic truth. Note the words up to now, for recently Jan Hjaerpe and Jan Bergmann, two professors in Sweden, have confronted a court of judges in their country on this issue, in connection with the trial of Ahmed Rami in Stockholm.

Who is Ahmed Rami and what was the Rami trial?

Rami, a political refugee in Sweden for some years, is a Berber by birth and a former Moroccan army officer. Highly gifted and vocal, he passionately espouses the cause of the Palestinian people, most of whom are his fellow Muslims. Author of five books in Swedish, in 1987 he founded and directed Radio Islam, broadcasting to Swedes and the some 80,000 Muslims living in Sweden. He also used his broadcasting to inform his listeners about Revisionism, in particular the work of Dr. Robert Faurisson and the "Holocaust Trial" of Ernst Zündel in Toronto, Canada. Like Faurisson, Rami links the Holocaust to the plight of the Palestinians. For, besides the German people, but not its leaders, Faurisson sees the Palestinians, dispossessed of their homeland by the Zionists, as victims of the Holocaust propaganda.

For Rami, who has made it a point to interview noted Swedes, Holocaust Revisionism is more than a passive intellectual, historical pursuit. It is instead an active, first, necessary ideological step in the liberation of the Palestinian people. Accordingly, as long as the Holocaust remains unchallenged historically in the Western world, so long will it

victimize the Palestinians. Rami recalls a quote attributed to Charles de Gaulle, who at the end of World War II claimed that for the Palestinians, World War II was merely a battle in an ongoing war. In this light, then, the *intifada* is really a continuation of World War II.

For such outspokenness, Rami's Islam Radio was legally closed, and Rami was brought before a Swedish court on September 5, 1989 in a trial that lasted until November of that year. Rami was convicted and sentenced to a six-month term for violating his radio license, and for broadcasting anti-Semitism and hatred. Some claim, perhaps presumptuously, that the widely publicized international anti-hate convention in Oslo, at the end of August and the beginning of September 1990, attended by some 500 persons from all over the world, was organized by Elie Wiesel and others expressly to sustain an international campaign against Rami's small one-room radio station in Stockholm. To be sure, at this time Rami's case was being appealed.

Since Sweden was neutral in both world wars, it may well be more open to Revisionism than other European countries. There are no world war veterans' organizations, let alone groups of former resistants to German occupation as in France, Norway and Denmark. Thus it is less surprising that precisely in Sweden there has developed a confrontation between the university, with its traditional freedom for research and publication, and the courts, which may use their power to curb this freedom.

Professor Jan Hjaerpe of the University of Lund exemplified this confrontation in his testimony for Rami. Professor Hjaerpe testified that, in his opinion, Rami had contributed to a better understanding regarding Israel and Judaism in the debate over the Palestinian issue. The professor told the judge that a court is not competent to decide in debates on pollitical, historical and ideological issues. He stressed as well that treating the Holocaust as an area for historical study entails that such study be opened to the freedom of critical research, including doubt and denial. Furthermore, if one hinders the right to deny (this includes also the Establishment version of World War II), then one transforms Exterminationism into a religious dogma, i.e. a matter based on faith and not reason.

According to this argument, since Zionists have used the Holocaust as part of their historical and political claim to the

legitimacy of the State of Israel, as a result seriously encroaching on the rights of the Palestinians, these, then, have a right to discuss, debate and closely examine the case for and against the Holocaust.

Professor Jan Bergmann, of the theological faculty in Uppsala, also defended Rami in court, despite a bitter press campaign waged against this scholar of ancient oriental and comparative religions. Professor Bergmann was asked his scholarly opinion as to whether Rami's claims regarding certain texts in the Old Testament (as it is called by non-Jews) and the Talmud were historically correct, since these texts allegedly claim that the Jews have a right to Palestine even at the expense of its long-time inhabitants. (And this without clear geographical borders!) Bergmann agreed with Rami's interpretation. More explicitly, the theologian testified that the sacred texts of the Old Testament and the Talmud, cited by Rami, are indeed being used today by Israel and the Zionists as political and historical warrants to exploit and to legitimatize the Jewish occupation of Palestine. (Some call these the "cruel" texts of the Bible. Christians see these texts through the light of the New Testament.)

Although this testimony was not Revisionist as such, the Jewish publication *Judish Kroenika* (April, 1989) claimed that Professor Bergmann is a Holocaust Revisionist. Allegedly, in a conversation during an airplane flight from Israel, the professor expressed doubt that some 6,000,000 Jews perished in World War II, and that the actual number was rapidly expanded after the war by Jewish organizations to create a more favorable climate for the establishment of Israel. The same publication also accused the professor of seeing in Robert Faurisson's *Is the Diary of Anne Frank Genuine?* serious research, thereby implying doubt as to the authenticity of the *Diary*.

Unlike these two professors, Krister Stendahl, the retired bishop of Stockholm, now a honorary professor at Harvard University, was flown in from the U.S. to testify against Rami. Professor Stendahl testified that the Jews alone have the right to interpret their Old Testament, upon which Rami questioned whether that right also included the right to drive out and exterminate the Palestinian people. Stendahl, a Lutheran, claimed that Luther's writing, *The Jews and Their Lies*, was un-Christian and that Luther was an anti-Semite.

According to an article by Rami, the former bishop has advocated the return of Christians to the religion of their origin, that is, Judaism. Further, Professor Stendahl accepts the Zionist definition of Zionism: the national liberation movement for the Jewish people.

Rami in his writings makes little or no distinction between Zionism and Judaism, insisting that Zionism, in so far as the Palestinians are concerned, is the logical expression of Judaism, both being grounded in the same interpretation and understanding of the Old Testament and the Talmud. He sees therein an eternal hate-filled tension, as Jews dislocate the Palestinians and attempt to drive wedges between the Islamic nations, and a wedge between Christianity and Islam.

In a public declaration in the name of academic freedom, the theological professor in the University of Uppsala supported Professor Bergmann's academic freedom. (That is, the freedom of the professor, in his area, to research a topic and publish his findings, without jeopardizing his university standing.)

At the same time, Rami and professors Hjaerpe and Bergman have been supported in the Swedish press by Jan Myrdal, the son of the late famous professor and Nobel Prize winner Gunner Myrdal (in an article in *Folket i Bild*, a periodical published by an organization with the same name).

These developments in Sweden on the highest academic level, the university, give Revisionism reason for optimism, by supporting the position, of particular importance to Revisionists in view of international legal efforts, that it is the very nature of historical truths that these cannot be decided in or by courts. Human history, like life itself, is much, much more complicated than that.

Letters

DAMNING DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE?

To the Editor:

You were good enough to send me the Winter 1990-91 issue of your *Journal of Historical Review*, which contains a piece by Mr. David Irving under the title "Battleship Auschwitz." Readers of his "remarks presented to the Tenth International Revisionist Conference" might conclude that there is no tangible and damning documentary evidence relating to mass gassing of human beings at Auschwitz-Birkenau. They would be quite wrong.

On the 88th day of the Auschwitz trial in Frankfurt, 11 September 1964, the Presiding Judge, Dr. Hofmeyer, questioned the signatory of one of the "Fahrgenehmigungen"—[i.e. travel] authorizations—to fetch "materials for the resettlement of the Jews" at Dessau in a 5-ton truck with trailer, dated 2. 10. 1942. The travel order (Fahrbefehl) is identical with the "Funkspruch [radio message] Nr. 13" from WVHA [the SS "Economic and Administrative Main Office"] at Oranienburg to the Kommandantur Auschwitz, received at the SS Standort-Funkstelle [garrison radio center] Auschwitz on the same 2. 10. 1942, signed bottom left by "F.D.R. Selle [?] Funkstellenleiter" ["Certified by Selle, radio center chief"]:

> Fahrgenehmigung für einen 5 To. LKW mit Anhänger nach Dessau u. zurück, zwecks Abholung von Materialien für die Judenumsiedlung, wird hiermit erteilt. Dem Kraftfahrer ist diese Fahrgenehmigung mitzugeben.
>
> signed: Liebehenschel. SS-Oberstubaf. ständiger Vertreter des Leiters der Dienstst. im Range eines Gen. Leutnants d. Waffen-SS
>
> [Travel authorization is hereby given to go to Dessau and back, in a five-ton truck, with trailer, for the purpose of obtaining material for the resettlement of the Jews. This travel authorization is to be given to the driver.
>
> signed: Liebehenschel. SS Lt. Colonel, permanent representative of the chief of the agency with the rank of a Lt. General in the Waffen SS.]

When R. Mulka (camp adjutant), who signed the "Fahrgenehmigung" (authorization for the truck driver) was asked by Judge Hofmeyer on the 11 Sept. 1964: "Also, Mulka, was verstehen Sie nun unter Material für die Judenumsiedlung?" ["So, Mulka, what is your understanding of the words 'material for resettlement of the Jews'?"], Mulka's reply was: "Na, ja. ["Well, yeah.] Zyklon B."

Mulka was given 14 years, and he was lucky at that!

The written authorization from WVHA at Oranienburg to Kommandantur Auschwitz of the 26.8.1942 states:

> Betr.: Fahrgenehmigung
> Bez.: Dort. Antrag v. 26. 8. 42
>
> Fahrgen. für einen LKW nach Dessau zur Abholung von Material für Sonderbeh. wird hiermit erteilt. Farhgen. ist dem Kraftf. mitzugeben.
>
> [Subject: Travel Authorization
> Ref.: Request of 26 Aug. 1942
>
> Travel authorization for a truck to go to Dessau to pick up material for special treatment is hereby given. Travel authorization is to be given to the driver.]
>
> Signed as in the WVHA written authorization of the 2. 10. 1942 "F.D.R. Selle Funkstellenleiter" [Certified by Selle, radio center chief.].

These 2 authorizations and Mulka's confession and admission in court on the 11 September 1964 require no further comment from me. None of the similar messages was ever decoded by the British decoders at Bletchley Park. I have discussed this matter with my colleague Prof. Sir Harry Hinsley, who confirmed this.

These wartime documents have been available for a good many years, of course, and more have been found by me very recently.

Gerald Fleming

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Editor's Response:

As Prof. Fleming notes, the documents of 26 August 1942 and 2 October 1942 that he cites here are indeed well known. They are quoted, for example, in: E. Kogon, et al., *Nationalsozialistische Massentötungen durch Giftgas* (1986), pp. 223-224.

They are also cited by the prominent anti-Revisionist historian Jean-Claude Pressac in his important 1989 study, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers*, pp. 556-577. In the case of the authorization of 2 Oct. 1942, Pressac gives the complete text in both facsimile and translation (p. 557).

According to Pressac, less than five percent of the Auschwitz supply of Zyklon B was used for homicidal gassings. He maintains that more than 95 percent, and perhaps as much as 97 or 98 percent, was used at Auschwitz for disinfestation delousing of clothes and buildings. Zyklon gas was used overwhelmingly to kill the vermin that spread disease. That is, it was used to save lives. (J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz*, 1989, pp. 15, 188. See also: R. Faurisson, *JHR*, Spring 1991, p. 38, and *JHR*, Summer 1991, 140.)

The real meaning of "material for the resettlement of the Jews" and "material for special treatment" becomes clear when these travel authorization papers are considered along with another in this same series. The very similar authorization of 22 July 1942, which Fleming does not cite, likewise permits a five-ton truck to go from Auschwitz to Dessau. But in this case the document specifically mentions that the purpose is "to pick up gas [Zyklon] for gassing in the camp, to combat the epidemic that has broken out." This transport of Zyklon was actually meant to save lives because, as Pressac acknowledges (p. 556), "a typhus epidemic was in fact raging in the camp."

In view of all this, it is difficult to agree with Prof. Fleming's comment that Mulka was "lucky" to receive a 14-year prison sentence for his role in delivering Zyklon to Auschwitz.

What is perhaps most remarkable about Prof. Flemings' letter is his implicit suggestion that the two travel authorization papers he cites are the most "tangible and damning documentary evidence" in existence for "mass gassings of human beings at Auschwitz-Birkenau." Prof. Fleming has unintentionally confirmed that documentary evidence for homicidal gassings at Auschwitz simply does not exist.

In spite our very different views, we appreciate Prof. Flemings' letter as a contribution to fruitful dialogue on this complex issue. We look forward to continuing this useful exchange of views.

—Mark Weber, Associate Editor

DIFFERING VIEWS OF THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

To the Editor:

As editor of *Christian News*, I have often recommended *The Journal of Historical Review* and the *IHR Newsletter* to our readers. I wish that every clergyman, teacher and professor would read your publications. At the same time, though, I regret that the IHR continues to defend the position taken by IHR editorial advisor Dr. Martin Larson on the Dead Sea Scrolls.

In his 1981 essay, "Whatever Happened to the Dead Sea Scrolls?" (*Journal*, Summer 1982), Larson sought to show that Christianity is a man-made religion that was heavily influenced by the Essenes, an anti-establishment Jewish sect, and that John the Baptist and Jesus were very likely followers of this cult. Larson went on to suggest that Christian and Jewish interests have conspired to suppress the Scrolls because of what they supposedly reveal about the non-divine origins of Christianity, and because they depict the Jewish leaders of the time in highly unflattering terms.

In the February 13, 1989, issue of *Christian News*, we reprinted Larson's essay, along with a thoughtful and detailed refutation by Raymond Surburg, Ph.D., Th.D, of Concordia Seminary, Fort Wayne, Indiana. Dr. Surburg showed that, however well-informed he may be about other matters, Larson is out of his field when he writes about the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Bible and Christianity.

Surburg also noted:

> As far as Larson's charge is concerned that both Israel and Christians have much to gain from the non-publication of the remaining finds, this writer would contend that Christianity as reflected in the New Testament is *sui generis* and differs from the theology of the Pharisees, Sadduccees, Essenes, the Qumran sectaries, the Zealots, or whatever religious views might be found at Qumran in the future.

In my own presentation at the 1989 IHR Conference, I said that Larson did not have the facts and evidence to back up his speculations. (*Christian News*, Feb. 20, p. 9)

An item in the January 1991 *IHR Newsletter*, "The Scrolls: The Plot Thickens," commends Larson's 1981 essay, and suggests that the removal of Dr. John Strugnell of the Harvard Divinity School as chief editor of the Scrolls committee, as well as the controversy surrounding his removal, support Larson's view of the Scrolls. In fact, the Strugnell affair does not validate Larson's main point in any way.

Even some of those who have been complaining most loudly about the great delay in publishing the Scrolls, including the *Biblical Archaeology Review*, acknowledge that this delay has nothing to do with their contents.

Nothing has been found in the Dead Sea Scrolls to support Larson's contention that Christianity is a man-made religion. Instead, the Scrolls confirm the accuracy of the Hebrew text that Christians have been using for centuries.

The Christian is not a bigot. He does not fear the truth, but carefully evaluates all the relevant evidence in all areas. There is far more compelling evidence for Christianity than for any other religion. Christianity alone is divinely revealed. It is based on historic fact.

Herman Otten, Editor-Publisher, *Christian News*

Editor's Response:

It deserves to be repeated, and emphasized, that the position of the Institute for Historical Review on the matter of the Dead Sea Scrolls, and the basis for its support of Dr. Larson's articles, regarded the withholding of the Scrolls by a small coterie of scholars, backed by the state of Israel. The recent release of copies of the Scrolls by the Huntington Library in San Marino, California to the larger community of competent scholars will eventually furnish much more evidence bearing on Dr. Larson's, and the Reverend Otten's, differing theories on the origins of the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Essenes, and Christianity. Needless to say, the Institute for Historical Review takes no position on theological matters.

—Theodore J. O'Keefe, Editor

(*continued from page 260*)

in France, to found a Revisionist Latin League: Teutonic Revisionists take note (or better, *notate bene*).

Like most contributors to the journal, Doug Collins is a man of parts—bulldoglike-Englishman, World War II combat veteran and POW, award-winning Canadian journalist, and uncompromising defender of freedom of speech and the press. As he makes clear, Collins is skeptical of more than one Revisionist argument, often on his own experience, but he wants no part of the Establishment's permanent hate-mongering against the Germans. Furthermore, and most important, he scores the press of own country for its cowardly submission to special interests, Jewish and otherwise, which decreed a practical news blackout of the second trial of Ernst Zündel, and which continues hypocritically to evade the issue of suppression of unpopular speech and writing from the politically incorrect, while functioning as a virtual cheering section for every Communist crank and pornographer. As we American Revisionists know as well as anyone, just because a man doesn't go to jail for unpopular opinions doesn't mean there is real freedom of the press—a mass media which is uniformly hostile to, or blacks out, an important point of view might just as well be subject to state censorship.

Carl Nordling, a professional demographer, takes another look at the very open question—for Revisionists and, increasingly, even non-Revisionists—of how many Jews died in Europe during the Second World War. Nordling's synthesizing of the population and mortality estimates for European Jewry during the war years from the best Revisionist and Exterminationist sources with his own small-scale study of the fate of a cohort of several hundred individual Jews should open new vistas for Revisionist researchers in search of an accounting of the actual (and no less deplorable) losses suffered by Jews during the war to replace the fraudulent numerological fetish of the "Six Million."

Then Frederick Kerr takes under review a textbook on a subject that has been all but flogged to death in the universities and schools over the past several decades, to wit *Nationalism & Antisemitism in Modern Europe 1815-1945*. As Dr. Kerr points out, students may learn more about that subject than

their educator, Israeli professor, Shmuel Almog, and his publisher, Britain-based international media czar (or is that tsar?), Robert Maxwell, bargained for.

Robert Clive, an expert on the history of the Second World War, examines David Martin's account of Britain's (and America's) betrayal of yet another anti-Communist World-War-II ally, Serbian General Draza Mihailovic.

This issue of *The Journal* has an usually long, and very newsy, "Historical News and Comment Section." As Associate Editor Mark Weber, Dan Desjardins, and *JHR* Editorial Advisors John Bennett and Dr. Clarence Lang demonstrate, the enemies of historical truth are in retreat, and it's not a pretty sight, particularly when these powerful malefactors are devoting all their considerable resources to covering up their crimes and misdeamors by muzzling their critics. But murder will out, whether the murder of Rudolf Hess or of historical fact or of free inquiry, as these four articles testify.

In this issue, for the first time in some years, The Journal has published two letters from readers. We hope to continue publishing informed letters, with preference given to communications taking reasoned issue with, or adding materially to, articles previously published in *The JHR*.

* * * * *

Your editor has one final, pleasant task, to announce that on September 19, Mel Mermelstein and his pricey Beverly Hills lawyers voluntarily dismissed their complaints of libel, conspiracy, and intentional infliction of emotional distress against the Institute for Historical Review; its founder, Willis A. Carto; and the populist Liberty Lobby. Just hours earlier, Judge Stephen Lachs had dismissed Mermelstein's fourth complaint, for malicious prosecution, Aside from ending a potentially devastating $11 million suit, the end of the Mermelstein case, barring an appeal, rings down the curtain on a ten-year-long melodrama of costly, time-consuming litigation with one of America's most-honored "Holocaust survivors." An upcoming issue of *The Journal* will include an examination of what the Mermelstein case has involved, and produced, of note, historiographically as well as institutionally, for IHR and Revisionism.

—Theodore J. O'Keefe

About the Contributors

ENRIQUE AYNAT, a Spaniard, is the author of *El Diario ABC y El Holocausto*, a study of Spain's leading daily newspaper's wartime coverage of the "Holocaust," and *Los "Protocolos de Auschwitz": ¿Una Fuente Historica?* (The "Auschwitz Protocols": A Historical Source?), an important study of the first detailed allegations of homicidal gassings at Auschwitz.

JOHN BENNETT is a leading Australian civil liberties attorney and Revisionist publicist. He is an honors graduate of the University of Melbourne in both law (1958) and arts (1966). For some years he worked for the Attorney General's Department, most notably in the legal aid section. From 1966 to 1980 he was secretary of the Victorian Council for Civil Liberties. He has been president of the Australian Civil Liberties Union since 1980. Bennett is the author of *Your Rights*, a standard Australian civil rights reference handbook that has appeared in eighteen editions, revised and updated since the first in 1974.

ROBERT CLIVE, Ph.D., is the pen-name of a professor of history who teaches at a university in the Pacific northwest.

DOUG COLLINS was born in England in 1920. During the Second World War he served with the British army in Europe. In 1952 he emigrated to Canada where he has had a distinguished career as a journalist for newspapers, television and radio, both as a reporter and commentator. Since 1983, Collins has been a columnist for the *North Shore News* (British Columbia). For journalistic excellence, he received Canada's National Newspaper Award (1953), and the MacMillian Bloedel Award (1975). Collins is the author of several books, including *POW: A Soldier's Story of His Ten Escapes from Nazi Prison Camps* (published in 1968 by W.W. Norton), *Immigration: The Destruction of English Canada* (1979), and *The Best and Worst of Doug Collins* (1988).

D.D. DESJARDINS holds two bachelor's degrees (from Florida State University and the University of New Mexico), and is a member of the Phi Alpha Theta Historical Society.

FREDERICK KERR holds a Ph.D. in Modern European History and has taught at the college level at institutions in the West and Midwest.

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.

CARL NORDLING was born in Helsinki, Finland in 1919. He qualified as an architect in Helsinki and Stockholm, but his professional work has been mostly in the field of demographic and other statistical investigations connected with master planning. He has published a great number of articles in various scientific fields, including six in the English language.

BRIAN A. RENK was born in British Columbia in 1964. He has studied at Selkirk College and the University of British Columbia (Vancouver), with a special interest in history and philosophy. He now lives in Ottawa, where he is studying towards a degree in history.

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Now more than ever!

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by Arthur Butz, $9.95
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by Wilhelm Stäglich, $11.95
The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry
by Walter Sanning, $12.95
The Holocaust Story and the Lies of Ulysses
by Paul Rassinier, $12.00
***The Leuchter Report* (Special Edition)**
by Fred A. Leuchter, $20.00

Holocaust Revisionism is on the march, and the Establishment is in retreat. ***The Leuchter Report***, the official lowering of the Auschwitz death toll, the release of key Auschwitz death records—all these developments signal the coming end of the 20th century's most pernicious, and until now, durable hoax.

What set off the Revisionist trend that has the myth on its deathbed? The initial work of such men as the former Buchenwald inmate Paul Rassinier, the French Father of Holocaust Revisionism; Professor Arthur Butz, whose brilliant, systematic ***Hoax*** laid the basis for today's inquiry into the wartime reality of Auschwitz-Birkenau; Dr. Wilhelm Stäglich, who brought legal training and experience to bear on the evidence and testimony for mass killing at Auschwitz; and Walter Sanning, who destroyed the counterfeit demographic basis for the "Six Million" canard.

These books remain as vital and powerful as ever. That's why they're still banned and seized in many countries, and continue to be blacklisted by major book distributors and on college and high school reading lists. If you've read them already, why not deal the fast-fading Auschwitz Myth another blow by making a gift of one or more of them to someone who hasn't?

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Table of Contents

Volume Eleven, No. 4 *Winter, 1991-1992*

Articles

The New World Disorder 389
A.R. Wesserle

Pearl Harbor: Fifty Years of Controversy 431
Charles Lutton

Book Reviews

Robert Lenski, *The Holocaust on Trial: The Case of Ernst Zündel* 469
Mark Weber

S.J.Taylor, *Stalin's Apologist, Walter Duranty:* The New York Times's *Man in Moscow* 479
Jack Wikoff

Document

Mercy for Japs: Letters from *Yank* 491

Historical News and Comment

An Interview with Admiral Kimmel 495
Holocaust Education: Cui Bono? 500
Roosevelt's Secret Pre-War Plan to Bomb Japan 503
About the Contributors 511

From the Editor

This issue of *The Journal of Historical Review*, the forty-fourth, completes Volume Eleven. Its two feature articles, Dr. Andreas Wesserle's passionate critique of George Bush's "New World Disorder" and Dr. Charles Lutton's survey of half-a-century's study (and evasion) of the facts beyond the December 7, 1941 "Day of Infamy," signal an advance and a return, namely to a Revisionism that looks beyond what French nationalist and populist Jean Marie Le Pen properly styled "a point of detail," i.e. the gas chambers and the Holocaust.

Not that we're abandoning our critique of the lie of the Holocaust—the non-existent Hitler order to exterminate the Jews, the fraud of "the six million," and what Louis-Ferdinand Céline called "the magical gas chambers"—not at all. Just that, with the Holocaust Lobby in full flight, as IHR associate Bradley Smith places advertisement after unanswered Holocaust-debunking advertisement in the newspapers of America's leading universities (if it be agreed that throwing a *grand mal* epileptic fit and shrieking for more censorship is no answer); as two American presidential candidates (Pat Buchanan and David Duke) are dogged for their alleged Holocaust Revisionism by those journalists and politicos who hearken most carefully to Their Masters' Voice; and as the conmen and crooks who promote and profit from the twentieth century's emblematic hoax thrash and drown in the life-giving ocean of historical truth (those that aren't dead before they hit the water, that is), we Revisionists, with *The Journal of Historical Review* in the van, resume the assault begun by Harry Elmer Barnes and associates, on the key, and not yet properly answered, historical questions of the war and peace in this century.

Dr. Wesserle's essay will surely generate controversy among Journal readers—its social-democratic, Middle-European, anti-imperialist viewpoint will stimulate and challenge Revisionists, just as it would enrage the bar-stool patriots and coffee-house cosmopolitans who sanction and support the media-consecrated, White-House-directed America-Last coalition.

Dr. Lutton has expertly and fluently reviewed, and if we may say, revived the Pearl Harbor debate, by reminding us of the solid Revisionist scholarship that skewered FDR's known

(*continued on page 430*)

The New World Disorder

A.R. WESSERLE

Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired, signifies, in the final sense, a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and not clothed. This world in arms is not spending money alone. It is spending the sweat of its laborers, the genius of its scientists, the hopes of its children.

President Dwight D. Eisenhower,
Farewell Address

As a bolt of lightning that flashes across the darkening sky is witness both to the approaching storm and to the unbearable tension which is giving birth to it, so the fires of the Gulf War have thrown a lurid light on the menacing return of a critical imbalance in world politics, and on the deep-rooted malaise—political, economical and social—in today's America. As to the actor who holds the international and the domestic halves of our globe together, President Bush's concern for image rather than reality has been little diminished.

Despite his inaugural pledge in 1989 of a "kinder, gentler" nation, the only "thousand points of light" the president has set ablaze are the civilian and military targets that his air force and navy, and those of his client states, destroyed with a ferocity unequalled since the Second World War. George Bush's words—that it was not our goal to "destroy the nation of Iraq"—have been drowned out by his deeds: the total, unremitting warfare of the colossus among today's "military-industrial complexes" against a small, Third World country, and his unabated efforts to erase that country by stoking the flames of its civil war. Iraq *has* been "bombed back to the stone age." Following the war, it is expected to assume the staggering costs and reparations of a total war it did not even have the capacity to start.

The Gulf War has been "neo-colonial," or two-faced. Shorn of its "high-tech" twenty-first-century trappings, it is embarrassingly reminiscent of the imperial extermination expeditions of yesteryear, such as that conducted—with the aid of native *askari*—by Lord Kitchener against Abd Allah's Sudan in 1898. Revealingly, the war has also moved in the time-hallowed tradition of political Crusades, in particular those of the Puritan-Calvinist type, redolent of Manifest Destiny. Here, the American executive's efforts at mobilizing the entire civilian population for permanent war (by enlisting one and all in the propaganda *levée en masse* of the "Homefront") was at least as important as the military offensive abroad. Bush's 1991 State of the Union pledge of "a hundred years of peace" thus should be understood as simply another facet of his "psy-war" operations. What a desperate way of preparing his people for the sacrifices ahead!

In fine, the disregard for diplomatic compromise and the single-minded concentration on offensive ways and means—against militarily inferior countries—which have characterized the Reagan and Bush administrations have made probable, also, that the twentieth century will end even more bloodily than it began: with colonial wars (and wars over colonies) escalating into continental conflicts and, if allowed to rage on, with eruptions into world-wide conflagration, domestic and international.

The global auspices are plain. In the gathering storms between the three major economic blocs: the Americas, ruled by the Dollar; the Indo-Pacific rimlands, dominated by the Yen (an area once known as the *Dai To-A Kyo-e-ken*, or the "Great East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere"); and Europe assembled under the leaking umbrella of the *Deutsche Mark*, America's Establishment, goaded by an ever-worsening domestic crisis, has now let it be known that it will stop at nothing to assure its hegemony in a "New World Order" by exploiting the destructive capacity of its military and propaganda *apparatus* to the hilt. Thus, to paraphrase America's first wholeheartedly Imperial President, Teddy Roosevelt, "We'll speak loudly and carry a big stick."

The former Soviet Union, on the other hand, will play the role of a *Global Gadfly*, possibly as a reaction to the conditions of economic, social and political near-anarchy into which she has plunged herself in 1991-92. After the unsuccessful *coup* by

the Kremlin reactionaries (in which President Gorbachev played a murky part), Russian and the surrounding republics seem to be undergoing a replay of the March 1917 revolution. As then, the leaders and frontmen make up a volatile mix of the *ancien régime* (Gorbachev), the "social revolutionaries" (Yeltsin) and various Manchester Liberals who have just rediscovered Adam Smith. Will Yeltsin prove to be the new Kerensky destined to lead Russia into an even more radical upheaval, to be climaxed either by a remade proletarian Maoism or a return to Great Russian nationalism backed by the *Pamyát* ("Remembrance, Tradition") or related movements? Whatever the outcome, we will not have to wait long. The end result will also depend on the state of politics and economics in America.

Some Western observers, particularly in Poland, may wish for Russia's total dissolution. Perhaps they pine for the days of that other Boris and the False Dimitrij of the Time of Troubles at the end of the *Rurikid* dynasty in the early 1600's. But so negative a course of action would be unwise.

Yes, the subject nations from the Baltic and the Ukraine to the borders of China must be, and are being, accorded independence and sovereignty. But, for economic reasons and as a countervailing force against an overly dominant China, we should seek to support a multicentric, yet externally strong, Eurasian Confederation to take Russia's place. Could anyone doubt the fact—even before Secretary of State Baker's official visit to Beijing in mid-November, 1991—that a strong and stable Chinese State will reclaim, by diplomacy or force, those millions of square miles of territory lost to Russia during the nineteenth century and before? It bides its time, awaiting these conditions: a) chaos in Russia sufficient to render a Chinese invasion likely of success—if diplomatic initiatives fail; b) United States overextension abroad coupled to economic-social upheaval at home; c) the nonviolent union of Mainland China with Taiwan and Hongkong. The world stands on the threshhold of the stage of history when those conditions will be fulfilled.

Violence will continue to tear the social fabric of the state of east-central Europe, as ethnic and economic warfare spreads and balloons. Those cobbled together artificially by the 1919 *Dictate of Versailles* will suffer most. Marriages of force and convenience between disparate nations, growing out of a mosaic of minorities, they were re-established by frightful

violence at the end of the Second World War. Now, in 1991-92 and for years to come, in so-called *Yugoslavia* ("South Slavia") the ancient nations of Croatia, Slovenia, Macedonia, Islamic Bosnia, the Turks, the Albanians and Hungarians will battle to overthrow the armies of overbearing Serbs; in *Romania*, millions of the underprivileged, the Hungarians, Bulgarians, Transylvania Germans, Greeks, Armenians, *et al.*, will struggle for their freedom; in *Czecho-Slovakia*, the sad repository of a history of violence and brutality exercised by the ruling Czech minority against a majority of Germans, Slovaks, Hungarians and Ukrainians, the Slovaks and their neighbors, the Moravians, are striving desperately for national self-determination.

No doubt, these and other violent struggles for freedom might give an adventurous Russia more than one opportunity for interference, as of old. No doubt, also, the great nations of Central Europe might profitably join forces in a Rhine-Elbe-Danube Federation, as they did for 1,006 years prior to 1806.

In the Near East and in South Asia, the war against Iraq may, far from defeating aggression, have given a final push to the area's seething cauldron of interstate and internecine violence. From the Atlantic to the Aegean, and from the Jordan to the Indus, especially at the junction of the borders of Pakistan, Kashmir, India and China, the world must brace itself for ever escalating rounds of mass conflict. Nor has the Muslim world, from Mauretania to Indonesia to Washington, D.C., yet spoken its final word.

How on earth have we blundered into this mess? More important, how can we get out of it?

The tentative answers to these questions will keep us busy for the remainder of this paper, examining the power-political, military, historical and the moral-oeconomic dimensions. There can be no simple answer. But there can be an orientation: an overall view that sees the traditionalist, or partly traditionalist, majority of the societies of the earth trying desperately to survive, salvaging their most precious values, while caught in the ever tighter grip of global industry and trade, of global politics and of "modernizing" ideologies. To that end they are adopting the most powerful features of the so-called model, developed, society: arms, industry and, above all, enforced social-political cohesion. Failure to do so means loss of national independence, social and economic chaos, techno-

logized and unlimited mass murder carried out against the weak by the strong, and, for those *misérables* who manage to survive physically, the most thorough, the most dehumanizing enslavement devised during the last 5,500 years of human history—totalitarianism at last.

A *caveat*: it can also happen to us. Perhaps it already has.

A key word is "weakness." In the case at hand, both Iraq and the USA are weak, though in different ways. Saddam Hussein and his "Arab-Socialist" Ba'ath regime, all claims to the contrary, were in 1990 still exhausted by the eight-year war with Iran, despite carefully selective military aid from the United States, France, the Soviet Union and China. Indeed, it was this weakness, together with strong historic claims, that prodded the Iraqi leadership to take increasingly active steps against oil-rich Kuwait, with official encouragement from the U.S. More fundamentally, the Ba'athists had inherited an Iraq comprising disparate ethnic and religious communities, weighed down by poverty and inequality, riddled with illiteracy and saddled with a high rate of population growth (features most of which fit America to a "T"!). Caught in a classic situation of underdevelopment, the Ba'athists, who came to power following the 1958 Kassemite revolution, decided to modernize Iraq through social-economic reform carried out by an authoritarian regime—measures sure to keep them busy, and militarily and economically inferior relative to their rival Saudi Arabia and their enemy Israel, for decades to come.

In contrast to an Iraq that has been faced with the stark choice of modernization or death, the United States, under Presidents Reagan and Bush, has seemed intent on turning its back on even the modest social reforms enacted and institutionalized during the five decades preceding 1981, in its professed program for allegedly "recapturing" the simpler values of a nineteenth century dominated by laissez-faire capitalism and classical liberalism.

In reality, however, the United States is a classical case of a society suffering from Over-*cum*-Underdevelopment: the Establishment's increasing readiness to fight undeclared wars and its uncompromising commitment to world-wide trade and development have split twentieth-century America into two camps. An ever-wider societal gulf gapes between the Upper Cliques on one hand, and the shrinking middle and burgeoning lower class on the other. The old song grows true: "The rich get richer and the poor get poorer." The former,

internationally engaged, are free to secure and expand their financial and economic domination at home, and exploit it by political superiority abroad. The middle and lowers, harried by rampaging living costs, by chronic under- and unemployment, menaced in their very lives by crime rates gone wildly out of control, and descending precipately from social anxieties to concrete, often self-alienating, fears, have all but given up on participating in, much less exercising control over, the political processes, save in one respect: that of mouthing formulas handed them from "above" and supplied by the electronic and print media, a consumer product designated in Orwell's *1984*: "prolefeed."

In the Reagan-Bush years we have seen, if anything, a rigid reinforcement, an ossification, of the already huge and rigidly bureaucratized, military-corporate behemoth. Does this picture of congealing social stratification, galloping impoverishment and the accelerated growth of a super-powerful oligarchy bring to mind Imperial Rome in the third and fourth centuries A.D.? To be sure, there are obvious differences in style. But is the nominally free citizen of today better off—as a "morally autonomous" human being—than his ancestors, the serfs *glebae adscripti* of the older, greater, empire?

It is only fitting that the government of a plutocracy be headed by—to expropriate a felicitous phrase of 1928—a "Cabinet of Billionaires" and businessmen, led by Bush, Quayle, Baker and Brady and ably represented in Russia by the Texas Trickster, Robert Strauss. One main reason for the appointment of this oil and gas wheeler-dealer, a former national chairman of the Democratic Party, to the post of United States ambassador in today's Russia is the leeway this affords him and his coterie for plundering the natural riches of that giant country.

Questions: Will Yeltsin and his advisors prove strong enough to resist the economic-political-military blackmail exerted by the Bush-Baker-Bobby Strauss White House? Will today's Mother Russia prove strong enough to turn her vast natural resources to diplomatic advantage? Or will the coming instabilities of the world economy—when the outcry will be: "Save himself who can!"—plunge Russian-American relations to new lows?

Now traditional sentiment has it that such enterprisers act—or should act—with grave circumspection, reckoning risks, overhead and rational chances for profit, and perhaps

even reflecting on an indeterminate entity known to previous centuries as "the common weal" (perish the thought!) bereft of rancor.

Bunk. A look at some of the motives that precipitated President Bush into the carnage of war against Iraq will teach the unbiased observer the facts of Life (that is: Death).

Some Specific Reasons for America's War With Iraq

1. Foreign adventurism; to distract the attention of the American people away from the crises at home and mobilize it against a Foreign Devil.

2. An alarming drop in Bush's popularity ratings before August 1990, with dire consequences for '92; the feelings against him might have been summarized by the phrase: "All show, no go."

3. A stimulus to the slumping U.S. economy.

4. The intimate ties of Bush and Secretary of State James Baker to the oil industry in Texas and the Near East.

5. Their alliance with reactionary cliques in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrein and the other Gulf sheikdoms. These had grown increasingly alarmed at the success of Saddam Hussein's internal reforms, which reflected badly on the reactionaries' lack of political and social reform (particularly glaring with regard to the hundreds of thousands of Palestinian, Egyptian, Persian, Pakistani, etc. "guest workers" and businessmen living in those states).

6. The golden opportunity to establish hegemony over the Gulf area, and all of southwest Asia, from the Bosporus to the Indus, for decades to come, meaning the elimination of a nucleus for future Near Eastern independence as, indeed, former nuclei for native resurgence, viz., Mossadegh's movement in Iran and later the Khomeini regime, were overthrown or hamstrung through American interference.

7. After Bush's decision to destroy Saddam Hussein was made on or before the first days of August 1990, support for the parallel designs of our client state of Israel; today, this means support also for the expansionist aims of the Zionists: hegemony over the Near East from the Persian Gulf to the mouth of the Nile ("His kingdom will reach from sea to sea, from the Euphrates to the ends of the earth. The people of the desert will bow down before him . . ." Psalms 72, 8-9).

8. The panic, now nearly forgotten, produced in the White House by the success of Gorbachev's foreign policy initiatives in western Europe; additionally, the worry over the liberation

of central Europe from the Elbe to the Bug Rivers, once reliably occupied by the Soviets, and, conversely, the elation over the disorder in the USSR. An Imperial Imperative was perceived: push open the "window of opportunity" and seize world rule!

Camouflage it all for the other nations (except the Russian) by passing it off as a con-dominium; call it the New World Order.

The plan worked brilliantly in 1990-91, chiefly because the then Soviet Union was too preoccupied with its own crises at home to run successful interference for Iraq. Reluctant, often financially strapped countries, such as the states of South America, the African members of the United Nations Security Council, as well as Egypt, Syria, Turkey, not to mention Israel and the USSR, were pushed and enticed over to our side, too, by showering them with promises of hundreds of billions of dollars, collectively, in aid and "debt forgiveness."

Erratic policy, indeed, for a nearly bankrupt U.S. Government, whose citizens are expected to assume ever more crushing burdens in support of an ever smaller, ever more miserable slice of the pie, while shouldering the world-imperial predilections of the American Power Elite.

"Quo usque tandem, Catilina . . .?" How much longer will this mix of domestic shrinkage and international aggrandizement stay glued together?

No one knows. Mindful of the considerations advanced above, and drawing useful nudges from the fields of history, politics, military affairs and the human oeconomy, we shall be able to arrive at a few suggestions.

Pacta Sunt Servanda, or: A Political History of Iraq

Iraqi claims against all or part of Kuwait (the islands of Warba and Bubiyan), anger at Kuwaiti slant drilling in the Rumailah oil field, and the very genesis and survival of the modern state of Iraq itself are part and parcel of the often violent processes of nation-building, of modernization, which is the legacy of the twentieth century for the peoples of Latin America, of much of Europe, of Africa and Asia. Iraq has often been the victim of both centrifugal and centripetal tendencies produced and exacerbated by a) its heterogeneous society, made up, among other groups, of the Indo-European-speaking Kurds and the ethnic Turks, both Sunni Muslim, in the north; the Muslim Arabs, many of them Shi'ite, of the

south; and the closely-knit Nestorian, Chaldaean, and Armenian Christian communities; b) successive waves of conquerors. The majority "Arab" culture of Iraq has undergone contradictory swings of frustration, reaction and accommodation vis-a-vis these tendencies.

From the beginning of recorded time, for over five thousand years, the land now known as Iraq and the sheikdom termed Kuwait have shared a common destiny. Taken together they form the central and southern portions of ancient Mesopotamia, which measure about 630 miles or 1000 km north-south, the "land between the rivers" of the Tigris, Euphrates and their confluence, the Shatt-al-Arab. Iraq, which means approximately "the roots, the rooted one," can vie for honors as the cradle of culture, politics and civilization, and Kuwait has been one of the border marches guarding its flanks against incursions from *Arabia Deserta*. The area has been marked and marred by vast contrasts: of climate, of untold wealth and grinding poverty, of ruler and ruled, and it lies athwart some of the most productive, and the most violently contested, routes for communication and trade on earth.

Before the First World War, when most of the Near East was under the suzerainty of the Ottoman Empire, southern Mesopotamia, including Kuwait, had been for centuries administered through the *vilayet* (government district) of Basra, the largest city in southern Iraq. During the course of that war Turkish rule was supplanted by British imperialism. Then, in 1919 and 1920, in the so-called peace settlements of Paris, Sèvres and San Remo, Britain carved up the entire, huge, Pivot of Empire stretching from the Nile and the Bosporous to the Khyber Pass and the Gulf of Oman, following secret treaties concluded between His Majesty's Government, France and Tsarist Russia (the latter was eliminated from the spoils-sharing in 1917). These agreements, the most brilliant of which was the package known collectively as the Sykes-Picot treaties of 1915-1916, ran directly counter to other pacts the British concluded, such as the Balfour Declaration of 1917, which created a "national homeland for the Jews" in Palestine, and, even more glaringly, the understandings reached with the administrator of the Muslim Holy Lands, Sherif Hussein of Mecca, who was persuaded to rebel against Ottoman rule (Lawrence of Arabia!) by prospects of a united Arabia extending from the Red Sea to the upper reaches of the Tigris River. (Sherif Hussein is the ancestor of both King Hussein of Jordan

and the late King Faisal II of Iraq, who was killed during the anti-British revolution led by General Abdul Karim el-Kassem in 1958.)

Britain grabbed the lion's share for itself. After plans for slicing up Mesopotamia were shelved in 1920 (due to its post-war role as a counter-balance to French influence in Syria, Lebanon and Turkey, as a barrier against the spread of successful nationalism beyond the boundaries of Turkey and Iran, and, not least, to the rich oil deposits of northern Mesopotamia), most of it was constituted as "Iraq," a British dependency nominally presided over by King Faisal I, a son of the Sherif Hussein of Mecca. It was camouflaged as a "Class A Mandate" granted to the United Kingdom by the League of Nations. Be it noted that the native Arabs demanded full independence from the very start, as reported by the American King-Crane commission sent to the Near East by President Wilson, and that they were not fooled by the British maneuvers for an instant.

It is unfortunate indeed that another U.S. president—in violent contravention of President Wilson's insistence on the right to popular self-determination—saw fit, in 1990-91, to maneuver the United Nations, successor organization to the League, into being pulled along in the wake of his attempts to crush or to dismember Iraq. "Might makes right," but, too, "Violence begets violence," and we may, at best, expect the subterfuges of 1991 to worsen disorder in the Middle East and around the world.

During the period between the First and Second World Wars, the British were able to combine an apparent sympathy with insistent Arab and Iraqi strivings for independence with a ready reliance on armed might, including many sorties flown against civilian populations by the Royal Air Force. British "advisors" managed the tribal sheikdoms along the Gulf, including Kuwait. The ceremonial adoption of such documents as the Organic Law of 1924 (the constitution), the 1930 treaty with the United Kingdom (which provided for a twenty-five-year "alliance" between Iraq and Britain, and—sure enough—was succeded by the U.S.-led Baghdad Pact of 1955) and the 1932 admission of Iraq to the League of Nations did not alter the underlying realities. The relationship lasted through a series of internal Iraqi power struggles (the leaders of the various factions usually being well-subsidized by the British) until April 1941, when Rashid Ali al-Gailani estab-

lished a pro-German government, which was promptly crushed by Britain..

The politicians who dominated Iraqi society until the 1958 putsch—and the British rule which was enacted through them—were characterized by these features: a) "gradualist" approach toward emancipation from colonialism; b) a conservative attitude—to put it mildly—toward social, economic, or political reform; c) the formation of an "Arab Federation" which comprised Iraq and Jordan; d) alienation from modernist Arab thought, then dominated by the Cairo of Gamal Abdel Nasser; e) widespread corruption; f) repressive rule. General Nuri es-Said was the period's most representative politician. Without trying to claim too much in favor of the 1958 overthrow of that *ancien régime*, or in favor of the "nationalist-modernizing" governments which have come to power since then (many through *coups d'etat*), a very clear-cut choice has emerged for the majority of Iraqis: between a corrupt, repressive, colonial regime or one which is strong, nationalist, reformist, comparatively clean and, usually, dictatorial.

A third choice might be noted, one favored by such interested outsiders as Israel, Turkey, the United States and, formerly, the USSR (each for its own reasons): national weakness, civil war, chaos and dismemberment.

If America truly *is* in favor of regional and world stability, an "Order" in which collective burdens (underdevelopment) and assets (human and natural resources) may be to an extent shared, then the first choice—colonialism—and the third—dismemberment—are precluded.

"Stupidity Is a Diplomat's Only Unpardonable Crime" (Talleyrand) or, Nuclear Gunboat Diplomacy in the Global Village

In the twentieth century, perversely enough, the most powerful nation-states seem to have turned von Clausewitz's dictum that "war is the continuation of politics by other means" upside down. Certainly Uncle Sam's international behavior seems to vary according to a Law of Inverse Proportion: the more "total" the military means applied, the less interest in negotiation through diplomacy. A second relationship determines the totality of means: the weaker a U.S. president perceives himself in terms of the economy and domestic politics, the more inclined is he to opt for war. This latter

formula appears to apply to the Second World War (and to the First, with modifications), to the Korean and Indochina Incidents and to our Gulf War. As psychic distances in the realms of economics and politics shrink (the Global Village), and as America's financial and domestic situation becomes increasingly precarious, our leaders move us and the rest of the world further down the road to total belligerency. In style, Uncle Sam likely will favor the Iraqi model, or the "expanded-gunboat-diplomacy-in-Latin America" model, namely, intervention proceeding in stages of increasing violence: from embargo to blockade to all-out force in three easy steps, after which a country or a region of several countries can be reduced to international impotence, domestic strife and chaos, and thus easy manageability by Washington and Wall Street. This three-step pattern of intervention has been, in whole or in part, evidenced already during the Reagan and Bush administrations, which have targeted a succession of countries and regimes, whether "leftist" or "rightist," that dared defy Washington's wishes: Nicaragua, South Africa, Grenada, Libya, Panama, the Philippines, and lately Iraq. Whatever their systems of government, these and other countries will be described as "democratic" if they accede to the wishes of America's imperial-minded power elite, "tyrannical" or an "aggressor" if they refuse.

A *Caveat*

In terms of unrestricted power politics it might be "logical" for us to engage in ever more ruthless applications of our ABC (atomic-bacteriological-chemical) and our PR (public relations) capabilities. Soon, however, the crying need for reforming our domestic and international relations might lead us to wiser choices: the models of ancient Rome, ancient Egypt, ancient China, which, learning from their mistakes, elected prudently to conserve their strength and abstain from a policy of permanent expansion to the lasting benefit of mankind, and of themselves.

Professor Abbas Hamdani, of the history department of the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, has analyzed the diplomatic steps taken with regard to the problem of Kuwait, before and after August 1990, in careful detail. But it is this paper's task to document the very absence of the stuff of diplomacy that has characterized recent U.S. efforts in the field (and to suggest ways toward improvement): to show the

lack of intellectual substance and the erosion of moral integrity, the failure to achieve comprehensive vision, the decay of discipline.

Who can trust a government, at home or abroad, that attempts to straddle the powder keg of the Middle East while lighting the fuse of war?

The main stages of George Bush's descent into sham diplomacy have been roughly as follows: 1. His active involvement, as vice president of the Reagan years, in the mess of the Iran-Contra affair, a series of deeply corrupt transactions which involved secret arms sales during the Iraq-Iran War to Iran through Israel and, in the western hemisphere, illegal arms shipments to the rebels in Nicaragua. Many details are still densely shrouded in secrecy, but Congressional investigators learned that Vice President Bush made secret, official journeys to Honduras, Costa Rica, and Panama. The climax to these seamy maneuvers, which ultimately benefited only the Zionists' deals, came with the dispatch of a bible personally signed by President Ronald Reagan to the Ayatollah Khomeini. 2. In the course of the December, 1989, invasion of the sovereign state of Panama by President Bush, the flagrant breach of international law and comity which occurred when U.S. troops stormed the extraterritorial premises of the embassies of Peru and Nicaragua, and threatened to do the same to the Vatican embassy. 3. The instructive exercises—either in duplicity or in deep ignorance—that took place when the United States ambassador to Iraq, April Glaspie, informed President Saddam Hussein that the U.S. viewed relations between Iraq and Kuwait as a purely "intra-Arab" affair, in July 1990, and when the official spokesmen for the U.S. Government, Kelly and Tutwiler, openly and repeatedly declared that the United States had no "security arrangements" with or security concerns for Kuwait. In light of the fact that Iraq never has recognized the independence of Kuwait, that it tried to incorporate Kuwait in 1961 and 1973, and that, in July 1990, there were obvious signs that Iraq was getting ready to occupy it, such official pronouncements must now be viewed as giving the "green light," or at least the "amber light," for action to President Hussein. 4. George Bush's bloodcurdling rhetoric in the course of fall and winter 1990-1991, of inflicting death and destruction on Iraq, his carrot-and-stick method of "persuading" the permanent and non-permanent members of the United Nations Security Council to issue Resolution

No. 660, and the twelve resolutions which followed, calling for the "immediate and unconditional" withdrawal of Iraq from Kuwait and for the unconditional return of "sovereignty" to Kuwait, and his giving the "cold shoulder" to attempts by a long series of interested parties—ranging from repeated tries by the Soviet Union; the European Community; the foreign ministers and governments of Italy, Germany, France; the chairman of the Socialist International and former German Federal Chancellor Willy Brandt; to the governments of Algeria, Iran, Pakistan and even U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez y Cuellar—to bring the Gulf dispute to a speedy end, as well as to convene a Mideast peace conference for solving the area's crises comprehensively. 5. Disregard for the apparent willingness of the Iraqi government to cooperate with peace efforts short of "unconditional surrender," such as the release of hostages; Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz's conference at Geneva with Secretary of State Baker; Aziz's proposal, again, of convening a comprehensive Mideast conference; and Aziz's flights to Moscow to appeal for Soviet mediation prior to the start of the violent phase of the land war. 6. President Bush's insistence on issuing unconditional ultimata followed by the application of raw force. Perhaps most serious of all, 7. President Bush's ignoring, passing over in silence, of the comprehensive peace plan that *his own* Secretary of State, James Baker III, had worked out with Soviet Foreign Minister Bessmertnykh, which was to have been included in Bush's State of the Union Address to the assembled houses of Congress, but was not. Apparently the timely intervention of the government of Israel, alarmed at the prospect of having to reach a just solution to the Palestinian question, sufficed to put a comprehensive treatment of the entire Middle East crisis on hold.

Lest a further discrepancy not be forgotten either: George Bush endeavored stringently to enforce Security Council Resolution No. 660 within weeks of the provocation, and at the cost of probably hundreds of thousands of lives, military and civilian, all allegedly for the independence of the small sheikdom of Kuwait. But he and his predecessors have done very little to enforce U.N. Resolution No. 242 of November 22, 1967. Significantly, this document emphasizes the "inadmissibility" of territorial conquest by war, shows the need for a just and lasting peace in the area, and calls for the "just settlement of the refugee problem."

This extraordinary concoction of confusion, ignorance, groundless fears, hunger for unrestrained power and instant readiness to exercise unlimited violence is no way to pacify a region and a globe already suffering from a surfeit of force.

To be sure, Secretary of State Baker's "exploratory" trips to the Middle East and his meeting with a handful of Palestinian leaders deserve recognition. But these initiatives will remain charades aimed at television audiences unless the root problems of expansionism, lack of national self-determination and vast inequities in the distribution of power and wealth are addressed and corrected. This holds true especially after the exploratory Madrid conference of October 1991.

Finally, George Bush far exceeded the bounds of action authorized by the United Nations resolutions, even if they did specify—under U.S. pressure—that ". . . all necessary means" be used to clear Iraqi forces from Kuwait. The invasion and occupation of southern Iraq by the United States, the encouragement of rebellion in the north and the south (if not an absolutely direct involvement in it), and open talk by American officials of establishing a lasting American presence and a "peace-keeping nerve center" in the Gulf region all point to Bush's aggressive regional and global intentions.

Arguably, Bush, following in the footsteps of such imperious predecessors as Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt, has not merely honored the non-interference principle of the Monroe Doctrine chiefly in the breach, but has stood it on its head, replacing the defunct European colonial empires with a single, neo-colonial, world power as chief global interventionist: the United States of America.

Even the most determined "psy-warrior" can bend legal instructions only so far without rupturing them. In the form of the UN Charter they prescribe:

> Article 33, 1: The parties . . . shall . . . seek a solution by *negotiation, inquiry, mediation, conciliation, judicial settlement, resort to regional* agencies or arrangements, or other *peaceful means* of their own choice. 2: *The Security Council* shall, when it deems necessary, *call upon the parties to settle their disputes by such means. [Author's emphasis]*

This is normative language. The use of peaceful means is not optional but mandatory. In short, George Bush has done violence to, not just the territories, the embassies and the peoples of sovereign nations, he has fractured international

comity and law, and he has acted in open contempt of those and other allegedly sacred texts which ought to govern relations between nations.

Permanent War and the Military

"Quoi! tu veux qu'on t'épargne et n'as rien épargné!"
(What! You expect to be spared yet you have spared no one!)
—Corneille, *Octave*

There'll be no doubt that it's started. It will be massive. It'll be violent. It'll be fast. It'll be everything you ever wanted in a war and never got.
—General Norman Schwarzkopf

Do ends, no matter how sublime they are assumed to be, justify the employment of any means in the course of war? No, they do not, not if the commander-in-chief and his generals intend to conduct "civilized" warfare as codified, in the twentieth century, by the Hague rules and the Geneva conventions concerning warfare and the roles of combatants and noncombatants in war. Alas, it seems safe to say that, in the war against Iraq, the commanders had no such intention and that those rules were honored chiefly in the breach.

To judge by the reportage of the Pentagonized U.S. "news" media, all American and allied warriors, from the top down, threw themselves into the fight with gleeful abandon. Confronted by a numerically and technologically far inferior foe, they happily indulged in an orgy of organized mass killing and destruction. (On Saturday, February 23, 1991—the official start of the land war—801,030 U.S. and allied troops faced 545,000 Iraqi soldiers, most of them draftees. At the start of the air campaign, NBC-Television reported that Saddam Hussein had merely 70 aircraft capable of night operations; apparently most of them absconded to Iran, leaving thousands of U.S. and allied war planes, from F-16's to B-52's, to fly hundreds of sorties per day.)

Pilots' references to a "turkey shoot," to "Daytona Beach on a spring break" abounded, while independent journalists somberly described the route of retreat out of Kuwait of the Iraqi divisions as "apocalyptic devastation." Northern Kuwait and southern Iraq were a "killing ground" on which Iraqi soldiers, seemingly confused by contradictory orders and exposed to murderous air attacks, were cut down by the tens, possibly the hundreds, of thousands. Accurate numbers are unavailable.

The civilian population of Iraq fared little better. In pursuit of a policy of total war and unconditional surrender reminiscent of Franklin Roosevelt's endeavors during the Second World War and Winston Churchill and Dr. Lindemann's preoccupation with annihilating Germany by means of a strategic bombing offensive carried out by 10,000 heavy bombers, a technologically advanced space, missile, air and battleship campaign against an underdeveloped country of eighteen million (half of whom are under the age of sixteen) has wiped out Iraq's infra- *and* superstructure, to wit: schools, Moslem mosques and Christian churches—some of the oldest and greatest on earth—power plants, telephone exchanges, water and sewage facilities, bridges and mass transit, radio and television, as well as most other organized means of survival.

By March 1991, with no running water, sewage treatment, or electricity—even for hospitals—big cities like Baghdad, (with four million people), Basra, Mosul, and Kirkuk faced widespread starvation and epidemic diseases such as cholera, with possibly hundreds of thousands, or millions, of civilian victims.

The sanctions (i.e., the total blockade) which the United Nations, under U.S. and British pressure, still enforces against Iraq, despite the ceasefire, have had to be relaxed somewhat to permit the shipment of a slight amount of medicine into the country.

As for "surgical precision" airstrikes: in Tikrit alone, a small city of about 25,000 in northern Iraq, half of the population was reportedly killed when the town was leveled by bombing. Did Tikrit suffer because it was Saddam Hussein's hometown?

There can be no doubt that, by the start of the air offensive in early 1991, the restrictive language of U.N. Security Council resolution No. 660 had been replaced, at least temporarily, by much more far-sweeping objectives: 1. the removal of Saddam Hussein from office and from life; 2. the elimination of Iraq as any kind of economic or military factor in the Middle East; and therefore, 3. the occupation of a "security zone" in southern Iraq by the allies, cutting off the port of Basra from access to the sea; 4. the literal annihilation of Iraq's armed forces as an effective whole, thus depriving her of any defense against her neighbors, adjacent or more removed; and 5. United Nations sanctions to keep her weak and divided for years or decades, or ripe for dismemberment when the time comes.

A special factor needs to be mentioned, too: that of the negative "image" of the "typical Arab" created by the controlled U.S. "news" media. Particularly in times of seeming emergency, he is depicted as a vicious "terrorist," an exact reversal of reality, for most of the manifold states and groups of the Arab world have been victims, victims repeatedly of expansionism, imperialism, mass murder and mass terrorism. It goes without saying that the "news" media and their captive audiences extend the same type of sterotypic scapegoating to all Muslims, whether Arab, Pakistani, Indian, or American. One of the many revealing cases reported during the public hysteria of the Gulf War involved a driver of an airport bus at Chicago's O'Hare Field, who refused to pick up an Algerian businessman because he "looked Arabic." The F.B.I. was even busier than usual investigating Arab-Americans (recall that several years ago a number of resident aliens in Los Angeles were targeted for deportation—because they subscribed to a pro-P.L.O. periodical).

The many revealing facets of military performance and propaganda in the Gulf War can scarcely be done justice to within these pages. Even the war's purely tactical questions are difficult to assess, as all sides concerned have censored the news, not least the Pentagon. Still, from the limited evidence it appears that the Iraqi forces were totally outclassed, not only by American superiority in space, in the air and at sea—despite Hussein's handful of obsolescent, restricted-range, Scud missiles—but even on land, where the majority of abandoned tanks seemed to be 35-year-old Soviet T-55s and 25-year-old T-62s. A legacy of carefully selective Soviet arms shipments, weakness dating from the brutal Iran-Iraq war, or both? At any rate, President Saddam Hussein was a military strawman whom the Pentagon, well knowing beforehand, could savage with impunity.

By all indications, Saddam, his Western media image as a Foreign and Alien Devil to the contrary, was waging a strictly limited campaign with a limited objective, in the main by political means: the incorporation of Kuwait or, failing that, a phased retreat under face-saving but legitimate conditions, such as convening a conference to solve the Mideast's problems, with the proviso of liberating the Palestinians from Israeli oppression.

In fact, both Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney and General Schwarzkopf have agreed that, in the early days of August

1990, the Iraqi armed forces could have—and, by implication, should have—captured the Saudi supply bases located along the Persian Gulf a few hundred miles south of Kuwait, such as Dhahran, Djubail, Ras Tannura and the island sheikdom of Bahrain itself, into which U.S. supplies were pouring at a feverish pace. In those days, the Iraqis could have done so even with their antiquated equipment, since American and allied forces were few. But they abstained.

This restraint was not reciprocated by Iraq's enemies. The Americans, the British (and their gulf protectorates), and their allies bided their time until they had amassed an overwhelming numerical and technical superiority, then launched—not a limited *Blitzkrieg* with a few hundred tactical aircraft—but a paralyzing, total war of extermination against Saddam Hussein, his administration (the army and the civil service), the nation-state of Iraq (or its viability as such) and, by extension, against self-determination anywhere in the Middle East. Aside from the quasi-political, final aim of unconditional surrender, politics or traditional diplomacy did not enter into the picture—again, a very Rooseveltian total, but ultimately self-defeating, pseudo-solution.

Doubtless strategists everywhere have drawn the obvious conclusions:

1. Forget about conventional diplomacy except for the purposes of blinding your own people to your real goals and fooling the adversary whom you have selected as your next victim on the road to internationalist rule ("we have global responsibilities"); 2. prepare the field for total war by total global propaganda: be sure to "satanize" your adversary; 3. when the time is ripe, having achieved surprise, destroy your foe-of-the-moment's country or region by massive media-and-military firepower, sparing nothing and no one; 4. if there is the ghost of a chance of determined resistance, pulverize that chance ahead of time, and if need be, the entire civilian infra- and superstructure with it.

The spirit and the logical, realistic development of the lessons drawn from the war against Iraq lead directly to the possibility of a third world war against nations far more competitive with perceived U.S. interests than is Iraq. The smart bombs, the missiles and the laser deathrays of Gulf fame have concluded the *post-war* years (as, following today's fashion, we look longingly back to World War II) and have, at last, ushered in the *pre-war* years leading up to the final global war, with

their attendant domestic as well as global ramification.

To add two more points to the Four-Point Program outlined above: 5. the destruction of rationality in Washington itself—which lately has not distinguished itself by reason or responsibility; 6. the total subversion of our political economy.

The Moral Oeconomy

"We have met the enemy and he is us." —Pogo

Today, in a limited but technologizing world, in which a scarcity of human resources (i.e. "heart," "mind," "brains," "guts") is chasing a rapidly proliferating shopping list of "goals" created by the analytical intellect driven by the will to absolute power, it is the first duty of public morality to intervene actively in the resulting "chaos," in the economy of forces, in order to preserve and enhance the value priorities of the human constitution and of the natural ecology.

The first human value to be preserved is freedom, the capacity to choose rationally amongst a near infinity of goods and bads. I write this despite the excesses of "license" indulged in during such events as the French Revolution of 1789. In a society ruled by the military-industrial complex freedom is the first value to go. There, it is also the most important human property, for only freedom can power us out of such a society's *culs-de-sac*: megalomania, totalitarianism, internal and external war, and the type of ossification described in Oswald Spengler's *Der Untergang des Abendlandes.*

Freedom has its domestic, group and individual (as it has its national, popular and international) dimensions. All are interrelated and intertwined. Today, as never before in history, all of our freedoms are in danger of being swept off the face of the earth by the technologized garrison state with its universal pretensions (perhaps disguised as a U.N. "New World Order"). Short of awaiting a natural cataclysm (such as the one that wiped out the dinosaurs) we should take heart and act according to the following insights:

"Gemeinwohl geht vor Eigennutz" ("The common good takes precedence over private gain"). This maxim, coined, though not invented, by the great organizer of rural cooperatives, Raiffeisen, if correctly understood as a good through the principle of subsidiarity, flies directly in the face of the accepted gospel truth of present-day plutocracy: the allegedly greatest

good for the greatest number through unrestrained, individual competition (society "red in tooth and claw"). The rather peculiar sort of Social Darwinism as practiced by America and in America today has but one result: the brutalization of domestic and international society (whether behind a facade of "Yuppie" conspicuous consumption and "United Nations" resolutions, or not). Raiffeisen's thought provides a timely antidote.

Too, "*government of the people, by the people, for the people*" should not perish from the earth, but can and should be revived.

As never before in the past, in the twentieth century the lords of mass "communications" have twisted and subverted the truth in the service of easy commercial and political manageability. We know, on the contrary, that he who shouts "*Stop, thief!*" the loudest actually *is* the thief, that those who accuse others of "shocking" misdeeds have in truth themselves perpetrated the most heinous crimes in history, physically, psychologically, morally. They are the killers of the human spirit, the murderers of freedom. They are the Enslaver. Day by day they seek to rule absolutely, through *cliché* and stereotype.

In brief, public morality as well as the more limited social, political and financial deeds of a commonwealth should form a Greater, a Moral Oeconomy. It might be defined, according to Webster, as the

> . . . husbanding, the "careful management of wealth, resources (of a . . . community or government); avoidance of waste by careful planning and use . . ." (*Webster's New World Dictionary*, Second College Edition, 1986).

Has the U.S. government since 1981 excelled in any sense of this definition? Has it understood the basic human need for a Moral Oeconomy?

Not likely.

Indeed, the former CIA chief and U.S. Secretary of Defense, James Schlesinger, has characterized "Reagonomics" as "the fiscally most irresponsible policy in history"—an apt hyperbole for most endeavors, domestic or international, of the Reagan and Bush years.

We might profitably recall some of the "highlights," as the catastrophic impact of Reaganomics on the American people and on the world will be felt for decades to come.

I. "Conventional" corruption—In terms of the hundreds of billions of dollars directly or covertly misappropriated and swindled from the American people—not to mention the thousands of billions stolen from the public on Wall Street and from coast to coast by dint of encouragement and rotten example from On High—the Reagan regime has left other presidential contenders for the crown of public corruption, such as Warren Harding (Teapot Dome Scandal) or U.S. Grant's administration (during the era of the Robber Barons), wallowing in the dust. The Iran-Contra affairs, the HUD scandal and similar deeds will figure prominently in the annals of decadence, from Byzantium to Babylon. Both political parties leapt into the muck. Of the "Keating Five"—the five United States senators involved in the murky deals of the Arizona savings and loan executive—the one singled out for public blame by his colleagues was California's Senator Alan Cranston, a former Democratic presidential contender.

II. Structural and attitudinal faults—A policy of "planned obsolescence" was applied to campaign promises from the start. Reagan and Bush administrations that had pledged to extirpate the national deficit raised it instead to undreamed-of heights. "Adjusted" deficits (i.e., after more than $100 billion a year in Social Security payments—allegedly untouchable—has been "subtracted" from them) ranged from $200 billion to $245 billion annually, mostly in favor of new outlays for the military. In contrast, domestic programs were drastically slashed. Even President Bush's first, new budget proposed on January 29, 1990—a pre-Iraq budget—raised spending to an all-new $1.23 trillion, with an alleged $63.1 billion shortfall for 1991. Instead of reducing the federal bureaucracy, as pledged, President Reagan installed 10,000 new bureaucrats in the Pentagon alone, according to former Secretary of the Navy Lehman, of "600-ship-navy" fame. No wonder $3 trillion were lavished on arms during ten Reagan-Bush years. No wonder the federal and the public debts skyrocketed. No wonder that existing disequilibria in the national economy worsened and that fresh financial problems and crises arose.

Impelled by the movement toward "privatization" of the public domain launched by the White House and fuelled by the same, quasi-nineteenth-century "rags-to-riches" career that Ivan Boesky and Michael Milken typified on Wall Street and in Beverly Hills (the latter was rumored to have turned a tidy profit of $1 billion in 1988), savings-and-loan institutions, big

banks and gigantic insurance empires speculated in real estate, multi-billion-dollar loans to developing countries such as Venezuela, Brazil and Peru, and floods of "junk bonds"—all encouraged by the Reagan administration. When the developing economies defaulted on their debts and the real-estate market (particularly in office buildings) turned sour (since it was totally overextended), the bottom dropped out of the madly spiraling junk-bond boom, during the last Reagan year. The consequences will be with us for decades to come. In one field alone, the *débacles* in the insurance business—formerly the very bedrock of *bourgeois* financial respectability—will send tremors of instability throughout the economy for years.

The S & L fiascoes will saddle the American taxpayer with a millennial debt of some $500 to $1000 billion dollars (as estimated by cleanup supervisor Seidman). The bank failures—over two hundred are expected to occur in 1991 alone—will incur even huger sums, sums which the U.S. government can no longer make "liquid" unless it sells trillions of dollars worth of national assets to foreign creditors. Also, some of the shiniest names in U.S. capitalism, the Rockefeller family jewels of Citicorp and Chase Manhattan, Manufacturers Hanover, Chemical Bank, and Bank of America, might follow the slide into nothingness of the Bank of New England. A severe and drastic currency-and-property reform might be the only rational solution. An easy solution is, and will be, an ever-accelerating spiral of foreign wars.

Very likely the U.S. government, led by President Bush, will try a similar approach in "solving" his other crises, such as: an urban-and-regional planning picture and a physical infrastructure that is falling to pieces; an educational system that is seventeenth in literacy in the world; a health "system" that is nonexistent for more and more middle-income Americans and for the poor, one that is in last place (alongside that of the Republic of South Africa) in providing adequate and vital health care to citizens, amongst all industrialized nations; a grave lag in basic research, outside of military applications and "SDI"; and the effects of a complete disregard for energy and environmental policy during the Reagan years. Despite lip service to a higher, more intelligent, ideal the Bush government follows in Reagan's wake. Perceived "emergencies," once more, may induce bigger and better wars.

Let us elaborate a few illustrative examples. Urban, regional, and national planning—never America's strong suit, yet a vital

function of any government that intends to endure—has been mortally neglected since 1981. The large cities that had been sliding downhill for decades under the growing burdens of blight, maladministration, poverty, a burgeoning proletariat and a murderous crime rate (in spite of rather spotty and symptom-oriented "help" from the federal government) have been cut off from any meaningful, moral, financial and administrative assistance by Reagan and Bush, and set adrift as national derelicts. In effect, the hundred million people who live in big urban centers are now considered so many "bums" on a collective skid row. Protracted, interrelated, planned efforts to reform and to clean up the nuclear industry (whether military or civilian); to build an energy policy; to rebuild the infrastructure of bridges, highways, and railroads; as well as projects to plan for new regional mass transit networks, have withered on the vine. Most of these, if carried out, would make a valuable contribution to a national environmental policy, and enable us to diminish our much-bruited dependence on imported oil.

What is indeed "the shame of our cities" is worse, even, than it was around the turn of the century, when their plight attracted the muckrakers' attention. Philadelphia, perhaps the most historic of America's big cities, in struggling futilely to survive physically, let alone financially, but no one in Washington raises an eyebrow. For the second time in sixteen years, there is talk of receivership for New York City, the capital of world plutocracy. As always, there will be talk of running local and municipal government "according to accepted business methods." Nonsense. It is exactly *because* American cities have been treated as money-making enterprises, *because* the spirit in which they have been "run"—with the former exception of Social-Democratic (and German-American) Milwaukee—has been that of the unproductive, power-and-profit-mad "*arbitrageur*," that their ineffectiveness and corruption have reached a low unequalled in the history of the republic.

Yes, they can be saved and they should be saved. Yet for that to happen America must recast its entire government and society in the image of a Moral Oeconomy. We must reallocate priorities drastically. No longer should a U.S. president be in a position to donate more than $13 billion toward the construction of housing for immigrant Russian Jews in Israel (reportedly to reward Israel for "staying out" of the war against Iraq)

while he allocates a mere $15 billion in federal bloc grants to *all fifty* U.S. states. Without a doubt, a single crisis-torn and crime-overwhelmed state such as New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania or California could easily put all $15 billion in federal support to good use by itself. Additionally, George Bush has donated, or "forgiven," scores of billions of dollars to countries around the world, from Argentina to Egypt, Turkey and Poland, and—by implication—heavily subsidized the Soviet Union, all in the service of buying support for his military adventurism abroad. To top it all, he is spending, and is calculating to spend, further hundreds of billions of non-existent dollars for oppressive regimes around the world, and for the development of exotic new weapons systems—even after the huge tribute by America's client states is considered.

When will the bubble burst?

III. Skewed priorities and twisted logic—Why spend billions of dollars on expanded and "improved" armaments for the New World Order's millennial era of peace? It is indicative of White House paranoia that, instead of engaging in true, positive diplomacy to solve the root causes of crises, i.e. in the Middle East (or, alternatively, pursuing a hands-off, America First policy), in 1991 it is planning to construct a partial SDI-Star Wars directed against imaginary missile attacks on the U.S. by *Third World* countries, at a cost of $30, $40 or $50 billion, knowing that a full-fledged SDI directed against the Soviet Union is technically impracticable. Furthermore, after misspending trillions of dollars on armaments, including the Stealth bomber and Stealth fighter (the stealthiest aspects of which were the secrecy with which they were kept from the American public), SDI, the MX, Minuteman and Trident missiles, the Reagan and the Bush administrations have prepared to spend a minimum of 280 billion additional dollars toward the construction of brand-new weapons systems: an ATF ("advanced tactical fighter," either the Lockheed YF-22 or the Northrop YF-23), the *Seawolf* submarine and the LTH ("light tactical helicopter")—when well-nigh overwhelming weapons systems are more than capable of continuing into the future and were developed in the recent past at astronomical expense.

By contrast, even Bush's 1990 proposal for the 1991 budget already included $13.9 billion in cuts for domestic spending, $5.5 billion coming from a Medicare program that had previously undergone repeated slashes. One may predict with

with confidence that if George Bush's popularity in 1991 assures his reelection in 1992, he will proceed to slash Medicare and other domestic "entitlements"—not excluding Social Security—with gusto, to subsidize his growing appetite for foreign aggrandizement. Beyond the unfortunate millions of the elderly and the infirm affected, perhaps even harder hit will be those 27 million Americans without *any* health insurance, including 12 million poverty-stricken children. Entire regions in the "Rust Belt" of the East and the Midwest, and in the rural areas of the South and the mountain states—already suffering from chronic, unregistered unemployment and grinding poverty—will disappear by the millions into the maelstrom of misery.

These are some of the dimensions of what President Carter was accused of calling the Misery Index, the vicious consequences of what *bourgeois* economists term Karl Marx's *Verelendungstheorie.*

They are very real, and they are growing.

What Can We Do?

"Lasciate ogni speranza, voi ch'entrate."
(Abandon all hope, you who enter) —Dante's *Inferno*

The growing menace of the establishment of a total "garrison state," with all that implies, at home and abroad (and it implies eventual "genocide," mass murder, at home and abroad) does not decree its inevitability. Historical determinism exists in the minds of those who preach it. However, its superficial opposite, pollyanna chamber-of-commerce sanguinism, is even more misleading, for it lends itself to mass manipulation by the corrupt. The sane fight for the rational exercise of will.

America does have choices. What are some of them?

The first might be called, somewhat misleadingly, the Max Weberian alternative to Werner Sombart. The latter had written persuasively about the successive—and more or less successful—stages of capitalism, particularly about "Late Capitalism" (a phrase which seems to denote that the wish for its demise was the father to the thought). America's behavior since the Great Depression, at home and abroad, has in many striking ways corresponded to the various phases of *Spätkapitalismus*; the Reagan-Bush era might be regarded as one of its ultimate stages of global panic. The "Reagan Revolution," in

other words, might be seen as a response to home and world conditions, semi-consciously homologous to the cries of: "*Après nous le déluge*!" and "*Sauve qui peut*!" from the French power elite before and during France's revolutionary crisis of the 1790's.

Yet there is an important component missing from this equation: that of global hegemony. Scientific observers note that the United States is the heir—not to the over-romanticized "Anglo-Saxon-tradition of liberty"—but, more accurately, to the instititionalized attitudes of absolute domination, conquest, power politics and plunder personified by the *Norman* founders of the "English" (and, fascinatingly, of the Old Russian) states. Now, a millennium after the original conquests, their descendants are facing off in their ultimate "showdown," as de Tocqueville foretold in the nineteenth century. No one believes that the U.S.-Soviet "condominium" of the world of 1990-91—a very cramped and one-sided affair—will last for more than a few years.

Today's Yankee Hot Warriors are in an enviable position geopolitically. Having conquered the Americas from Alaska to Tierra del Fuego, or keeping them in a state of manifold subjection without the inconvenience of physical occupation, they are in a position to dominate all landmasses laved by the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Indeed, at bottom they are not "capitalist" at all but "conquest plutocrats." They would readily shed the latter part of this label, too, continuing their expansionism even as socialists.

Yet their decision to keep strategic portions of the Persian Gulf occupied, after making the mistake of attacking it physically rather than solving the problem politically-economically, reveals a glaring mental rigidity.

How much wiser to follow the advice of Max Weber, the great social scientist, given at the time of the St. Louis World Exposition of 1904: systematically to create a rationalized, limited state through the establishment of a service bureaucracy motivated by honor, the idea of duty and the common good, and the notion of economy as "avoidance of waste by careful planning and use."

Is it too late for that now, in 1991? I admit that such a truly *Prussian* solution seems unappealing in the short run, perhaps anywhere in America and Europe. But in the long run, in a few decades and centuries, when the crises, catastrophes and cataclysms brought on by following the erroneous "ideal" of

Conquest Plutocracy with altogether too much ardor will have at length exhausted themselves, then any new society and government, to endure, will need to be built on rules close to Max Weber's heart.

In a political culture which de-emphasizes and punishes medium and long-range planning (even of the economic kind), the "crisis" most government leaders were concerned about in the first half of 1991 is the prevailing, moderate (at least, government spokesmen anxious to appear confident of the future call it so) economic recession. Should these conditions worsen it could mean dire things for our economy, government and society: firms and industries saddled with heavy, unproductive debts through "leveraged buy-outs" by "*arbitrageurs*" find it difficult to adjust to the new, leaner economic climate. They are forced to lay off thousands, tens of thousands, indefinitely. Some firms go under. A vicious cycle develops, in which growing unemployment—unalleviated due to government inaction—fuels a worsening recession while it drains the public treasury further through passive unemployment compensation. In order to "lighten the load" of an already disastrous deficit, the government feels called upon to cut "entitlements" further, plunging millions more of the middle-class and the poor into misery, and further reducing their buying power. Unemployment payments are slashed, too. More firms fail. The stock markets, which had been extremely over-extended and buoyant in the wake of a successful war of the "foreign-adventurist" kind, turn sour. The Dow Jones average plunges 600 points in a week. In the meantime, tension spreads from coast to coast in urban regions which have lost millions of jobs over the last decade, collectively, and hundreds of thousands due to the recession. The economic picture worsens. Demagogues whip emotions to a frenzy. A single spark, in a society fractured along national, racial, and sub-caste lines, and race war erupts, tearing the fabric of society, throwing the economy into total chaos, causing trillions or more dollars in damage and killing thousands, and more, through violence, disease and exposure.

Such conditions of *anomie* might also provide a welcome chance for the Soviet—or Russian—elite to redress its grievances against the West and the U.S., either in step-by-step progression or, more likely, by means of a surprise attack. Thus, logically and historically, the dislocations and down-

turns brought on by the "Reagan Revolution," the late and lamentable outcome of several centuries of evolution, quite possibly will conclude with the much-dreaded World War and World Revolution. The ultimate plutocrats would then be the executors of Karl Marx's last will and testament.

In the short run, mankind might be granted a breather by the 1992 U.S. elections. Probably, President George Bush and Federal Reserve Board Chairman Allan Greenspan will pull out the stops in a last effort to create "rosier" economic conditions to achieve Bush's re-election. After that, it will be "every man for himself." Despite (or because of) the economic union of Europe in 1992, Germany will not be protected by its fellow Europeans but, on the contrary, will be exposed to increased levels of financial and political blackmail by the U.S., Israel, Britain, France, Poland and Russia. Added to the increased burdens of integrating the old Soviet Zone with West Germany, and denuded of any practical military defenses after the enforced concessions of 1990-91 ("The New Versailles"), even Germany may be unable to stomach the redoubled demands. Economically, socially and militarily, her downfall would plunge Europe into ballooning disorder—unless America desisted from her Divide and Conquer foreign policy and intervened diplomatically to aid her strongest ally in Europe. But, for several reasons, that is unlikely. If reelected in '92, Bush will slash domestic "entitlements" in a desperate effort to right the capsized economy. He will try to "shoulder off" some of those outlays on Germany and Japan. Too, the probable increase in domestic U.S. unrest—heightened by the chauvinism left over from the Gulf War—will make Uncle Sam regard the comparative "tranquillity" for foreign competitors with a jaundiced eye. He will seek to export his troubles, imprudently knocking out his main props.

There are already many choices in the possibilities portrayed.

Here are some more, always keeping in mind that our preferred option is to create a dialectics, a rational dialogue between the idea of "community" in politics and economics and the idea of "freedom," with emphasis on the "legitimate self-determination of peoples" on all levels of politics, from the township to the international arena.

Internationally, how intelligent is it for the United States, for instance, in its GATT-talks ("General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade") with the European Community, to insist that the

Europeans cut their farm subsidies to the bone—while the U.S. does not reciprocate by slashing subsidies to its huge industrial "farms" in California, Florida and elsewhere? Such a move by Europeans would jeopardize the highly labor-intensive, efficient, but tiny family farm in Europe, with roots going back four or five thousand years, and would depopulate the countryside even more rapidly, adding to the urban proletariat and causing social-political crisis. After all, that's what happened two thousand years ago in ancient Rome.

Will the "New Rome" of Wall Street and Washington recognize its own interest in preserving and building communities abroad, after its total war and its victory in Iraq? *There can be no "total victory."*

The Bessmertnykh-Baker plan for remedying the grave problems of the Middle East comprehensively, and the Palestinian situation in particular, brooks no delay. Despite the fact that the U.S. irrationally injured its own interest in preserving the status quo in the Mideast by smashing Saddam Hussein and creating a power vacuum ready to be filled through the designs of Iran, Turkey, Syria and Israel, thus destablizing regional and world politics, we should subject our "unique relationship" with Israel to an agonizing reappraisal. That is what President Eisenhower did in 1956 (how things have changed!) We all know that Israel is the nuclear-military superpower of the Mideast and need fear no one on earth. By means of suitable but swift diplomatic maneuvers, we should make it clear to the ruling, reactionary cliques of Israel that: America will not stand for the oppression of the Palestinians by Israel; we insist on implementing U.S. Security Council Resolution No. 242 and similar resolutions with a view toward establishing a state for the Palestinians via the PLO; and America will never accept Israeli designs on neighboring states, and on Lebanon, Jordan, Syria and Iraq in particular. What are the chances for success of such a scenario in a Bush administration?

Turkey is the *tertium gaudens*, far from the international limelight focused on such prime players as the U.S., Israel or Iran, yet laughing with the contented glee of a peasant who stands in the shadow of greater Powers and has struck a good bargain. The Sancho Panzaesque figure of President Törgut Ozal had only reinforced that impression.

Of course, Turkey in a geographically much larger guise, as ruled by the once great Ottoman dynasty of sultans and

caliphs (*khalifa*, the "successors to the prophet," the titular heads, temporal and spiritual, of all Islam), was the declining imperial power of North Africa and the Middle East before the First World War. At its end, only the outstanding leadership qualities of General Mustafa Kemal (later proclaimed "Atatürk" or "Father of the Turk"), those of his aides, and the valor of the Turkish soldiers, combined with the squabbling of the prime imperialists: Britain, France and Italy and their tool, the Kingdom of Greece, as well as the assistance provided by the new Bolshevik regime of Soviet Russia, kept Turkey from begin ripped to shreds by the victors, preserving her from disappearing forever. A timely lesson for 1991.

The new, republican Turkey was confined largely to Anatolia and the littoral of the northeast Mediterranean. She was forced to accept the subjugation of large, centuries-old, Turkish minorities in the new states of the East, ranging from the southern reaches of the Soviet Union to Yugoslavia and all the way to northern Iraq and Iran. In 1991 her claims to some of these regions, particularly to oil-rich northern Iraq around Mosul and Kirkuk, rest in part on the existence of these minorities. Further, advancing pan-Turanian ideas, the Turks have cast their eyes on the related Turkic majorities of northern Iran and of central Asia east of the Caspian. If the U.S. after 1991 rearms her, replacing her obsolete arms with smart, hi-tech weapons systems, we can expect Turkey to play a much more aggressive role in the Mideast. In the future, she might prove troublesome to either a shrinking or an expanding post-Soviet Russia.

We need also to remember that republican Turkey has been no more lenient to her Kurdish minority than has Iraq. She will watch the masses of new refugees with eagle eyes and possibly misdirect them to advance her own aims against the Arabs. It is the tragic plight of the Iraqi Kurds to have believed the irresponsible pronouncements of an untrustworthy, and apparently irrational, Superpower.

As for the Soviet Union or, more correctly, Russia, she has been the Turks' chief enemy since the imperial-expansionist days of the great Tsar Peter around the year 1700. Traditionally, Russia has also sought to break up, or to dominate, neighboring Persia (Iran). To the present day, her aim has been to extend her hegemony over as much of the Persian gulf region, and over Iran's eastern flanks of Afghanistan and Baluchistan, as practicable. It has been her sad lot to see her main aim

of sole autocracy stymied, in the nick of time, by an even more powerful and even more ambitious rival from across the seas: up to 1941 by Britain and since 1946 by the United States of America. Unless Russia commits suicide, or is extirpated totally, in her present Time of Troubles—which seems unlikely—she will reassume her accustomed role in the not very distant future, with a vengeance.

When—and if—she does, she will remember three past events. Soon after the outbreak of the Second World War, when Stalin invaded Finland in the infamous Winter War of 1939-1940, Britain and France went to work to prepare a two-pronged invasion of the Soviet Union: in the north, through Norwegian and Finnish Lapland, and, in the south, out of Syria and Iraq. The operation was finally shelved when Hitler pre-empted Churchill by striking north to Narvik and Norway. Today, once again, the Soviets have reason to worry about the strategic threat to their "soft underbelly," especially with Georgia's declaration of independence on April 8, 1991, and the possibility of this setting an example all along the southern boundary of the USSR from Moldavia outside Romania (the Soviets annexed it in 1940) to the Muslim nations on the borders of Afghanistan and China. Let us not imagine that the USSR, or an imperial Russia, will tolerate a strong U.S. or NATO presence in the Gulf Region for long.

By contrast, Russia cherishes her memories of the time after June 22, 1941, when the leaf of history turned and she was in a position, again, to partition Iran between herself and Britain, supported by the U.S. In those heady times Stalin dominated Teheran. His power was sufficient to enable him to carve out virtual Soviet satellite states in Azerbaijan and the Kurdish areas, and to attempt to extend his sphere of influence by encouraging the "independence" of the Kurds in Turkey and Iraq. The famed Kurd leader, Mustafa Barzani, and his clan were trained in Moscow. Soviet agents infiltrated the entire region. Not until 1946 and 1947 did British and then American resistance stiffen sufficiently to make it prudent for Stalin to heed Iranian demands for withdrawal. The Soviets cleared out—but only for the time being.

A third event the Russians will bear in mind with distaste is the ill-disguised contempt they received at the hands of the Yankees before, during and after the war against Iraq, a former friend of theirs. Even though deep-seated divergences

were "papered over" at the U.N. and for the television watching publics, the U.S. made it abundantly clear that she no longer deemed the Soviet Union a serious global factor diplomatically, economically or, for that matter, militarily. It is a glaring indication of the mismatch in "clout" at the White House that the objections of Israel—a Levantine dwarf state on the face of it—prevailed over the Bessmertnykh-Baker agreement concerning a comprehensive solution to the Mideast's troubles, in which the foreign ministers of the two former World Superpowers had invested their prestige. No lip service to the "New World Order" for "a hundred years of peace" can gloss over that high-handed conduct. Not that *hauteur* is unrealistic, for the time being. But "realities" have a way of changing explosively, leaving those unprepared at the mercy of their panicky "flight-or-fight" response, whether inside the Beltway or at the Kremlin.

No doubt the seeming disproportion between American and Soviet power, and the sudden successes of American weaponry against the largely antiquated Soviet equipment and tactics of the Iraqis—as well as the exaggerated ruthlessness of its application—meant but one thing to a Russian leadership worried about survival: the absolute necessity of once more catching up again to and, if possible, surpassing the U.S. in the creation of weapons of mass destruction—whether "conventional" or "unconventional"—in the shortest time possible. Thus, automatically, our war against Iraq has made the Russian leaders more rigid in their outlook and in choosing their ways and means. It has produced the exact opposite of its announced intention, has injured the peace, and dealt a body blow to the concept of international "law and order." Did we want that to happen?

Naturally, when the motives of fear of the unknown, hatred for one's adversary, and ambition hold each other in approximate balance in both the White House and the Kremlin (with ambition overweening the former and fear dominating the latter) an uneasy truce could be maintained for a time. But the Warsaw Pact has dissolved itself. Except for the continued survival of their Communist parties, the USSR has lost most of its hold over its central European satellites. Yet far from reciprocating in kind, Uncle Sam is holding on tightly to his NATO allies, even readying the expansion of his force-shield to cover the former Soviet zone of Germany, which still "plays

host" to 350,000 Soviet troops.

Indeed, leaning on his two main foreign props—Japan and Germany—financially, geopolitically and propagandistically, in 1991 Uncle Sam is accelerating rather than cutting his weapons expenditures, even though the Soviet menace seems to have diminished and the Third World should not be perceived as a "foe." When a single aircraft of a single weapons system (the B-2 "Stealth" bomber) costs nearly $1 billion, and the costs of other armaments trail closely behind, one should be able to calculate the following rather accurately: 1. the time before the American economy, already unbalanced and distorted, spins totally out of control; 2. the same for Germany, Europe, and Japan; 3. the irreparable injury to the social, political, health and educational fabric, and perhaps to the national integrity, of the American people; 4. the desperate attempts by the USA and the Great Britain to re-establish the shattered "concert of nations" by force and through the United Nations Security Council, based on the far-reaching and questionable political, financial, territorial and functional dictates imposed on a sovereign state, i.e., the far reaching precedents set by the U.N. in its subjugation of Iraq in 1991; 5. in case of failure: the rapid and unprecedentedly violent outbreak of global war.

But there are choices.

Here are some of them:

1. If America desires to extablish and to strengthen stability and legitimacy in the Middle East, we need to strike a just balance between powerful, violent Israel and the multitude of militarily and socially weak Arab states. U.N. Security Council Resolution No. 242 should be implemented so that the Palestinians can at last have an independent homeland (and state) on their native soil, secure from Zionist encroachment. Equally important, the much-quoted "comprehensive solution" to the region's historic, political, social, economic and military troubles needs to put in place a lasting, insitutionalized leveling of its abysmal divergences, a "regional development plan" for all. A regional "community" of interest should be grown, like a plant, encompassing all cultures and religions, while cherishing all organically grown groupings.

Is it realistic to speak of such a modernized revival of the ancient Ottoman millet system? Only time, and a nuclear-free zone stretching from the Mediterranean to the Ganges, and far

beyond, can tell. Let's rid ourselves of the illusion that Israel is America's terrible swift sword in the desert.

2. America might choose to impose a New World Order through a superficially cordial *entente* with an ever-more desperate Russia. But we must face the fact that by reason of clashing global ambitions, lasting cooperation between the two is undesired by the White House, and unlikely, unless another convenient Foreign Devil, e.g. Japan or Germany, is found.

If, on the other hand, we desire to honor our loudly proclaimed "values" of freedom—infused into organic communities—and of popular self-determination, we should intelligently and actively support the independence of the anti-Communist republics of Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Ukraine, Moldavia, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, and others, while Russia is preoccupied with its internal troubles.

Such action would incur the risk of war with the Russians. But by most accounts we could hold their feet to the fire before they rain fire down on us.

3. Above all, if, for the next several centuries, Americans wish their country to remain a nation worthy of its highest ideals, we might do worse than swear off our old Norman-Puritan habits of loot, plunder and mass destruction, as well as our immediate past of Plutocracy by conquest at home and abroad, and at last pursue a type of society and government that strives to do lasting and organized justice to the rooted human needs for community, freedom and truth, and to the cosmic demands of the ecologies of nature.

"Omnes cantant una voce tamen non est sinfonia."

(Though all sing with one voice that still does not make a symphony) **St. Thomas Aquinas**

If we try to enforce rigid conformity at home and abroad, we shall come a cropper. Whipping up bellicose emotions, rebuilding FDR's detention camps of the Great American Desert for dissenters and engaging in global interventionism will merely multiply the crushing moral and material burdens already heaped on the sagging shoulders of the American people. How much wiser to promote community-building on all societal levels, in all political-geographic regions, a subsidiarity of responsibilities!

At home, the American people—once we have recovered our healthy sense of skepticism—might elect to undo the

Imperial Presidency, and choose to place in its stead a plural executive, a council of state patterned on Switzerland, with five to seven presidents, each to represent a major ethnic, racial or geographic constituency, with each president serving for the duration of one year. Abroad, let us shrug off the moral degradation, the abysmal functional and systematic failures of trying to be the World's Policeman! Encourage the formation, not of "pluralism," for that term has become a synonym for chaos, but of multicentricity, the building of strong power blocs on all populated landmasses, not excluding North, Central, and South America. The latter solution to the worsening crisis of the Americas was already envisioned by President Thomas Jefferson.

Let us extend the hand of friendship to the peoples of Islam. Split and weak as they may be politically and militarily, and enslaved as they certainly are by underdevelopment and neo-colonialism, they are the living heirs to some of the world's most brilliant cultures: ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia, Persia, Hindu and Moghul India and Indonesia among them. Islam has contributed immeasurably to the growth of Europe, and it can do so again. Let the West beware lest we drive Islam into the isolation of hate, from which only organized violence will offer escape.

Once they have divested themselves of the emanations of the will to absolute power, the preoccupation with exploits and exploitation—which have their most immediate origin in the Industrial Revolution and in the unreason of the Enlightenment of the 18th century—the great nations of Europe will be able to regain their historic callings: Spain, the great central European bloc that was the Holy Roman Empire, as well as Poland and Ukraine (the Old Roś), and others, will be re-awakened to new life. The spiritual, and political-geographic center, the historic orientation, they had lost will be resurrected.

No matter what the future, the American People—the pre-eminent victim and foe of Conquest Plutocracy and the Imperial Presidency—have greatness to give. A nation incomplete, a people not yet coalesced, which has brought forth such masters and masterworks as Herman Melville's *Moby Dick*; Robert Frost in his almost German simple-heartedness and profundity; Joseph Campbell and his supremely Protestant hyper-individualism, his longing for the merging of self

with the Absolute (a property of "late" historical eras): such a nation—once it has sloughed off the notion of being history's Chosen People, leading a lowly flock to an earthly paradise—has much to contribute to the good of this world. By definition, we note, an earthly paradise swamps the Moral Oeconomy with the rush of an infinity of manufactured supplies, it affects to abolish all suffering, all sacrifices for the attainment of some distant, greater, good; it is totally intolerant and destructive of any other path to perfection. In fine, it is evil incarnate.

The choice is simple. Beyond all administrative reform, we must bend our hearts and minds, freely, toward creativity and responsibility, or Totalitarianism will do it for us by obliterating all mind, all hearts.

Ponder the lines of England's poet laureate, of Alfred Lord Tennyson, written in 1842:

> . . . For I dipt into the future, far as human eye could see,
> Saw the Vision of the world, and all the wonder that would be;
>
> Saw the heavens filled with commerce, argosies of magic sails,
>
> Pilots of the purple twilight, dropping down with costly bales;
>
> Heard the heavens fill with shouting, and there rain'd a ghastly dew,
>
> From the heavens's airy navies grappling in the central blue;
>
> Far along the world-wide whisper of the south-wind rushing warm,
>
> With the standards of the peoples plunging thro' the thunderstorm;
>
> Till the war-drum throbb'd no longer, and the battle-flags were furl'd
>
> In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world.
>
> There the common sense of most shall hold a fretful realm in awe,
>
> And the kindly earth shall slumber, lapt in universal law.
>
> Alfred Lord Tennyson, *Locksley Hall*

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(*continued from page 388*)

lies—that he, too, and his administration was taken completely by surprise, and that Admiral Kimmel and General Short, the Navy and Army commanders at Pearl, deserved censure and ruined careers for their unpreparedness—and works on, today, with exemplary fairness to establish the precise responsibility of Roosevelt and his lieutenants for the Pearl Harbor debacle.

Two long book reviews complement these two long essays. JHR Associate Editor Mark Weber, an expert witness in the second trial of Ernst Zündel, reports on Robert Lenski's substantial account of that trial. Jack Wikoff, a student of twentieth-century propaganda in word and image, contributes an assessment of S.J. Taylor's important biography of *New York Times*-man and Pulitzer-Prize winner Walter Duranty, who deliberately hushed up a real Holocaust, Stalin's annihilation of millions of Ukrainians and other Soviet subjects through starvation and disease, even as the Roosevelt administration hastened to recognize the mass-murderer and his regime in 1933. Thus work on another key Revisionist project picks up steam—rather than rehash the sordid crimes of Red Russia, known virtually as soon as they were committed by influential Western opinion-makers, we focus on precisely those journalists, academics, politicians, and bureaucrats who concealed, minimized or defended (in the name of "anti-Fascism") our century's real laureates of tyranny and genocide.

A new section, "Document" will attempt precisely that in this and forthcoming issues: to document from primary sources aspects of the Second World War unfamiliar to Americans schooled and spoonfed on the authorized propaganda of the "Good War." Our GI's sometimes less than scrupulous about taking prisoners? Read and weep. Or better, read and *think* . . .

A 1958 commentary and interview with the late Admiral Husband E. Kimmel by the late, distinguished American lawyer and educator Dean Clarence Manion (of Notre Dame Law School) moves and informs not merely for its revelations of Kimmel's views of Pearl Harbor, but for the principled, non-interventionist American conservatism that we have all but lost to the baying pack of "neo-cons" and "new rightists." Carl Hottelet says what must be said about "Holocaust education":

(*continued on page 468*)

Pearl Harbor: Fifty Years of Controversy

CHARLES LUTTON

At 7:49 a.m. on Sunday, December 7, 1941, 183 Japanese dive- and torpedo bombers, accompanied by Zero escorts, launched the first of two attacks against the American base at Pearl Harbor. A second wave of 168 Japanese aircraft arrived at 9 a.m. Eighteen operational warships, including four battleships, were sunk or heavily damaged; 188 aircraft were destroyed. 2403 Americans were killed, among them 68 civilians, and 1178 were wounded.

Although the Japanese achieved local surprise, their success was less than complete. The Pacific Fleet's three aircraft carriers were not in port. Nine heavy cruisers, all but three light cruisers, and virtually all of the destroyers remained afloat. None of the fleet's submarines was lost. And the commander of the Japanese task force, Admiral Chuichi Nagumo, refused to authorize a third strike that could have led to the destruction of Pearl Harbor's naval dockyards and oil storage tanks, the loss of which would have neutralized Hawaii as a forward base for counter-offensives against Japanese moves towards the Philippines, Malaya, and the Dutch East Indies.

The attack solved President Franklin D. Roosevelt's most pressing problem: how to overcome the American public's opposition to involvement in the war that had been going on in Europe for the previous sixteen months (on the eve of Pearl Harbor, polls indicated that 80 per cent of the people did not want the United States to enter the war as an active participant). Roosevelt received overwhelming support when he asked Congress for a declaration of war against Japan. The grass-roots America First movement quietly disbanded. On December 11th, Germany and Italy declared war against the United States. American resolve to "defeat the dictators" was near unanimous.

If the public united behind Roosevelt and Churchill in the war effort, almost from the first there were serious questions

raised about the attack that had brought America into the world conflict. Who was accountable for the disaster? Was it avoidable? Why had the Japanese attacked? Had there been any American provocation? And why had Pearl Harbor's able Navy and Army commanders, Admiral Husband E. Kimmel and General Walter Short, been caught off guard? Why were they quickly retired under unusual circumstances?

To head off congressional and public criticism, Roosevelt hastily appointed a special commission to investigate the attack. Chaired by Associate Supreme Court Justice Owen J. Roberts, a leading supporter of the pro-interventionist Committee to Aid America by Aiding the Allies, the President had no fear that the commission would do anything to compromise the spirit of unity that now prevailed. Justice Roberts completed his report on Friday, January 23, 1942. The Administration released it to the public in time for the Sunday newspapers. Key members of the Washington political and military establishment were absolved of any blame. The fault, they said, lay with Admiral Kimmel and General Short.

First Revisionist Critiques

But not all were convinced. In September 1944, John T. Flynn launched Pearl Harbor revisionism when he published a forty-six page booklet entitled *The Truth about Pearl Harbor.* Flynn argued that Roosevelt and his cronies had been plotting war against Japan at least since January 1941. The Administration continued needlessly to provoke the Japanese government throughout the rest of the year, and on November 26, 1941, delivered a diplomatic ultimatum that no government could possibly accept. Flynn also suggested that Kimmel and Short were given the wrong instructions from Washington headquarters, thus aborting the taking of effective measures at the base.

In early 1945, a thirty-year-old historian, William L. Neumann, published a brochure, The Genesis of Pearl Harbor. He reviewed the diplomatic background to the outbreak of the war and pointed out how the Roosevelt Administration had launched an economic war against Japan in the summer and fall of 1941. Neumann concluded that both sides were responsible, but that Washington could not have been surprised by the attack at Pearl Harbor, given FDR's diplomatic activities in the months and days preceding December 7th.

Army and Navy Reports Released

After VJ-Day, President Harry Truman permitted the release of the Army and Navy special investigations of the Pearl Harbor attack. The Navy Court of Inquiry, headed by Admiral Orin G. Murfin, met from July 24-September 27, 1944. They concluded that Admiral Harold R. Stark, the Chief of Naval Operations, had failed to provide Admiral Kimmel all of the information possessed in Washington, thereby denying the Hawaii command a more complete picture of the situation. Kimmel was exonerated. His plans were judged "sound," but were dependent on "advance knowledge that an attack was to be expected." And given his limited military resources, Kimmel had conducted long-range aerial reconnaissance appropriate to the intelligence he had been given and the number of aircraft available.

Lt. General George Grunert chaired the Army Pearl Harbor Board, which met from July 20-October 20, 1944. Evidence from 151 witnesses was collected in Washington, D.C., San Francisco, and Hawaii. While the Board was critical of General Short, for the first time attention was directed toward General George Marshall and the War Department. Marshall was censured for failing to keep Short fully apprised of the deteriorating state of U.S.-Japanese relations; of failing to correct Short's "sabotage alert" preparations at Pearl Harbor (U.S. aircraft were bunched wing-tip to wing-tip on December 7th, because Washington had told Short to guard against sabotage. Had he been alerted to a possible air attack, the planes would have been scattered and sheltered in revetments to guard against bomb blast); of failing to send critical information to Short on the evening of December 6th and the morning of December 7th; of failing to determine if the state of readiness at Pearl Harbor was commensurate with the potential threats to the base's security. General Leonard Gerow, Chief of the Army's War Plans Division, was also reproved. He had failed, the Board concluded, to keep the Hawaiian command informed about Japanese moves that were known in Washington; of failing to make the November 27th warning clear and concise; and of failing to see that joint Army-Navy plans were properly effected.

Needless to say, Secretary of War Henry Stimson and Navy Secretary James Forrestal were alarmed that blame for the success of the Japanese attack had been shifted from the local

commanders to their superiors in Washington. To supplement the report of the Army Pearl Harbor Board, Major Henry Clausen was selected to head a one-man investigation. But no public report was released. Forrestal had Admiral W. Kent Hewitt continue to investigate Pearl Harbor. No separate report was issued, but on August 29, 1945, Forrestal announced that, on the basis of Hewitt's inquiries, "Admiral Husband E. Kimmel and Admiral Harold R. Stark, particularly during the period 27 November to 7 December, 1941, failed to demonstrate the superior judgment necessary to exercising command commensurate with their rank and assigned duties."

The Army and Navy Reports provided fresh ammunition to the redoubtable John T. Flynn, who, in September 1945, issued a fifteen-page report entitled *The Final Secret of Pearl Harbor*. Flynn's findings were not limited to review by a small circle of interested friends, but were given wide circulation thanks to the Chicago Tribune, which highlighted his work. Flynn concluded that Franklin Roosevelt was to blame for diplomatic mismanagement; for keeping the Pacific Fleet stationed at the insecure Pearl Harbor base; and for stripping Pearl Harbor of needed defensive equipment.

Reviewing the diplomatic prelude to the attack, Flynn explained that FDR undermined the position of Japanese moderates and so orchestrated events that General Tojo and the "War Agitators" took power in Tokyo. Despite provocations, it became clear that Germany was not going to declare war against the United States. It was at this point, said Flynn, that Roosevelt turned the screws on the Japanese.

Flynn went on to note the "Gift from the Gods" that the cracking of the Japanese diplomatic codes represented. Flynn was under the impression that the British had first broken the Japanese code and supplied Washington with copies of messages between Tokyo and its foreign representatives. He underscored the significance of the fact that Washington was aware that Japan had given its diplomats a November 25th deadline to reach an understanding with the U.S.

In a section, "The Fog at Pearl Harbor," Flynn emphasized that the commanders at Pearl Harbor were told "literally nothing" about the intercepted Japanese messages and the rapidly deteriorating state of affairs. Short was ordered to guard against sabotage and internal disorder from the large

Japanese population in Hawaii, and warned that Japanese military operations could be expected soon, but against such targets as the Kra Peninsula, Guam, Singapore, and Malaya. And Flynn re-emphasized a point that is still too often obscured in discussions of the attack, namely, "that Kimmel's fleet was not there to protect Pearl Harbor. The harbor was there merely as a fuel and supply base for it. The fleet had a task assigned to it in case of war. The protection of the base would be the duty of the Army and the base naval installations."

In his discussion of "The Night Before Pearl Harbor" Flynn charged that the story given the public about Roosevelt being surprised by the attack on Pearl Harbor was "utterly fraudulent." Based on the intercepted messages, FDR knew that hostilities were soon to commence. What "warnings" were finally sent to Hawaii were deliberately delivered by the slowest possible means, as a face-saving measure.

Flynn went on to show how blame for the disaster was cleverly shifted from Washington to the Hawaiian commanders, Kimmel and Short. He further discussed how the fleet had come to be based at Pearl Harbor over the objections of Kimmel's predecessor, Admiral Richardson, who was convinced that any ships berthed there would be an easy target.*

In his summary of the tragedy, Flynn reiterated his view that Roosevelt had decided to go to war with Japan, despite his public pledges to the American people not to make their sons fight in foreign wars, and that he had promised the British to fight long before December 7th. When the attack came at Pearl Harbor, the "amateur Commander-in-Chief" tried to place the blame on Kimmel and Short. "Now," he concluded, "if there is a shred of decency left in the American people, they will demand that Congress open the whole ugly business to the light of day.**

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*As is the case today, the Pacific Fleet was based on the West coast of the United States (San Diego, San Francisco). FDR personally ordered it moved to the unprepared Pearl Harbor facility in 1940.

**Long out-of-print, John T. Flynn's *The Final Secret of Pearl Harbor* can be found as an appendix in *Cover Up: The Politics of Pearl Harbor, 1941-1946* by Bruce Bartlett (New Rochelle, New York: Arlington House, 1978).

The Congressional Hearings

A concurrent resolution of Congress brought into being the Joint Congressional Committee on the Investigation of the Pearl Harbor Attack. The Administration hoped that the Committee, which had a majority of Democrats, would satisfy public curiosity while safeguarding the standing of the political party in power. Senator Alben Barkley (D-Kentucky) served as chairman. The five other Democrats included Senator Walter F. George (Georgia), Senator Scott Lucas (Illinois), Rep. J. Bayard Clark (North Carolina), Rep. John W. Murphy (Pennsylvania), and Rep. Jere Cooper (Tennessee), who was Vice Chairman. The Democrats selected the legal staff.

Four Republicans were on the Committee: Senator Owen Brewster (Maine), Senator Homer Ferguson (Michigan), Rep. Bertrand Gearhart (California), and Rep. Frank B. Keefe (Wisconsin). The Republican Minority were not provided with their own staff. However, John T. Flynn raised funds from private sources to permit Percy Greaves, a former associate research director for the Republican National Committee, to assist the Republican members of the Joint Congressional Committee. Without Greaves's able work, much of the Pearl Harbor story would have remained hidden from the public.

The Committee sat from November 15, 1945 to May 31, 1946. The Democratic majority managed to steer the hearings in such a manner as to deflect as much criticism as they could from the late President Roosevelt. Thanks to the persistence of Senator Ferguson, aided by Greaves, "inconvenient" testimony was extracted from a number of the witnesses, and evidence that contradicted the Roberts Commission Report was placed on the record. The evidence, exhibits, hearings, and concluding report came to some forty volumes.

The "Majority Report" concluded that Japan's brilliantly planned attack had been entirely unprovoked and there was no evidence that the Roosevelt cabinet had maneuvered Japan into launching a first strike in order to force Congress into declaring war. Indeed, the Democrats asserted that Roosevelt, Hull, and Stimson had done everything they could possibly do to avoid war with Japan. The disaster at Pearl Harbor was due to the failure of the local commanders to take adequate measures to detect a possible attack and maintain proper readiness to meet likely threats. The report did suggest that the

War Department should have notified Gen. Short that his "sabotage alert" measures were not enough. In addition, Army and Navy intelligence should have realized the significance of Japanese efforts to keep abreast of the location of U.S. warships berthed at Pearl Harbor (the "Bomb Plot" messages that military intelligence had decoded). Finally, during the forty-eight hours prior to the attack, the War and Navy Departments should have kept on a higher state of alert and notified Pearl Harbor about the impending diplomatic break that the Japanese had scheduled to take effect from 1 p.m. Washington time on December 7th.

A "Minority Report" was issued under the signatures of Senators Brewster and Ferguson. They listed some twenty "conclusions of Fact and Responsibility." President Roosevelt was held "responsible for the failure to enforce continuous, efficient, and appropriate cooperation among the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, the Chief of Staff (General Marshall), and the Chief of Naval Operations (Admiral Stark) in evaluating information and dispatching clear and positive orders to the Hawaiian commanders as events indicated the growing imminence of war." Roosevelt was especially at fault, between Saturday night December 6th, and Sunday morning, the 7th, for failing "to take that quick and instant executive action which was required by the occasion."

Rep. Frank Keefe submitted his own "Additional Views" after having, with Republican Rep. Gearhart (who was in a tough re-election campaign) signed the "Majority Report." Keefe admitted that the "concept of an 'incident' as a factor which would unify public opinion behind an all-out war effort either in the Atlantic or Pacific had influenced the thinking of officials in Washington for a long time." As early as October 1940, Roosevelt had considered blockading Japan. Keefe also found it significant that just days before the attack on Pearl Harbor Roosevelt personally ordered the Navy to dispatch three small vessels from the Philippines into the path of Japanese warships then steaming towards Southeast Asia. The Congressman felt that this singular action was intended to provoke an "overt" Japanese attack on American ships that could serve as the incident needed to bring the United States officially into the war.

On November 22, Tokyo informed its special envoys to the United States, Kichisaburo Nomura and Saburo Kurusu, that if an agreement was not reached with the U.S., British, and Dutch by November 29th, "the deadline absolutely cannot be changed. After that things are automatically going to happen."

In another message that Washington read, Tokyo informed its Ambassador to Berlin on November 30 that diplomatic efforts to resolve differences with the United States "now stand ruptured—broken." He was instructed to inform Chancellor Hitler "that there is extreme danger that war may suddenly break out between the Anglo-Saxon nations and Japan through some clash of arms . . . the time for the breaking out of this war may come quicker than anyone dreams."

During the Joint Congressional hearings, Captain Laurance Safford, the Chief of the U.S. Navy's Security Intelligence Communications (Op-20-G), testified that Tokyo broadcast the "East Wind Rain" message in its overseas news broadcast of Thursday, December 4, 1941, at 8:30 a.m., Washington time. The U.S. Navy receiving station at Cheltenham, Maryland, intercepted the message, which was forwarded to the Navy Department in Washington. Safford informed the Congressional Committee that, "There was a 'winds' message. It meant war—and we knew it meant war." But Washington refused to pass this critical information on to the commanders at Pearl Harbor. And, as Morgenstern revealed, efforts were made to strip all files of evidence of the receipt of the "Winds" intercept and to discredit Capt. Safford's testimony.

Morgenstern made it clear to his readers that Kimmel and Short took the appropriate action, given the information and instructions they received from their superiors. But he reiterated that:

> they were denied three principal categories of intelligence:
>
> 1. Knowledge of the conduct of America's side of the ddiplomatic negotiations, showing that Japan had been put in a box where it must knuckle under or fight.
>
> 2. Knowledge of hundreds of significant Japanese diplomatic code intercepts informing Roosevelt and his circle not only that Japan would fight, but when war was coming.
>
> 3. Knowledge of messages to and from Tokyo and its corps of spies in Hawaii, pointing precisely to Pearl Harbor as the target for attack.

By late November, Roosevelt and his inner circle knew that war was coming. Morgenstern cited Secretary of War Henry Stimson's diary entry of November 25, 1941:

> He [FDR] brought up the event that we were likely to be attacked, perhaps [as soon as] next Monday, for the Japanese are notorious for making an attack without warning and the question was how we should maneuver them into the position of firing the first shot without allowing too much danger to ourselves.

Finally, having considered the evidence, the author took up the question of "who was guilty?" He reminded readers that Roosevelt and his defenders failed to disclose:

> . . . the part played in bringing about the result of December 7 by its campaign of economic warfare, its secret diplomacy, its secret diplomacy, its covert military alliances, the submission of demands which Japan found "humiliating," and its own complete abandonment of neutrality in favor of nondeclared war . . . When it became apparent, a few days after Pearl Harbor, that the manifest failures which contributed to the crushing defeat at Oahu could not be blamed solely on the Japanese, Roosevelt and his associates in the civilian government and high command invented some new villains to divert the guilt from themselves. For the defeat at Pearl Harbor the blame—all of the blame, not part of it—was apportioned between Adm. Kimmel and Gen. Short.

Later, as the war drew to an end and new doubts were raised, President Truman shifted blame from Washington to the American people as a whole. Said Truman, "The country was not ready for preparedness . . . I think the country is as much to blame as any individual in this final situation that developed in Pearl Harbor." But it was not the American people who had waged economic warfare against Japan. And it was not the public that had shipped weapons to Britain and Russia at the expense of the U.S. armed forces.

Morgenstern rejected Truman's arrogant charge and instead directed the blame precisely where the evidence indicated that it lay:

> The United States was neither informed nor alerted when Roosevelt and the men whose intentions coincided with his (because their fortunes rode with him) were warping the nation into war in 1941. The motives of these men are to this day obscure. They are even more obscure in the light of the default of all promises concerning the objectives of World War II . . .

> All of these men must answer for much. With absolute knowledge of war, they refused to communicate that knowledge, clearly, unequivocally, and in time, to the men in the field upon whom the blow would fall. The silence in Washington can yield to no other explanation than a desire to do nothing that would deter or forestall the attack which would produce the overt act so long and so fervently sought. When the price of silence proved to be 2,326 lives, it was necessary to add two more victims to the list—Adm. Kimmel and Gen. Short . . . They failed—with calculation—to keep the United States out of war and to avoid a clash with Japan . . . The "warnings" they sent to Hawaii failed—and were so phrased and so handled as to insure failure.
>
> Pearl Harbor was the first action of the acknowledged war, and the last battle of a secret war upon which the administration had long since embarked. The secret war was waged against nations which the leadership of this country had chosen as enemies months before they became formal enemies by a declaration of war. It was waged also, by psychological means, by propaganda, and deception, against the American people, who were thought by their leaders to be laggard in embracing war. The people were told that acts which were equivalent to war were intended to keep the nation out of war. Constitutional processes existed only to be circumvented, until finally the war-making power of Congress was reduced to the act of ratifying an accomplished fact.

It is encouraging to report that George Morgenstern's classic account of the Pearl Harbor tragedy has at long last been reprinted (by the IHR). Despite the passage of time, and the disclosure of new evidence, Morgenstern's basic thesis remains unshaken.

A Growing Debate

The Revisionist case was firmly grounded in evidence made available during the Congressional Hearings and in other post-war disclosures. This did not silence the defenders of Roosevelt and the "New World Order" that had been forged at Teheran, Yalta, Potsdam, and San Francisco. Far from it. A stream of books defending, "explaining" and excusing Roosevelt and his chief aides rolled off the presses to the accolades of the Establishment mass media. Representative examples of this literature were *The Road to Pearl Harbor*, by Herbert Feis (Princeton University Press, 1950); *Roosevelt: From Munich to Pearl Harbor* by Basil Rauch (Creative Age Press, 1950); and *The Challenge to Isolation* (Harper and

Brothers, 1952) and *The Undeclared War* (Harper and Brothers, 1953), both by William L. Langer and S. Everett Gleason.

If George Morgenstern's *Pearl Harbor* remained the best answer to the Establishment's version of the attack, other writers were taking a closer look at the New Deal and placing the Japanese attack on Hawaii within the context of American foreign and domestic policies during the Roosevelt Era. Of especial note are studies by Charles A. Beard, *President Roosevelt and the Coming of the War, 1941: A Study in Appearances and Realities* (Yale University Press, 1948); William Henry Chamberlin, *America's Second Crusade* (Henry Regnery, 1950); Frederick R. Sanborn, *Design for War: A Study of Secret Power Politics, 1937-1941* (Devin Adair, 1951); and Charles Callan Tansill, *Back Door to War: The Roosevelt Foreign Policy, 1933-1941* (Henry Regnery, 1952). The volumes by Beard and Tansill were especially unwelcome among the defenders of Roosevelt's policies, as Beard had been one of the pre-eminent historians of the first half of the twentieth century, while Tansill was a distinguished Georgetown University professor of American diplomatic history. All of the abovementioned titles are still worth reading, not only from the historiographical standpoint, but also for their factual disclosures and interpretations of events.

The Barnes Symposium

Harry Elmer Barnes (1889-1968) was a scholar of immense range who had been a path-finder in World War I revisionism. Later a critic of New Deal policies, he wrote on diplomatic history and international relations and gave generous encouragement to others to explore various aspects of recent history. He saw this "quest for truth" as not a mere intellectual exercise, but as an endeavor that might help bring justice and peace to a troubled world.

In 1953, under Barnes's editorship, *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace* (The Caxton Printers, Ltd.) appeared. Here Barnes assembled leading critics in a survey and appraisal of the development, course, and consequences of American foreign policy during Roosevelt's presidency. He was confident that the views expressed in this volume could withstand whatever rejoinder Roosevelt's defenders might deliver, observing:

> There is no probability that later evidence will require any moderation of the indictment of our foreign policy since 1914, and, especially, since 1933. If there were any still secret material which would brighten the record of the Roosevelt and Truman foreign polices, we may rest assured that their court historians and publicity agents would have revealed it to the public long ere this.

The symposium opened with an introduction to "Revisionism and the Historical Blackout," wherein Professor Barnes explained how dissident views were suppressed by the very elements which claimed to defend the First Amendment to the Constitution. Had not the small firms Henry Regnery and Devin-Adair been willing to publish Revisionist books, it is doubtful whether Morgenstern, Sanborn, Tansill and others would have managed to get their most significant work in print. In his essay "The United States and the Road to War in Europe," Dr. Tansill discussed the European background of the origins of World War II, as well as Japanese- American relations up to the attack on Pearl Harbor. Frederick R. Sanborn considered the origins of Roosevelt's interventionism and the failure of his un-neutral policies toward Hitler, in "Roosevelt Is Frustrated In Europe." Professor William L. Neumann drew attention to "How American Policy Toward Japan Contributed to War in the Pacific."

Two essays dealt with Pearl Harbor and its aftermath: "The Actual Road to Pearl Harbor," by George Morgenstern, which summarized and updated the case he had made in his full-length book, and "The Pearl Harbor Investigations," by Percy L. Greaves, Jr. Greaves took a look at the nine Pearl Harbor inquiries and showed how blame had been redirected away from the real culprits. He revealed how General Marshall was forced to make a series of damaging admissions under sharp questioning by Senator Homer Ferguson, among them how the United States had secretly initiated military agreements with the British and Dutch, directed against the Japanese, and that the agreements had gone into effect before the Pearl Harbor attack. Nevertheless, the campaign to protect those who were responsible for the Pearl Harbor debacle continued. As he observed:

> Those who have participated in this great conspiracy against the American people undoubtedly believe that the end justifies the means. They probably all join the editors of *Life* [magazine],

> who tell us in their *Picture History of World War II* that "In retrospect Pearl Harbor seemed clearly the best thing that could have happened to the U.S."

William Henry Chamberlin reminded readers that none of the stated goals that the United Nations were supposed to be fighting for were realized by war's end. In his essay, "The Bankruptcy of a Policy," he argued that the Roosevelt foreign policy was a catastrophe, the dire consequences of which would endure for decades to come. The final essay, by Professor George A. Lundberg, considered "American Foreign Policy in the Light of National Interest at Mid-Century." Here he compared internationalism and interventionism with what had been our traditional policy of continentalism before America's involvement in the First World War. Under the old policy, the United States had been safe and grew prosperous. The New Internationalism had made us less free, less safe, less secure.

Nearly forty years after they were first published, the articles in *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace* have indeed withstood the test of time and are still valuable historiography. No one since Barnes has attempted, in a single volume, to cover the history reviewed therein. Regrettably, it is unlikely that such a project could be undertaken today, as there are not enough scholars working on those topics to fill a large volume of essays.

The Admirals Speak Up

Thanks to the Roosevelt apologists, including the biased Roberts Commission, Majority Report of the Joint Congressional Committee, and the pro-Administration books, it is no wonder that the public was confused about which branch of the service was responsible for the security of Pearl Harbor (a condition that continues even today). The various investigations established that it was the Army, not the Navy, that was charged with the defense of the Pacific Fleet when it was in port. Thus, the chain of command in 1941 went through the Army Chief of Staff, General Marshall, to his commander at Hawaii, Lt. Gen. Short. Admiral Kimmel was supposed to cooperate with the Army, which at that time also included the Air Force (which throughout World War II was actually the Army Air Force). Kimmel's job was to take care of naval operations.

Over the decades that the debate over Pearl Harbor has raged, a number of observers have noted that, by and large, it has been Navy men who have taken an interest in seeking the truth about the attack. Gen. Short never published his own memoirs. Nor have men close to Marshall given an "inside" account of those fateful days.

Rear Admiral Robert A. Theobald was commander of the Pacific Fleet's destroyers at the time of the attack and was at Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. Later he was commander of the Northern Pacific Force. At the time of his retirement from active duty he was Commandant of the First Naval District.

Theobald assisted Kimmel in his testimony before the Roberts Commission. After his retirement, he devoted years to studying the attack and its aftermath. The results of his research were first published in March 1954, when Devin-Adair released *The Final Secret of Pearl Harbor: The Washington Contribution to the Japanese Attack.*

It was Admiral Theobald's impression that from the fall of France, in June 1940, Roosevelt was convinced that the U.S. must fight on Britain's side and that the primary objective remained the defeat of Germany. On September 27, 1940 Germany, Italy, and Japan entered into the Tripartite Pact, which provided that each would declare war on any third party that went to war against one of the three (this did not affect Germany and Japan's relations with the U.S.S.R.). From this date, then, war with Japan meant war with Germany and Italy, and this came to play an increasingly important role in Roosevelt's maneuvers.

In an effort to circumvent the American public's reluctance to enter the war, Roosevelt took a number of steps that Theobald went into considerable detail explaining. In brief, they were:

1) He introduced a massive arms buildup;

2) He repeatedly provoked Germany through an undeclared naval war in the Atlantic;

3) He applied increasing economic and diplomatic pressure on Japan, reaching a climax in late July, 1941, when the U.S., Britain, and the Netherlands froze Japanese assets. Japan lost 75 per cent of its foreign trade and 90 per cent of its oil supply;

4) In August 1941 he met with Churchill at Newfoundland, where FDR promised that any Japanese attack on British or

Dutch possessions would bring the United States into the war;

5) He had Secretary of State Hull deliver an insulting diplomatic ultimatum to the Japanese government on November 26, 1941, "which gave Japan no choice but surrender or war";

6) He "retained a weak Pacific fleet in Hawaiian waters, despite contrary naval advice, where it served only one diplomatic purpose, an invitation to a Japanese surprise attack";

7) He "furthered that surprise by causing the Hawaiian Commanders to be denied invaluable information from decoded Japanese dispatches concerning the rapid approach of the war and the strong probability that the attack would be directed at Pearl Harbor."

Theobald, in his review of the MAGIC diplomatic decrypts that were available in Washington, emphasized that this vital material was not passed along, and that there had been an "almost complete denial of information, during the three months preceding the Pearl Harbor attack." Then he posed a series of questions that Roosevelt's defenders have yet to answer satisfactorily: "Why was such irrefutable evidence of the coming attack so withheld? Why did Washington contribute so completely to the surprise feature of that attack?" Theobald reasoned, "There can be only one answer—because President Roosevelt wanted it that way!"

The Final Secret of Pearl Harbor included a review of the findings of the various post-attack investigations, and offered a point-by-point refutation of the Majority Conclusion of the Joint Congressional Committee, which he dismissed as "the last act in the attempt to preserve the Pearl Harbor Secret."

The American moves leading up to the Japanese attack are summarized in his final chapter, in which Admiral Theobald re- emphasizes that:

> . . . the recurrent fact of the Pearl Harbor story has been the repeated withholding of information from Admiral Kimmel and General Short . . . The denial to the Hawaiian Commanders of all knowledge of Magic was vital to the plan for enticing Japan to deliver a surprise attack upon the Fleet . . . because as late as Saturday, December 6, Admiral Kimmel could have caused that attack to be canceled by taking his fleet to sea and disappearing beyond land-based human ken.

Evidence placed on the record indicated to Theobald that:

> Everything that happened in Washington on Saturday and Sunday, December 6 and 7, supports the belief that President Roosevelt had directed that no message be sent to the Hawaiian Commanders before noon on Sunday, Washington time . . . Never before in recorded history had a field commander been denied information that his country would be at war in a matter of hours, and that everything pointed to a surprise attack upon his forces shortly after sunrise.

Nevertheless, Theobald was forced to concede, Roosevelt's strategy accomplished its purpose: a united people rallied behind the president's war effort. The author left it up to his readers to ponder the ethics of that statecraft.

* * * * *

Contrary to the popular impression, Admiral Kimmel and General Short were never formally charged with errors of judgement or dereliction of duty. There was never a court martial proceeding. Admiral Kimmel and General Short were relieved of their commands and, in early 1942, placed on the Retired list. Neither was afforded an opportunity to defend himself against the criticisms contained in the Roberts Commission Report.

However, during the 1944 Naval Court of Inquiry, Kimmel was permitted to retain legal counsel (Charles B. Rugg and Edward B. Hanify), to introduce testimony, and cross-examine witnesses. It was during the course of the Navy Inquiry that Kimmel learned about the MAGIC intercepts that had not been passed along to him and General Short. Thereafter, Kimmel tried to obtain as much information as he could in order to set the record straight. In December 1954, Henry Regnery Company of Chicago published *Admiral Kimmel's Story*.

Kimmel did not merely restate the findings of Morgenstern and Theobald. He presented his readers with a fresh perspective on why the Pacific Fleet came to be based at Pearl Harbor at the insistence of Roosevelt, and how he and General Short had tried, for many months, to remedy the serious shortcomings of that facility. There were never enough aircraft available to conduct 360-degree searches on a regular basis; the base lacked radar sets and trained personnel; the entrance to the anchorage was so narrow that warships were forced to enter and exit in single file. Kimmel's superiors repeatedly

advised him that there was no danger of torpedo attack, because, they were confident, the harbor's waters were too shallow and any airdropped "fish" would simply sink to the bottom (the Japanese solved this problem by affixing special fins to their torpedoes; U.S. Naval Ordnance did not think this was possible).

As had been brought out during the Congressional Hearings, and gone into detail in the studies by Morgenstern, Greaves, Barnes, and Theobald, Kimmel and Short were kept in the dark about the worsening diplomatic situation with Japan and were denied all of the information contained in the MAGIC decrypts. Kimmel went on to reveal that he was informed by the Chief of Naval Operations, Admiral Stark, that an attack against Pearl Harbor was not likely and was ordered to have his fleet ready to move against the Marshall Islands upon the outbreak of hostilities in the Pacific.

Immediately after the Pearl Harbor attack, angry citizens bombarded Kimmel with denunciations and even death threats. More than one politician publicly suggested that he should consider suicide. A sample of this vilification was included in the ninth chapter of his book.

Admiral Kimmel's Story makes for sobering reading, even today. Reflecting on Kimmel's account, it is likely that most readers will agree with Fleet Admiral William F. Halsey's judgement that, "Admiral Kimmel and General Short [were] splendid officers who were thrown to the wolves as scapegoats for something over which they had no control. They had to work with what they were given, both in equipment and information. They are our outstanding military martyrs."

Stimson's Embarrassing Diary Entry

On November 25, 1941, President Roosevelt met with Secretary of Sate Hull, Navy Secretary Frank Knox, Secretary of War Henry Stimson, General Marshall and Admiral Stark. Relations with the Japanese was the main topic discussed. FDR observed that the Japanese had launched surprise attacks at the outset of previous wars and that the U.S. might be under attack by the following Monday. Stimson was keeping a diary at this time and the defenders of Roosevelt's innocence have long been frustrated over the following entry from his diary, dealing with the conference of the 25th:

"The question was how we should maneuver them [the Japanese] into the position of firing the first shot without

allowing too much danger to ourselves. It was a difficult proposition."

After discussing the matter, Roosevelt and his closest advisers agreed that:

> In spite of the risk involved, however, in letting the Japanese fire the first shot, we realized that in order to have the full support of the American people it was desirable to make sure that the Japanese were the ones to do this so that there should remain no doubt in anyone's mind as to who were the aggressors.

Richard N. Current, a professor of history at the University of North Carolina, came up with an inventive explanation for this remarkable bit of evidence that was made public during the Joint Congressional Hearings. In *Secretary Stimson: A Study in Statecraft* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1954), Dr. Current conceded there was no denying that Stimson et al. were anticipating an attack. But, he claimed, not on United States, rather on Dutch or British, territory. Roosevelt's challenge was how to make a Japanese attack on Dutch or British territory appear to be an attack on America. I leave it to the reader to consider whether or not this is a convincing exposition.

Wohlstetter and Morison

Two books which remain standards in the pro-Roosevelt literature appeared in 1963: Samuel Eliot Morison's *The Two-Ocean War* (Boston: Little, Brown) and Roberta Wohlstetter's *Pearl Harbor: Warning and Decisions* (Stanford: Stanford University Press). Both were widely, and favorably, reviewed. Morison's became a book club selection and best seller. Wohlstetter's academic reputation as a specialist on intelligence analysis and strategic decision-making was secured with the acceptance of her book.

Morison was hired by the Roosevelt Administration to write the official *History of United States Naval Operations in World War II.* The passage of time did little to mellow his dedication to the cause of his war-time employer. Chapter 3 of *The Two Ocean War* dealt with Pearl Harbor. Here, the author claimed, that "Actually, the Administration and the heads of the armed forces were doing their best to prevent or postpone a war with Japan." The various MAGIC messages that Washington failed to send word of to Hawaii simply got mixed up with other warnings of forthcoming Japanese moves against Siberia,

Peru, and other unlikely places. Morison blamed Kimmel and Short for not taking proper action, and went so far as to accuse them of "ignoring" an ambiguous "war warning" sent from Washington on November 27th. In the end, Morison chose to waffle, by claiming that, "Fundamentally, however, it was the system, the setup both at Washington and at Pearl Harbor, rather than individual stupidity or apathy, which muffled and confused what was going on." Roosevelt, Stimson, Hull, Marshall, and Stark did not have any blame affixed to their reputations in this narrative.

Admiral Morison joined the chorus in describing Mrs. Wohlstetter's *Pearl Harbor: Warning and Decision*, as "The best book by far on the question of why we were surprised at Pearl Harbor." More recently, Captain Roger Pineau and John Costello (who should know better), have referred to her efforts as a "scholarly study."

Wohlstetter was not interested in assigning blame for the disaster. Rather, it was her thesis that "The United States was not caught napping . . . We just expected wrong." Pearl Harbor was "a failure of strategic analysis" and "a failure to anticipate effectively." Yes, in retrospect, the record indicated that Washington might well have warned Kimmel and Short. But what we had here was a "national failure to anticipate" that the Japanese would actually attack Hawaii, instead of some other target. And no, there certainly wasn't any "conspiracy" involving Roosevelt and his cronies.

Percy L. Greaves who, by common agreement, knew more about Pearl Harbor than any man living at the time, wrote a scathing critique of Wohlstetter's book that should have led to its being quietly removed from library shelves and consigned to the recycling plants. "The Mystery of Pearl Harbor: 25 Years of Deception," was included with essays by Harry Elmer Barnes and Vice Admiral Frank Betty in the December 12, 1966 issue of *National Review* magazine. Later reprinted in the special "Pearl Harbor: Revisionism Renewed" edition of *The Journal of Historical Review* (Volume Four, Number Four, Winter 1983-84), Greaves noted that a first reading of her book disclosed over one hundred factual errors, "not to mention child-like acceptance of Administration releases in preference to obscured realities." One fundamental error of assumption undermined her entire argument. Treating the intelligence phase of the story, she never learned that there was a five-hour

difference between Navy time and Washington, D.C. time. As Greaves remarked, "How valuable is a book on pre-attack intelligence that is five hours off on the timing of all Naval communications coming out of Washington? How dependable is a Naval historian who acclaims such a book the best on the subject? . . . One could go on and on for a hundred more blunders. The facts were just too much for Mrs. Wohlstetter." It says volumes about the quality of the current generation of academic historians that Wohlstetter's book continues to turn up on lists of "recommended" titles dealing with the Pearl Harbor catastrophe.

Further Contributions by Barnes

Harry Elmer Barnes continued to investigate the attack on Pearl Harbor long after the publication of *Perpetual War For Perpetual Peace*. He not only conducted his own research, but gave warm encouragement to others, both people who had some "inside" knowledge of the events, as well as unbiased scholars who were not afraid to pursue avenues of inquiry that might lead to findings that were unpopular with the political and historical establishments.

The twenty-fifth anniversary of Pearl Harbor was marked at the *Chicago Tribune* with a Special Pearl Harbor Supplement. George Morgenstern organized this undertaking with assistance from Dr. Barnes. The highlight of the December 7, 1966 *Chicago Tribune* was an essay by Admiral Kimmel. Barnes contributed an insightful piece on General Marshall.

Commander Charles Hiles wrote the best article yet to be published concerning the "Bomb Plot" Messages. Tokyo requested specific information about the movement and location of major warships berthed at Pearl Harbor. On December 3, the Japanese consul in Honolulu, Nagao Kita, informed Tokyo that he had set up a system of codes confirming the movement of various American warships through the use of signals in windows at Lanikai Beach, which could be spotted by off-shore "fishing" boats and submarines. This vital information could then be passed on to the Japanese carrier task force. The signal system would operate through December 6th. The Kita messages to Tokyo were intercepted and decrypted by U.S. intelligence. Thus, Washington knew that Pearl Harbor was likely going to be attacked and by what date. None of this information was passed along to the U.S. Army and Navy commanders at Pearl Harbor.

Articles by the *Tribune's* veteran Washington Bureau Chief, Walter Trohan, and their aviation editor, Wayne Thomis, rounded out this issue.

The following year, on December 7, 1967, Morgenstern gave front-page coverage in the *Tribune* to the publication of a number of documents relating to Pearl Harbor, with commentary by Barnes. Although this information was well known to those who had kept up with the debate over the years, members of the public at large found much of the material that Barnes collected shocking, and revealing a chapter of history they were ignorant of.

Harry Elmer Barnes died on August 25, 1968 at the age of 79. Less than a week before he passed away, he had completed the final draft of *Pearl Harbor After a Quarter of a Century*, a 132-page summary of the entire controversy. This incisive study originally appeared in print as an entire issue of *Left and Right: A Journal of Libertarian Thought* (Volume IV, 1968). It has since been reprinted in its entirety by the Institute for Historical Review.

He observed that all of the careful research conducted by Revisionists had yet to alter the general public perception of this event:

> Only a small fraction of the American people are any better acquainted with the realities of the responsibility for the attack than they were when President Roosevelt delivered his "Day of Infamy" oration on December 8, 1941. The legends and rhetoric of that day still dominate the American mind.

For the last time, Barnes outlined what he felt were the policies and events which had led to the attack on Pearl Harbor. Over the years, Barnes had revised a number of his own assumptions. One of these concerned Roosevelt's December 1, 1941 order to Admiral Hart at Manila, ordering the immediate dispatch of three "small vessels" armed with a machine gun and deck cannon, each commanded by a U.S. Naval officer, and flying the American flag. The three little ships were directed to sail into the path of Japanese Navy convoys that Washington knew were then steaming southward. Had the American ships been attacked by the Japanese, Barnes was now confident that this would have saved Pearl Harbor. "There can be little doubt that the Cockleship plan of December 1st was designed to get the indispensable attack by a method which would precede the Pearl Harbor attack, avert

the latter, and save the Pacific Fleet and American lives," he wrote of this aspect of the mystery.

A part of the story that had hitherto been largely overlooked, even by many Revisionists, concerned the secret agreements Roosevelt had entered into with the British and Dutch and which led to America technically being at war with Japan four days before Pearl Harbor. As Barnes succinctly explained, in April 1941 the U.S., British, and Dutch agreed to take joint military action against Japan if the Japanese sent armed forces beyond the line 100° East and 10° North or 6° North and the Davao-Waigeo line, or threatened British or Dutch possessions in the southwest Pacific or independent countries in that region. The agreements were known as ABCD. Thereafter, Admiral Stark said that war with Japan was not a matter of *if*, but rather *when* and *where*. Roosevelt gave his approval to the attendant war plans in May and June. On December 3, 1941, the Dutch invoked the ABCD agreement, after Japanese forces passed the line 100° East and 10° North, and were thought to be headed toward Dutch territory as well as the Kra Peninsula and Thailand. The U.S. military attache in Melbourne, Australia, Colonel Van S. Merle-Smith, was contacted by the Australians, British, and Dutch and informed that the Dutch were expecting the U.S. Navy to offer assistance. Merle-Smith relayed this information to his superiors by coded message. It should have reached Washington in the early evening of December 4.

Like a number of other students of the period, Barnes suspected that FDR had sought a "good war" to solve the serious economic problems that persisted throughout the New Deal. Whatever his motives, it was undeniable, he concluded, that:

> The overwhelming responsibility for the war and the attack was, of course, Roosevelt's deliberate refusal to settle the relations between the United States and Japan in a peaceful manner by honest diplomatic negotiations, to achieve which Japan made unusually impressive gestures and offered very reasonable terms that protected all legitimate vital American interests in the Far East.

Pearl Harbor After a Quarter of a Century remains a noteworthy contribution to the literature on the topic. It is as good an introduction to the issues involved as is currently in print.

Additional Pieces of the Puzzle

In the October 1962 issue of the United States Naval Institute *Proceedings*, Rear Admiral Kemp Tolley gave his account of having been the commander of one of the "little ships" hastily ordered out of Manila to monitor the Japanese Navy in early December of 1941. Although the bare essentials of the incident had been revealed during the Joint Congressional Hearings, Tolley's article sparked much comment. Additional research resulted in the publication of his book, *The Cruise of the* Lanikai: *Incitement to War* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1973).

The *Lanikai* was a 67-ton two-masted auxiliary schooner engaged in inter-island traffic. Chartered for $1.00 by the U.S. Navy, it had a crew of five Filipino civilians, who could not speak English. Commander Harry Slocum informed a startled Lt. Tolley that "the President has personally ordered" him to set sail as soon as possible. The sailing ship was turned into a vessel of war by lashing to its deck an old 3-pounder gun left over from the Spanish-American War and two World-War I-vintage .30 caliber machine guns. The only radio available could receive messages but not transmit them. Nevertheless, he was ordered to set sail for the coast of Indo-China and told to have someone work on the radio set while they were at sea.

In the event, neither the *Lanikai*, nor the other ships ordered out, the *Isabel* and the *Molly Moore*, were able to cross the paths of the Japanese. Only after the war did Tolley fully appreciate the role intended for the *Lanikai*—that of "live bait."

Another book on this topic was *Cover Up: The Politics of Pearl Harbor, 1941-1946* by Bruce Bartlett (New Rochelle, N.Y.: Arlington House, 1978). The core of this volume was taken from his 1976 Georgetown University masters thesis in history, which explored what various interest groups hoped to gain from an inquiry into Pearl Harbor. It offers little to the student of the episode that cannot be found in other, and better, treatments. Its chief interest today is that it includes, as an appendix, a reproduction of John T. Flynn's pathbreaking pamphlet, *The Final Secret of Pearl Harbor*, discussed earlier in this essay.

The Strange Case of Gordon Prange

Gordon W. Prange served as Chief of General Douglas MacArthur's G-2 Historical Section in Japan from October

1946-July 1951. During that time he conducted numerous interrogations of Japanese military personnel. Upon completion of his stint in Asia, he returned to the United States, where he taught history at the University of Maryland until his death in May of 1980.

Prange obtained an advance (reputed to amount of $25,000) for a book on Pearl Harbor. For whatever reasons, he never turned in a completed manuscript, but kept on doing research for thirty-seven years. Upon his death, two former students of his, Donald Goldstein, an associate professor of Public and International Affairs at the University of Pittsburgh, and Katherine V. Dillon, a former intelligence analyst, revised his 3500-page draft. Over the following eight years, four books attributed to Gordon Prange rolled off the presses and onto the "new releases" lists of the Book of the Month Club, History Book Club, and other distributors of "safe" popular history. To the surprise of McGraw-Hill, Goldstein and Dillon managed to turn Prange Enterprises, as the copyright holder was called, into a paying proposition.

The first book attributed to Prange was *At Dawn We Slept: The Untold Story of Pearl Harbor* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1981). It is a military history of the attack as seen from the Japanese and American perspectives. It only touched on the larger issues of Japanese-American foreign relations, which have always served as the backdrop for Revisionist treatments of this topic. Prange had long felt that, "in the context of the time," a war between the United States and Japan was "virtually inevitable."

In truth, about the only genuinely "untold" aspect of this story was that Prange had failed to get his book ready in the early 1950s, when it would have been "new." Shortly before *At Dawn We Slept* was at long last on its way to the printers, the Carter Administration released a mountain of previously classified U.S. naval records to the National Archives. Prange's literary heirs did not have the time to sift through this massive volume of new material. However, this did not stop them from adding, as an appendix, an essay entitled, "Revisionists Revisited," in which they made the astounding claim to have made a thorough search "including all publications released up to May 1, 1981." While allowing that "the President made his mistakes in 1941, as did almost everyone else involved in Pearl Harbor," they went on to make the menda-

cious assertion that, "we have not discovered one word of sworn testimony that substantiates the revisionist position on Roosevelt and Pearl Harbor."

Among the many records that Prange, Goldstein, and Dillon did not consult was the remarkable testimony of former Chief Warrant Officer Ralph T. Briggs, who was working at the Cheltenham, Maryland intercept station in late 1941. Contrary to the defenders of Roosevelt and his coterie, who during the various investigations swore that there had been no "East Wind Rain" message received prior to the attack, Briggs confirmed that he had intercepted the "Winds" execute and had even located a Navy memoir buried in the records, indicating that he had read the message as early as December 2, 1941. During the later investigations, Captain Laurence Safford was the only person directly concerned with this matter who had the courage to testify that there had indeed been a "winds" message forwarded to Washington before the attack. It was Safford who first alerted Admiral Kimmel to the existence of these messages. During the Congressional Hearings, Briggs was ordered by his superiors not to testify and not to have anything further to do with Safford. Briggs's damning evidence was released by the National Archives on March 11, 1980 as document SRH-051: "Interview with Mr. Ralph T. Briggs," which was an official transcript of remarks made to the Naval Security Group. Long before *At Dawn We Slept* had gone to the printers, the Briggs testimony was freely available at the Military Reference Branch of the National Archives and copies immediately began to circulate among serious students of the affair. It was reprinted, in full, in the Fall 1980 issue of the *Newsletter* of the American Committee on the History of the Second World War, which is an affiliate of the American Historical Association.

Prange and Company also failed to exploit new documentation available from General Marshall's declassified files, which suggested that Kimmel and Short had in truth been made scapegoats for Washington. Nor did they refer to other records found among the Army Chief of Staff reports, documenting General MacArthur's blundering during the Philippine campaign.

Those wishing more details about the manifold shortcomings of *At Dawn We Slept* should consult Percy L. Greaves, Jr., "Three Assessments of the Infamy of December 7, 1941," *The*

Journal of Historical Review (Volume Three, Number Three, Fall, 1982) and Rear Admiral Edwin T. Layton, Captain Roger Pineau, and John Costello, *"And I Was There": Pearl Harbor and Midway—Breaking the Secrets* (New York: William Morrow, 1985), pp. 495-511. As Greaves trenchantly observed in *The JHR*, "it would take another book of 800 pages to balance, correct and refute the one-sided presentation of the book's selected 'facts' and deductions." Pineau and Costello show in their own examination of this book:

> Although widely praised for its apparently exhaustive research, Prange's account did nothing to provide new understanding of what had really gone wrong in Washington. *At Dawn We Slept* merely served to reinforce the politically loaded thirty-five-year-old report produced by the (Democratic majority of) the congressional investigating committee.

At Dawn We Slept is still very much in print and has just been re-released in a Pearl Harbor "50th Anniversary Edition" available in hardcover from Viking for $35.00 and in paperback from Penguin for $16.95. For unwary students and the general public, this is the version of the story that is most compatible with the world view of our predominant political and historiographical regime.

John Costello's Cautious Revisionism

John Costello, a former BBC producer turned historian, had co-authored two successful books, *D-Day* and *The Battle of the Atlantic*, before turning his attention to the Pacific campaigns. Costello's manuscript was near completion when the National Archives received the vast collection of Navy files in 1980. He was able to incorporate some of the new material in *The Pacific War* (New York: Rawson Wade, 1981), which appeared almost simultaneously with *At Dawn We Slept*. His treatment reflects his basically pro-Churchill, British bias, and the first hardcover edition was marred by sloppy proofreading and careless editing. Still, it was a more honest effort than the Prange work and, in two final chapters, Costello considered some of the newly released material that, among other things, indicated that eleven days before Pearl Harbor Roosevelt received a "positive war warning" from Churchill that the Japanese would attack the United States at the end of the first week of December. He also referred to John T. Briggs's important disclosures. Wrote Costello about the war:

> There is every indication that a month before the attack on Pearl Harbor, it was the United States that had decided to bring about the rupture of discussions and was about to prepare for the worst. There is now evidence for believing that President Roosevelt was not only expecting war but possibly knew exactly when it would break out.
>
> According to a confidential British Foreign Office report "the President and Mr. Hull were . . . fully conscious of what they were doing". . . Whether such an accommodation [the *modus vivendi*] would have worked out in practice is less important than the fact that it was the United States which decided to abandon the *modus vivendi*—thereby making a Pacific War inevitable . . . In the light of subsequent events, this decision proved to have been one of the most momentous in American history.

The Evolution of John Toland

John Toland has been one of the most commercially successful writers of popular history over the past thirty years. Winner of the Pulitzer Prize for *But Not in Shame* (1961), he said that the Pacific war was caused by an unprovoked act of Japanese aggression. His 1970 book, *The Rising Sun*, reported that Pearl Harbor had been the consequence of both American and Japanese miscalculations and mistakes. However, Toland continued to explore the question of how America and Japan came to go to war. His revised view of these events was published in 1982 and created an immediate sensation. *Infamy: Pearl Harbor and Its Aftermath* (New York: Doubleday) witnessed Toland's conversion to the Revisionist position. It was now beyond question, wrote Toland, that Roosevelt and his closest advisers, including Marshall and Stimson, knew about the impending attack on Pearl Harbor before December 7th, but had withheld this information from Kimmel and Short. After the Japanese delivered their "surprise" first-strike, the Roosevelt Administration launched a massive "cover up," that involved the suppressing or destroying of evidence, perjury, and making the Army and Navy commanders at Hawaii scapegoats. These were conclusions that Morgenstern, Barnes, *et al.*, had reached over thirty years earlier.

What distinguished *Infamy* was that Toland managed to uncover additional information which lent further weight to the Revisionist case. The focus of his book was the nine post-attack investigations. This is by far the most readable account of the efforts made by various individuals, including Kimmel,

Safford, Greaves and the Republican Minority on the Joint Congressional Committee, to overcome the official roadblocks and obtain the truth about what led to the attack on Pearl Harbor.

Toland went on to reveal that his own "tenth investigation" had uncovered evidence suggesting that the Dutch had passed on information to Washington about the forthcoming attack and that the Office of Naval Intelligence was also aware that a Japanese carrier task force was steaming toward Hawaii. The edition of *Infamy* one should consult is not the first hardcover printing, but rather the revised 1983 version, which includes an important Postscript incorporating material not available for the first printing. This recommended edition is currently in print: *Infamy* by John Toland (New York: Berkley Books, 397 pp., $5.50, ISBN: 0- 425-09040-X). This represents an important breakthrough for Revisionism, since Toland's was the first Revisionist treatment of Pearl Harbor to be published by a major commercial house and the first to reach the *New York Times* bestseller list. Writing in the JHR, Percy L. Greaves described *Infamy* as "probably the best volume on the subject to date."

Contributions by Martin and Greaves

For many years, this reviewer distributed copies to students of what he has long considered to be the best brief introduction to this question, James J. Martin's essay, "Pearl Harbor: Antecedents, Background and Consequences." First published as a chapter in his 1977 book, *The Saga of Hog Island & Other Essays in Inconvenient History* (Ralph Myles, Publisher, P.O. Box 1533, Colorado Springs, Colorado 80901), it was later included as a chapter in a volume directed especially toward a Japanese audience, *Beyond Pearl Harbor: Essays on Some Historical Consequences of the Crisis in the Pacific in 1941* (Plowshare Press, RR 1, Little Current, Ontario POP 1KO, Canada, 1981). Within the confines of seventeen pages, Dr. Martin manages to explain why Pearl Harbor has continued to be an issue provoking controversy, reviews the most important literature, and discusses what some of the results have been for the United States.

Beyond Pearl Harbor included a previously unpublished essay by Martin, "Where Was the General? Some New Views and Contributions Relative to the Ongoing Mystery of Pearl Harbor." Marshall's role in this affair has long been a question.

As Chief of Staff, Marshall was responsible for reviewing the defense of Pearl Harbor. He had access to the MAGIC intercepts that were not passed along to General Short. He was at Roosevelt's side through the critical months preceding the outbreak of the war. And he managed to disappear from the late afternoon of December 6th, when Washington started to receive decrypts of the Japanese diplomatic messages, informing its ambassadors that the break was coming with the United States, until late on the morning of December 7th.

During the various investigations, Marshall claimed that "he couldn't recall" where he was on that fateful date. Martin was able to incorporate the sensational John T. Briggs testimony in his discussion. [The best guess is that Marshall was hiding out at the White House.] "Where Was General Marshall?" was first made available to American readers when it was included in the special Pearl Harbor issue of *The JHR* (Volume four, Number Four, Winter 1983-84). At the time of his death in 1984, Percy L. Greaves, Jr. had long been at work on a book on Pearl Harbor. Tentatively titled, *The Real Infamy of Pearl Harbor*, it has never been published. Four chapters of his draft were published, with his permission, as part of *The JHR* Pearl Harbor special issue. Two of these chapters dealt with General Marshall and his efforts to obscure what Roosevelt and the rest of them knew about the attack. A chapter on the MAGIC intercepts explained why it was impossible to assert that Roosevelt was "surprised" by the outbreak of the war. This issue of the JHR also reprinted Greaves's article, "Was Pearl Harbor Unavoidable?," which showed how, over a period of years, the Roosevelt Administration missed opportunities to reach a peaceful settlement to Pacific questions plaguing Japanese-American relations. "The Mystery of Pearl Harbor," was taken from *National Review* of December 12, 1966, and contains his critique of Roberta Wohlstetter's *Pearl Harbor: Warning and Decision*. The last essay by Greaves, "What We Knew," reviews the information available in Washington by the time of the December 7th attack.

Admiral Layton's Memoirs

On December 7, 1941, Edwin T. Layton was intelligence officer for the U.S. Pacific Fleet, an assignment he retained throughout the war. Like his superior, Admiral Kimmel, he was indeed surprised when the Japanese bombers hit the base. But he was not cashiered in the aftermath.

Following his retirement in 1962, Layton was encouraged by many people, in and out of the military, to write his own account of what had happened. Over the following years, Rear Admiral Layton collected material and wrote articles and reviews for the U.S. Naval Institute *Proceedings*. The publication of *At Dawn We Slept* provoked him to complete the work he had begun almost twenty years earlier. He found the book riddled with misstatements and distortions of fact, and was outraged that Prange, Goldstein, and Dillon had blamed Kimmel and Short for the disaster, while absolving Washington.

At the time he suffered a fatal stroke in April 1984, Layton had largely completed the first draft of his manuscript, which recounted his version of events up to the Battle of Midway. Captain Roger Pineau, who had assisted Samuel Eliot Morison with his multi-volume *History of United States Naval Operations in World War II*, and John Costello both knew Layton, and were retained to complete his book, which appeared in 1985 as *"And I Was There": Pearl Harbor and Midway—Breaking the Secrets* (New York: William Morrow, 596 pp., ISBN: 0-688-04883-8).

Naturally, the question arises as to just how much of this is really Layton and how much may have been "edited" by Pineau and Costello. As David Irving reminds us, the published versions of many "memoirs" often differ greatly from the original manuscripts. With that reservation in mind, this reviewer can report that Layton's central thesis is that he and Kimmel were "short changed" of intelligence information by Washington. He confirms that Admiral Richmond Kelly Turner, Chief of the War Plans Division, failed to relay vital intelligence to Kimmel:

> It should now be indisputable that the information that might have averted the disaster *had been received* by the Navy Department by 6 December 1941 . . . the bomb plot message, or even the eleventh-hour "lights code" message, could have alerted Pearl Harbor to the threat.

Layton thus reconfirms what Kimmel and Theobald wrote in their accounts. Other insights found in this volume include evidence that Stalin had very precise knowledge about when the Japanese were going to launch their strikes, and another report confirming that a council-of-war convened at the White House the night of December 6th.

Some Recent Scholarship

The war between Japan and the United States continues to be studied by academic historians. A book that includes eighteen essays by American and Japanese scholars is *Pearl Harbor Reexamined: Prologue to the Pacific War*, edited by Hilary Conroy and Harry Wray (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 200 pp., 1990, $22.00, ISBN: 0-8248-1235-2). Japanese and American diplomacy leading up to the attack is reexamined here, with a number of the contributors disputing the still popular notion that "war was inevitable."

The symposium opens with a review of Japanese-American relations from 1900 to 1940 by Harry Wray, a former history professor at Illinois State, now on the faculty of the University of Tsukuba, Japan. Akira Iriye then looks at U.S. policy toward Japan before World War II. He makes the case that the Japanese were very reluctant to make a drive to the south and were not necessarily antagonistic to the United States. The Roosevelt Administration, he argues, lost many opportunities to reach a peaceful resolution of outstanding issues. In his essay "Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the New Deal, and Japan," Gary Dean Best, of the University of Hawaii, argues that FDR ignored the counsel of his more knowledgeable advisers, and followed his own notions, influenced by his "ancestral connections" to the China trade. Hull was a "mediocrity" who "knew nothing about foreign affairs." Roosevelt sabotaged the World Economic Conference. The New Deal was a "war waged against business and banking in the United States . . . By 1938 almost every industrialized nation in the world was well ahead of the United States in recovering from the depression, some of them having surpassed their pre-depression economic levels." Like Barnes and other earlier Revisionists, Prof. Best is convinced that:

> The events of December 7, 1941, resulted in part from the attitudes and policies that began to direct the United States in 1933. A new President launched the United States on mistaken foreign and domestic policies that ended in the prolonging of the depression and in war, rather than in recovery and peace.

The late John K. Emmerson, a one-time U.S. Foreign Service officer assigned to the U.S. Embassy in Tokyo during Joseph Grew's ambassadorship and later a senior scholar at Stanford, points out that Grew and others familiar with Japan were not listened to. The State Department's favorite "expert," Stanley

Hornbeck, had little genuine knowledge; his "only experience is Asia had been a teaching stint in China." It was Hornbeck who helped torpedo a proposed Pacific summit between Roosevelt and Prime Minister Konoye.

Ikei Masaru of Keio University and author of *Gaisetsu Nihon Gaikoshi* (A Survey of Japanese Diplomatic History), highlights "Examples of Mismanagement in U.S. Policy toward Japan before World War II." He argues that a more cautious attitude on the part of Washington might have postponed or avoided war with Japan altogether. American hard-liners, such as Hornbeck, misread Japanese intentions and did not understand the psychology of the officer corps, who would not accept submission, writes Hosoya Chihiro, vice-president of the International University of Japan.

Tsunoda Jun, former professor of history at Kokushin University and editor of the eight-volume *Taiheiyo no senso e no michi* (The Road to the Pacific War) considers the Hull-Nomura negotiations. He considers that "there was no significant issue that would have made a war between Japan and the United States inevitable." Konoye's bid to hold a summit meeting with Roosevelt was completely genuine and was worth attempting.

Not all of the contributors to this volume support Revisionist positions. Michael Barnhart, associate professor of Japanese history at the State University of New York at Stony Brook, contends that Hornbeck was a realist and the United States was better off for having followed his advice. Alvin D. Coox, chair of the Japanese Studies Institute at San Diego State University, writes on "Repulsing the Pearl Harbor Revisionists: The State of Present Literature on the Debacle." He reveals his own lack of qualifications to make an informed judgement when he avers that "the late Professor Gordon W. Prange demolished the supposed deviltry of Roosevelt and company in his book, appropriately titled *At Dawn We Slept*."

For many readers, *Pearl Harbor Reexamined* will be their first exposure to contemporary Japanese historical analysis. Three of the American contributors to this volume share the view that Roosevelt and Hull were not very interested in Japanese peace overtures. More books of the quality of this collection of essays would make a welcome addition to the literature of other hotly debated topics.

The Role of Winston Churchill

Students of the Second World War are well aware that Roosevelt and Churchill were working together long before the United States was officially at war against the Axis. The Tyler Kent affair has shed light on the secret communications the two engaged in, even before Churchill was Prime Minister. British wartime Cabinet papers released in January 1972 disclosed that at the August 1941 Newfoundland, Canada meeting, where the "Atlantic Charter" was announced, Roosevelt promised Churchill that the U.S. would enter the war by the end of the year.

Questions have persisted: Did Churchill know about the Japanese design against Pearl Harbor? Did he pass along what information he had to Roosevelt?

At the Ninth International Revisionist Conference, British historian David Irving dealt with these and related matters in his paper, "Churchill and U.S. Entry into World War II," which was subsequently published in *The JHR*, Volume Nine, Number Three, Fall 1989, pp. 261-286. While working on the second volume of his wartime biography of Churchill, Irving reported that he discovered that all British intelligence files relating to Japan during the fall of 1941 have been removed from the archives and are closed to review by researchers. His fellow British historian, John Costello, was told by the British Ministry of Defence that it is "not in the national interest" to have these files made available to the public.

In his remarks, Irving pointed out that from September 1939 the British were able to read the Japanese fleet operational code, known as JN-25 (Japanese Navy). He went on to reveal that by mid-November of 1941, Churchill knew that the United States was soon to be attacked by the Japanese and that he "probably knew" that an attack would fall at Pearl Harbor. Said Irving, "I think Churchill deliberately allowed the attack on Pearl Harbor to go ahead in order to bring the Americans in. He did everything to avoid having the Pacific Fleet warned."

This thesis has been developed by James Rusbridger and Eric Nave in their newly released book, *Betrayal at Pearl Harbor: How Churchill Lured Roosevelt into WW II* (New York: Summit Books, Simon & Schuster, 302 pp., photographs, index, 1991, $19.95. ISBN: 0-671-70805-8). Rusbridger, formerly with Britain's Secret Intelligence Service, has written on in-

telligence and military history since his retirement. While doing work on a book dealing with signals intelligence, he encountered Captain Eric Nave, "the father of British codebreaking in the Far East." The two then collaborated to produce this volume, which discloses that the British, and very likely the Americans, too, were indeed reading the Japanese Navy operational code well before the attack on Pearl Harbor.

By their account, the British certainly knew that the Japanese fleet was going to set sail on November 26, 1941. The most likely targets were the Philippines, the Dutch East Indies, Singapore, or Pearl Harbor. When the Japanese were not sighted in the south, this was, by process of elimination, a further indication that they were sending units towards Pearl Harbor. On December 2, five days before the attack on Hawaii, the British intercepted Admiral Yamamoto's signal, "Climb Niitakayama 1208," meaning that an attack would commence on December 8, Tokyo time, which was December 7 in Hawaii.

They charge that Churchill must have known that Pearl Harbor was going to be attacked, but that he refused to pass his information to Roosevelt. Had FDR known about the impending Japanese first-strike, then "as a totally honorable President," he would have warned Kimmel and Short at Pearl Harbor. They conclude their narrative:

> Roosevelt was thus deceived by Churchill, who took a ghastly gamble to bring America into the war in a manner that would sweep aside all opposition; and he was also badly served by his own divided and jealous subordinates. The combination of the two brought a reluctant ally into the war. Churchill's gamble paid off even if, in the process, Britain lost an empire.

Anyone familiar with the Roosevelt record can see the flaw in their conclusion, even if they are correct that the JN-25 code had been broken by the early fall of 1939. The authors completely misread Roosevelt's position. They make no mention of his commitments to the British and Dutch, and the dilemma he was placed in when the Dutch called on the U.S. to own up to its part of the bargain four days before the attack on Pearl Harbor. There is no reference to Roosevelt's "live bait" ploy of sending three little ships out of manila on a "defensive information patrol" the week before Pearl Harbor. Greaves, and others, long ago argued that while FDR may not have welcomed the loss of life at Pearl Harbor, that after the failure of his

"three little ships" gambit, and with the Dutch and British invoking their agreements that went into went effect after the Japanese crossed the imaginary line in Southeast Asia, the attack on Pearl Harbor solved Roosevelt's most pressing problem.

Rusbridger and Nave have undoubtedly uncovered additional parts of the mystery. With the reservations I have outlined, their book is of interest to students of this episode.

* * * * *

Revisionism and Pearl Harbor

Over the past half-century, Pearl Harbor Revisionism has come of age. From the first writings of John T. Flynn, to George Morgenstern's masterful study, to the work encouraged by Harry Elmer Barnes, the testimony of participants in the events, and the latest findings of "second-generation" historians who are not satisfied merely to retell the standard accounts, this endeavor to uncover the truth has not been marked by paranoid "conspiracy theories" or reactionary "Roosevelt baiting." What Revisionists have accomplished is a sober re-appraisal of the origins of the Pacific War, and the making of a strong case for remembering December 7, 1941 as President Roosevelt's "Day of Infamy."

(*continued from page 430*)

let us know if you believe this letter to a newspaper editor should be published in pamphlet form.

Last and not least, Mark Weber reports on the little-known facts of the FDR-approved plan for American bombing attacks on Japan—from China in American planes flown by American pilots (disguised as Chinese planes piloted by American "volunteers")— months before Pearl Harbor! Readers who watched ABC's recent "20/20" episode dealing with Plan JB-355 will marvel at the network's inability to integrate the documentary evidence for this plan—available at the National Archives for two decades, although ignored until very recently by historians—with the background to FDR's "back door to war" as revealed over the past 50 years by Revisionist historians.

—Theodore J. O'Keefe

In-Depth Report of "Holocaust Trial" Provides Valuable Overview

THE HOLOCAUST ON TRIAL: The Case of Ernst Zündel by Robert Lenski. Decatur, Ala.: The Reporter Press, 1990. Paperback. 544 pages. Photographs. Index. ISBN: 0-9623220-0-8. (Available from the IHR for $29.00, plus $2.00 postage and handling.)

Reviewed by Mark Weber

Anyone with an interest in twentieth-century history or who truly cares about the issue of free speech in a democratic society will appreciate this book. Written as a day-by-day account of the 1988 "Holocaust Trial" in Toronto of German-Canadian publisher Ernst Zündel, and illustrated with dozens of well-chosen photographs, this highly readable, balanced and yet comprehensive survey may well be the best single introduction to the Holocaust issue now available.

Zündel's troubles began in November 1983 when Jewish community activist Sabina Citron filed a complaint against him for reprinting and distributing *Did Six Million Really Die?*, a polemical booklet by British writer Richard Harwood (Verrall) that refutes the generally accepted Holocaust extermination story. Responding to complaints from Canada's Jewish community, it wasn't long before Ontario's provincial government took over the case, and in early 1985 Zündel was brought to court for "knowingly spreading false news."

He was found guilty after a highly emotional seven-week trial that attracted enormous media attention in Canada. After the verdict was set aside by a higher court, Zündel was tried again in 1988 on the same charge, and was again found guilty. The verdict is currently under review by Canada's Supreme Court.

For his part, Zündel could have made things much easier—or at least simpler—for himself if he had chosen to defend himself on narrower legal grounds. He might, for example, have simply argued that he was entitled to publish the

booklet under Canada's supposedly guaranteed right of free speech. But Zündel was determined at the outset, as he put it, to "put the Nuremberg Trial on trial," and decisively discredit the Holocaust extermination story.

The German-born defendant never intended to devote several years and enormous effort to the Holocaust issue. A passionate German nationalist, Zündel has regarded these Holocaust trials as an unintended but unfortunately necessary detour from what he sees as his mission: restoring a sense of purpose, pride and confidence to his beloved German people.

In spite of the guilty verdicts, it is now obvious that government officials and Jewish community leaders badly miscalculated when they decided to go after Zündel because—as Lenski's book makes abundantly clear—Holocaust Revisionism has been immeasurably strengthened as a result of these trials. Apparently viewing him as little more than a bigoted simpleton, his adversaries grossly underestimated Zündel's intelligence, skill and perseverance, and did not anticipate his ability to assemble and hold together a team of loyal and talented supporters.

Much of the credit for the effectiveness of Zündel's legal campaign must go to his courageous attorney, Doug Christie. In his tough and often brilliant cross-examination of prosecution witnesses in the 1985 trial, he obliged many of them to make revealing and sometimes incriminating concessions to truth. This highly intelligent, sensitive and idealistic man continued his work in the 1988 trial, ably assisted by Keltie Zubko and attorney Barbara Kulaszka. (Audio cassette recordings of Christie's eloquent banquet address at the 1986 IHR conference are available from the IHR for $9.95.)

Free Speech in Canada

For those who challenge the official view of the semi-sacrosanct Holocaust story, "free speech" is not quite free in Canada. Regardless of one's views about the Holocaust issue, or even of Zündel, any open-minded reader of *The Holocaust on Trial* will appreciate the significance of this trial for the issue of free speech.

Contrary to what the Canadian government has insisted all along, this was unquestionably a "free speech" case, as even the *New York Times* acknowledged in a rare American newspaper report on the trial. Alan Borovoy, a leading Cana-

dian civil liberties advocate, declared that the arcane and rarely invoked law under which Zündel was tried should be abolished. It is no exaggeration to say that the Zündel trial was one of the most important tests in many years of fundamental legal rights in North America. (As this review goes to press, Canada's Supreme Court is reviewing the Zündel case to decide the constitutionality of the law under which he was tried.)

The author of *The Holocaust on Trial* is an American writer in his late thirties. Robert Lenski is also the compiler-editor of *Toward a New Science of Man*, a collection of insightful and thought-provoking quotations on society, race, liberty and human behavior. (This 250-page work, published in 1981, is available from The Noontide Press for $ 7.00 plus $ 2.00 postage and handling). To write his Holocaust book, Lenski carefully went through every line of the official transcript of the four-month-long trial. He also took account of numerous newspaper and magazine articles, and spoke with a number of the key individuals involved in the case.

Although the author treats Zündel and Holocaust Revisionism sympathetically, this is by no means a one-sided Revisionist polemic. In fact, Lenski gives the impression of being a Holocaust agnostic. Mistakes and fumblings by Zündel's witnesses are not ignored, and telling arguments and effective points by prosecution witnesses and the Crown attorney are duly presented.

In the introduction and in the first chapter, Lenski provides essential background information and effectively sets the book's tone. He tells of the defendant's youth in Germany, his emigration to Canada, successful career as an artist, and his "political awakening." Lenski succinctly explains how Zündel became a focus of national attention during the first "Holocaust Trial" in 1985.

As Lenski relates in Chapter 2, Canada's newspapers and television closely followed the unfolding drama of that first trial. Canadians across the country were able to learn—albeit in an often sensationalized way—that there is an alternative view of the orthodox Holocaust extermination story. In striking contrast to this copious coverage, the media almost completely ignored the second trial in 1988. The role of organized Jewry in pressuring publishers and editors to curtail reporting of the second Zündel trial has been nothing less than

outrageous, as Canadian journalist Doug Collins and others have emphasized. (See Collins' essay in the Fall 1991 *Journal.*)

The Testimony

Lenski reviews the 1985 testimony of Raul Hilberg, a prominent Holocaust historian and author of the three-volume standard study, *The Destruction of the European Jews.* Shaken by defense attorney Doug Christie's rigorous cross-examination questioning during the first trial, the Austrian-born Jewish professor refused to return as a prosecution witness. Consequently, Hilberg's lengthy testimony was laboriously read aloud to the bored members of the jury in the second Zündel trial by prosecution attorney John Pearson.

The prosecution's main witness, American Holocaust historian Christopher Browning, was asked to comment in detail on the Harwood booklet. Lenski faithfully reports on the highlights of Browning's testimony—for which he was paid $150 (Canadian) per hour—including his most persuasive arguments and pointed criticisms of the Harwood booklet.

As a "functionalist" Holocaust historian who knows that hard evidence for the Holocaust is elusive, Browning postulates that the extermination of Europe's Jews began without a budget, central plan or even a direct order. He has speculated that Hitler may have set an enormous extermination program into motion with nothing more than a silent "nod" to subordinates.

In a relentless and sometimes brilliant cross-examination interrogation, defense attorney Doug Christie wrung numerous damaging admissions from Browning. As Lenski relates, for example, the 43-year-old university professor (who is also a member of the advisory board of the vehemently Zionist Simon Wiesenthal Center) claimed not to be aware that the Allies had used torture and threats to force German officials into signing incriminating statements about alleged German atrocities. Nor was Browning aware of the massive persecution of members of the ethnic German minority community in Poland just prior to the outbreak of war in 1939 (which was a decisive factor in Hitler's decision to attack).

Browning expressed confidence in the reliability of the postwar "confessions" of SS officer Kurt Gerstein, which have served as a major pillar of the Holocaust extermination story. But the historian did not know, for example, that Gerstein had

"confessed" that at Auschwitz alone "millions of children" had been killed by holding cotton wads of poison under their noses. (Henri Roques thoroughly discredits this key "witness" in his doctoral dissertation, *The "Confessions" of Kurt Gerstein*, which is available from the IHR.)

Questioned by prosecution attorney Pearson, Browning confidently cited a portion of the official wartime journal of the German governor of Poland, Hans Frank, as critically important evidence for the Holocaust extermination thesis. But under cross examination, Browning was obliged to acknowledge that he had not read the complete text of Frank's wartime journal, and that he was ignorant of what Frank had said on this subject as a Nuremberg Tribunal defendant.

No witness testimony is overlooked by Lenski, including the following:

—Ditlieb Felderer spoke in detail about his numerous inspection visits of camp sites in Poland. He presented and commented on some 300 slides taken during those trips.

—German writer Thies Christophersen was stationed at Auschwitz in 1944 as a junior army officer. He visited Birkenau—supposedly the most important killing center—several times during the height of the alleged extermination period, and saw no sign of killings.

—Russell Barton, a British-born physician who served with British forces as a medical orderly in the infamous Bergen-Belsen camp at the end of the war, confirmed that mass deaths there were an indirect consequence of the conflict, and not of any deliberate German policy. He noted that Jewish inmates in eastern camps, including Auschwitz, were given a choice by their German captors of either remaining behind to wait for the advancing Soviets, or leaving, usually on foot, with the retreating German forces.

—Austrian-born Canadian Maria Van Herwaarden, who survived two years of internment in Auschwitz I and II (Birkenau), confirmed that conditions were generally dreadful, and that many fellow inmates succumbed to disease. At the same time, though, and contrary to widespread "rumors," she testified that she saw no evidence of extermination or homicidal gassings.

—Joseph G. Burg confirmed that he, along with many other Jews, had been cruelly mistreated by Romanian authorities

during the war. But he emphatically rejected the allegations of a German extermination policy or program. Indeed, he testified, the Germans treated the Jews much more humanely than did the Romanians. Burg said that he inspected the Auschwitz and Majdanek camps in 1945, just months after the end of the war, but found no evidence of extermination gas chambers at either site.

—Emil Lachout certified the contents of a 1948 Austrian Military Police Service document which confirmed that numerous false claims about homicidal gas chambers were based on perjured testimony by former inmates and statements obtained from Germans by torture. (See: IHR *Journal*, Spring 1988, pp. 117-126.)

—In spite of a bad cold, Bradley Smith proved to be one of the more effective witnesses. The jury members seemed to be visibly impressed with the straight-forward, common-sense responses and observations of this veteran free thinker and libertarian. He held up admirably under Pearson's barrage of badgering and often exasperatingly petty questions.

—Ivan Lagacé, a funeral director and crematorium manager from Calgary, explained in detail why widely accepted claims about cremation at Auschwitz and Birkenau are not technically possible. Allegations that SS camp officials were able to cremate Jewish corpses in just 15 or 20 minutes cannot possibly be true, he said, pointing out that even modern crematory facilities require about an hour and a half to cremate a body. Claims by Holocaust historian Hilberg and others that 4,400 bodies were cremated daily in Birkenau's facilities are "preposterous" and "beyond the realm of reality," Lagacé declared.

Lenski devotes most of a chapter to my testimony, which was given during five often grueling days on the stand. Christie took me line by line through the Harwood booklet, asking me to comment on the accuracy of just about every sentence. As a result, my testimony touched on virtually every aspect of the Holocaust issue, including the role of the Einsatzgruppen security police units in the occupied Soviet territories, the origins and precise nature of Germany's wartime Jewish policy, and the Nuremberg Tribunal testimony of wartime SS prosecutor Konrad Morgen. (For more on my testimony and role in the trial, see the IHR *Journal*, Winter 1989-90, pp. 389-425.)

While readily acknowledging the errors and misleading statements of Harwood's booklet, I affirmed its central thesis: there was no German policy or program to exterminate Europe's Jews, and nothing like six million Jews perished during the Second World War. Like Faurisson and Irving who would testify later, I stressed that the booklet's errors are almost entirely minor, and that in any case are not critically important to its main thesis.

During his wide-ranging and detailed testimony, French professor Robert Faurisson also touched on virtually every major aspect of the Holocaust story. He focused particularly on his investigation of execution gas chambers in the United States, and the alleged extermination gas chambers at the former German camps. Europe's leading Holocaust Revisionist also further discredited the testimony of star prosecution witness Browning.

Faurisson spoke at some length about the costly and exhausting trials and other outrageous legal difficulties he has had to endure in France as a result of his statements and writings on this issue. His ordeal—which is almost unbelievable in a late twentieth century European democracy—has included nearly fatal physical attacks by bigoted thugs. (See also Faurisson's essays: "The Zündel Trials," IHR *Journal*, Winter 1988-89, pp. 417-431, and, "My Life as a Revisionist," IHR *Journal*, Spring 1989, pp. 5-63.)

Without a doubt, the trial's most important witness was Massachusetts execution hardware expert Fred Leuchter, who testified at length about his on-site investigation of the alleged extermination gas chambers at Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek. For some years, Faurisson had been saying that a neutral American gas chamber expert should carry out an impartial investigation of the alleged extermination gas chambers of Auschwitz and Auschwitz-Birkenau—the five sites that are the core of the Holocaust extermination story. Persuaded by Faurisson, Zündel commissioned Leuchter to carry out this history-making investigation.

Leuchter's qualifications as America's foremost execution hardware expert were well established in the Toronto courtroom. For one thing, William Armontrout, warden of the Missouri State Penitentiary, testified under oath that he had consulted with Leuchter on the design of his state's execution gas chamber, and declared that Leuchter is the only such specialist in the United States.

As is now well known, of course, Leuchter concluded that the inspected sites were never used as extermination gas chambers, and never could have been used for that purpose. Since the 1988 trial, his detailed report on his investigation has been widely circulated around the world in numerous languages, and has itself become history-making. As a result, Leuchter has become the target of a vicious campaign by the same mafia that has tried to silence Zündel.

The final defense witness was David Irving, arguably the most widely read and recognized historian in the world today. Speaking in clear and imposing language, the tall, handsome British scholar made a striking impression. Lenski's record of his wide-ranging and often fascinating testimony alone makes this book well worth reading.

Irving's appearance as a witness for Zündel was all the more remarkable because prosecution attorney Pearson had praised him earlier as a dissident historian who nevertheless did not "deny the Holocaust." For some years, though, Irving had privately been disturbed by the absence of any documentary evidence for a German extermination program or policy. Studying the just-completed Leuchter Report in Toronto settled the matter. In the courtroom, as Lenski reports, Irving dramatically repudiated his earlier position and endorsed the Revisionist view of the Holocaust story. After referring to Leuchter's report as "shattering" and "a stroke of genius on the part of the defense," the judge forbade Irving from making any further reference to it.

Irving endorsed the central thesis of the Harwood booklet, while also conceding its obvious flaws. "I don't think there was any overall Reich policy to kill the Jews," he said. He pointed out the injustices of the Nuremberg Tribunal, and spoke of the persecution that invariably befalls anyone who seriously challenges the Holocaust extermination story.

Just as Zündel had intended, this legal contest became to a considerable extent a "trial on the Nuremberg trial." As the trial progressed, the narrower legal questions of his alleged guilt and the character of the Harwood booklet became less and less relevant. Indeed, Judge Thomas complained that "this trial became a showpiece for the Institute for Historical Review."

In his concluding chapter, "Summation, Verdict, Aftermath," the author ably summarizes the final pleas to the

jury by attorneys Christie and Pearson. Lenski also attempts to explain the seemingly inexplicable guilty verdict, and describes some of the consequences and implications of this trial for Canada and the Western world.

In spite of claims by both prosecutor Pearson and Judge Thomas that the Harwood booklet "will likely cause racial and social intolerance unless something is done about it," not one bit of evidence was presented to show that anyone had ever been harmed or injured as a result of Zündel's publication of *Did Six Million Really Die?*. On this point alone, an open-minded outsider might easily assume that the jury would decide to acquit the defendant. And yet, in spite of all the testimony and evidence, the jury members agreed on a guilty verdict. Judge Thomas then sentenced Zündel to nine months imprisonment.

Why did the jury members decide to convict? Lenski provides some probable but unavoidably speculative answers. For one thing, by pointing to Zündel's publication of booklets that uncritically praise Hitler and the Third Reich, the prosecution succeeded in portraying the defendant as an unrepentant Nazi—just about the most damning accusation that can be made against anyone these days.

The prosecution was also able to discredit—to a greater or lesser degree—just about every one of Zündel's witnesses. The impact of Russell Barton's helpful and enlightening eyewitness testimony about Bergen-Belsen, for example, was lost on the jury when he readily agreed with Pearson that German officials had exterminated six million Jews. It did not seem to matter that, as he admitted, this belief was derived from what he had casually read and heard from others, and was not based on any personal experience or systematic study. Robert Faurisson's trials and legal difficulties in France were cited by the prosecution attorney to cast doubt on his motives and ethics, and to portray him as a threat to social peace and public order. Similarly, Irving was portrayed as a right-winger, Felderer as mentally unsound, Christophersen as a Nazi, and so forth.

Time and time again, this trial proved that Holocaust Revisionists are held to a more exacting standard than other dissidents. Canadian authorities do not bother themselves about publications that challenge any other generally accepted view of contemporary history.

As unfair as it was, the Zündel trial points up the importance of rigorous accuracy on the part of Holocaust Revisionists. Revisionists have set themselves the great task of trying to persuade people that what they have been told by leading historians, standard reference works and governmental authorities is not true. For this reason, Revisionists have the burden of proof. It is not enough to convince those who are already inclined to doubt the Holocaust extermination story. To have any significant or lasting impact, it is essential to reach and persuade those who are understandably quite skeptical of Holocaust Revisionism—particularly intelligent and open-minded men and women of good will who influence others.

This book is not without defects. Like Sergeant Friday in the old "Dragnet" series, Lenski has given us a mostly "just the facts, Ma'am" account. The main weakness of this essentially journalistic work is probably its paucity of analysis, which would have helped the reader to make better sense of the abundant historical information.

Also, because Lenski was not in Toronto during the trial itself, his book does not adequately communicate the trial's dramatic tension. The electric atmosphere in the large and often packed Toronto courtroom easily rivaled the drama of a *LA Law* television showdown. Nor does the author quite capture the sense of dynamic purpose, idealism and drama that suffused *Zündelhaus*, the defendant's barracks-like campaign command center. Finally, Lenski's less than relevant and sometimes subjective comments about racial/social issues detract from the book's effectiveness.

But these are relatively minor defects. On balance, I heartily recommend this readable, well-organized, engaging and even fascinating account.

For those interested in what is probably the most socially and political significant historians' debate of our time, this is both an excellent introduction to the dispute and a valuable reference survey of the entire Holocaust issue. And whatever one may think of Ernst Zündel or Revisionism, the author deserves our thanks for producing this memorable account of a history-making trial with the most profound social implications.

STALIN'S APOLOGIST, WALTER DURANTY: *THE NEW YORK'S TIMES'S* MAN IN MOSCOW by S.J. Taylor. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990. Hb., 404 pp., illustrated, $24.95; ISBN 0-19-505700-7.

Reviewed by Jack Wikoff

Flamboyant and opinionated, Walter Duranty represented the quintessence of the star newspaper reporter. His beat was the Soviet Union. From the Revolution to the Second World War, Duranty's dispatches were front page news.

Yet readers of *The New York Times* had little idea of the real Walter Duranty, who was a complex, amoral figure. S.J. Taylor's superb biography explores the dark side of Duranty's personality as well as the impact his reporting had on the world's perception of Joseph Stalin's Marxist dictatorship.

Taylor demonstrates how Duranty's character flaws influenced his reporting. *Stalin's Apologist* is the story of how Walter Duranty sold out for perks and privileges granted by the Stalinist elite. Abandoning any last shred of personal ethics, Duranty allowed himself to be prostituted and used to cover up the crimes of the Soviet regime.

Duranty's journalistic corruption hit bottom in the early 1930's. During the forced collectivization of agriculture in the Ukraine, brutal implementation of Stalin's Five-Year Plan was achieved through a contrived famine and massive deportations resulting in up to eight to ten million deaths. Knowing full well this atrocity was taking place, Walter Duranty chose to cover up rather than report it to the world (a decision which evidently had the full approval of his bosses at the *Times*).

Duranty's self-indulgent, egoistic approach to living surfaced early in life. The son of a prosperous, staunchly Presbyterian English family, he attended the elite "public" schools of Harrow and Bedford, then was graduated from Cambridge. But despite his ruling-class education, Duranty despised the British aristocracy, while simultaneously evincing no sympathy for working people (or at least those who lacked power and influence).

During his adult years, Duranty rarely returned to England. His biographer succinctly describes his family relations, or lack thereof, in the following passage:

> When his mother died in 1916, there was no word from Duranty. Fourteen years later, his sister died at forty-five, a spinster. Her life has been devoted to her father, who outlived her by three years. And when in 1933, plagued by senility and the diseases of old age, William Steel Duranty died, he left a personal estate valued at merely £430, besides the house his daughter had left him—a pathetic come-down from his early days of opulence and plenty. Walter Duranty's only acknowledgement of his family in all of those years was a curt document notorized in Moscow, authorizing his father's solicitors to sell the house, take their fee, and send him the proceeds.
>
> Publicly, he solved the problem once and for all in his autobiography, *Search for a Key,* by killing off his parents in a railway accident and orphaning himself at the age of ten, an only child.
>
> It put an end to any unwelcome questions.

On leaving college, he spent several years touring, coming to ground in pre-World War-I Paris, after he had squandered an inheritance left him by his grandfather.

Bohemian and roué, Duranty secured a reputation as a cosmopolitan globe-trotter through his witty conversation and fluency in several languages. Despite his short stature and lack of good looks, he was never at a loss for female companionship, even after a train accident left him with a wooden leg.

Head-up for money, Duranty persuaded Wythe Williams, head of the Paris bureau of *The New York Times,* to pay him to write a story about a Frenchman who was going to fly an airplane upside down. Three months later, on December 1, 1913, Duranty was hired by *The New York Times.*

Duranty spent his days in Paris perfecting his journalistic technique, while his nights were devoted to dissolute meddling in hobbies that are today styled "New Age." A constant companion of Duranty in the pre-war "City of Light" was the occultist and black magician, Aleister Crowley, whom the Britsh press had dubbed "the Wickedest Man in the World." Crowley claimed other titles for himself, but preferred to be called "Beast 666."

One of Crowley's many female companions, Jane Cheron, performed the role of Scarlet Woman (as in the *Book of Revelations*) in Crowley's debauched rituals. Duranty was later to marry Cheron, although they rarely lived together. Marriage did not, of course, prevent him from perpetually chasing skirts, sometimes before his wife's eyes.

On December 31, 1913 Crowley began a series of 23 ritualistic "workings" of sex magic with Duranty and another partner named Victor Neuburg. Crowley was later to claim pompously that these "Paris workings" had been the "magical" cause of the First World War, a prelude to the new Aeon, the Age of Horus.[1] As for Duranty's opinion of the Paris rituals, Ms. Taylor reports that he "would later say little, only that he no longer believed in anything."

Aleister Crowley and Jane Cheron were lifelong heroin addicts. Duranty, too, was quite partial to alcohol and drugs, being at one time addicted to opium, although in fairness his opium habit can be traced in part to recuperation for the accident which cost him his leg.

When the First World War began in August 1914, Duranty initially covered the war for *The New York Times* from the French capital. When he had gained sufficient professional experience, he was promoted to war correspondent, filing many dispatches on the horrors of trench warfare based on his visits to the front.

When Duranty began work as a reporter, his writing reflected the prevalent bias of English society. At the time of the First World War, his personal prejudices were as virulently anti-German as those of most other Englishmen: in his autobiographical *I Write As I Please* he later admitted to having written at least one falsified WWI propaganda story.

After the war, Duranty traveled through Germany, Poland, and the Baltic states, reporting on the poverty and revolutionary turmoil besetting war-torn Eastern Europe.

In 1920, famine began to ravage the Soviet Union, a direct result of the turmoil of the Revolution. Five to six million people starved to death or died from disease, a mass tragedy of the early years of Bolshevism which was to foreshadow the far greater evil to befall the Ukraine, North Caucasus and the Lower Volga a decade later.

The Soviet leadership sought financial aid from the West, ostensibly to aid victims of the famine, but in reality to secure the Red tyranny. One of the stipulations of Herbert Hoover's American Relief Association was that the Bolsheviks allow Western reporters into Russia. Maxim Litvonov, a Jew and prominent Bolshevik, later to become Soviet Foreign Minister, determined which journalists were granted visas. After some wrangling (he had written a few anti-Soviet articles earlier), Duranty was allowed into the Soviet Union as a reporter.

In the economic free-for-all of Lenin's short-lived New Economic Policy, Duranty was able to parlay his access to foreign currency into a house in Moscow, complete with English-style fireplace. He lived in luxury, particularly when compared to the average citizen in the "Worker's Paradise," and was able to purchase imported food, candies, cigarettes and razor blades. He owned an automobile and had a retinue of servants including a chauffeur, cleaning lady, secretary, cook, and mistress (Duranty's wife chose conveniently to live in France.)

Walter Duranty had also considerable travel privileges within the Soviet Union, and could of course leave the country for pleasure or business in Paris, New York and other world capitals. He learned to speak and read Russian, an invaluable skill for discovering what really went on in the Soviet Union. Soon enough, *The New York Times*'s man in Moscow had many friends among the Soviet elite.

When Lenin died in January, 1924, a struggle for power ensued among the Bolshevist elite. Duranty shrewdly predicted that Stalin would come out on top.[2] During this period many pundits were forecasting that communism would not last, yet Duranty confidently predicted the survival of the Soviet system.

Duranty was among the earliest Western journalists to praise the Soviet crash programs that forced Marxism on the Russian people. He coined the infamous slogan "You can't make an omelette without breaking eggs,"[3] which he was to use frequently in his writing. Inevitably, he was seen by many as an apologist for Soviet communism, and Duranty's detractors took to calling *The New York Times* "the Uptown *Daily Worker*."

In January an all-out drive to collectivize Soviet agriculture was announced in *Pravda*. On a trip to Central Asia that year, Duranty managed to see a trainload of exiled *kulaks*.[4] Transported in foul, wretchedly hot railroad cars with barred windows, Duranty described them as:

> . . . more like caged animals than human beings, not wild beasts but dumb cattle, patient with suffering eyes. Debris and jetsam, victims of the March to Progress.[5]

Bolshevism was returning the peasant to a condition of servitude far more hideous than any Tsarist-era serfdom.

Seeing such magnitude of mass suffering should have

alerted Duranty to what was really happening in the Soviet Union, yet as Taylor details, Duranty quickly dismissed what he had seen, writing that he had "seen worse debris than that, trains full of wounded from the Front in France going back to be patched up for a fresh bout of slaughter."

In late 1930, Duranty was honored by being granted an interview with Stalin himself.[6] The author of *Stalin's Apologist* details how with the publication of this exclusive interview with Stalin, Duranty became an international celebrity and one of the best-known journalists in the world.

Duranty won the Pulitzer Prize for best news correspondent in 1932. Special citation was made of his dispatches dealing with the Soviet Five-Year Plan. In his acceptance speech he said that he had come "to respect the Soviet leaders, especially Stalin, whom I consider to have grown into a really great statesman."[7]

During that year a debate was raging in the United States over recognition of the Soviet Union. Franklin Delano Roosevelt, while campaigning for the presidency, invited Duranty to lunch to discuss the situation in the USSR.

While Walter Duranty was rubbing elbows with the powerful, a conspiracy of deliberate starvation was being implemented in the Soviet Union. One of the first to report the famine in Ukraine to the West was Andrew Cairns. In the spring of 1932 this young Canadian agricultural expert traveled through the grain-growing districts of southern Russia, reporting to his superiors on widespread food shortages and starvation. He was accompanied by D. Otto Schiller, an agricultural specialist attached to the German embassy in Moscow, who was fluent in both Russian and Ukrainian. Cairn's detailed letters describing the widespread suffering he had seen were made available to the highest levels of the British Government.

But Cairns's reports were never published by British authorities. J.S. Taylor reports:

> Many years later, asked why he had not published the report on his own authority, Cairns would admit that he had been overly discouraged, even threatened, from doing so by powerful political figures of the Left in Great Britain whom he believed at the time could do him great harm. He named Beatrice Webb, specifically, who, with her husband Sidney, would praise the accomplishments of Stalin's Five-Year Plan in their massive, two-volume work *Soviet Communism: A New Civilization?*

Cairns's employer, the Empire Trading Board, went into liquidation, and Cairns did not return to the Soviet Union. Dr. Schiller published a "devastating" report in Germany, which resulted in his being immediately expelled from the Soviet Union.

During this period the Soviets were attempting to appropriate as much agricultural produce from the peasants as possible, to sell abroad. The foreign exchange thus obtained was used to finance heavy industry. In private conversations late in 1932 with William Strang, counsellor at the British Embassy in Moscow, Duranty confirmed that there was indeed a "present breakdown in [Soviet] agriculture." Duranty told Strang: "There are millions of people in Russia, peasants, whom it is fairly safe to leave in want. But the industrial proletariat, about 10 percent of the population, must at all costs be fed if the revolution is to be safeguarded."

Duranty filed a dispatch in December 1932 which described the situation in Soviet agriculture in negative terms. As a result Duranty was visited by powerful Soviet authorities, who upbraided him for his faithlessness. Fearful he would not be allowed back into Russia, Duranty postponed a trip to France (at this time Duranty's Soviet mistress, Katya, was pregnant with his child).

Taylor details how, at the end of 1932, the noose was steadily drawn around the collective neck of the Soviet peasant.[8] An international passport system was introduced which kept the starving kulaks from migrating to the cities. In the spring of 1933 a law was passed which forbade a peasant to leave the collective farm where he was employed "without a contract from his future employers, ratified by the collective farm authorities." Duranty praised these measures, claiming they were designed "to purge the city of undesirable elements."

After two American newspapermen, William Stoneman of the *Chicago Daily News* and Ralph Barnes of the *New York Herald Tribune*, filed reports on the famine, the Soviet authorities instituted a ban on travel for foreign journalists.

Malcolm Muggeridge, a young English journalist for the *Manchester Guardian* with pro-Soviet sympathies, arrived in Moscow in September 1932. Soon he became disenchanted with the Soviet system. By late winter, 1933, reporters in Moscow were hearing rumors that the grain crop would be totally inadequate to feed the population. Muggeridge set off on his own, without permission, to investigate the situation.

At the end of March 1933 he published a series of articles in the *Guardian* confirming widespread famine. His reports had been delivered to England in the British diplomatic bag. Muggeridge wrote that "The famine is an organized one" and that it was "a military occupation; worse, active war." He wrote of "frequent cases of suicides and sometimes even of cannibalism . . . the conditions would have been incredible to [Muggeridge] if he had not seen them with his own eyes."

The *Guardian* played down the stories and Muggeridge accused the editors of mutilating his accounts. Muggeridge was attacked by the left-leaning British establishment and blacklisted.

Several other journalists visited the stricken regions and honestly reported what they had seen. William Henry Chamberlin sent dispatches to *The Christian Science Monitor* and the *Manchester Guardian*. Gareth Jones traveled through the stricken area for three weeks. In a press conference in Berlin, a lecture in London, and finally in an article in the *Guardian*, Jones reported the mass starvation.

Alarmed at the publicity, Moscow applied strong pressure on Western journalists to contradict Jones' account. Duranty obligingly obeyed his masters and for the occassion again trotted out his "omelette" quote. His article was titled "Russians Hungry But Not Starving."[9]

> But—to put it brutally—you can't make an omelette without breaking eggs, and the Bolshevik leaders are just as indifferent to the casualties that may be involved in their drive toward socialism as any General during the World War who ordered a costly attack in order to show his superiors that he and his division possessed the proper soldierly spirit. In fact, the Bolsheviki are more indifferent because they are animated by fanatical conviction.

Throughout 1933 Duranty continued to play down the extent of the famine. He claimed "There is no actual starvation or deaths from starvation but there is widespread mortality from diseases due to malnutrition . . ."

In September of that year he reported that "the use of the word famine in connection with the North Caucasus is a sheer absurdity." He wrote of "plump babies" and "fat calves." Maxim Litvinov found Duranty's words useful in deflecting a letter of inquiry from an American Congressman, Herman Kopelmann of Connecticut.

Shocking proof of the discrepancy between what Duranty reported and what he knew to be the truth is revealed in a September 30, 1933 British Embassy dispatch which reads in part:

> According to Mr. Duranty the population of the North Caucasus and the Lower Volga had decreased in the past year by three million, and the population of the Ukraine by four to five million. The Ukraine has been bled white . . . Mr. Duranty thinks it quite possible that as many as ten million people may have died directly or indirectly from lack of food in the Soviet Union during the past year.

Newspaper readers did not get the unvarnished truth. What they got was evasion, cover-up and falsification.

Walter Duranty had reached the peak of international success and fame by selling out to a totalitarian regime and covering up one of the greatest atrocities of the twentieth century.

Malcolm Muggeridge was later to say that Duranty was "the greatest liar of any journalist I have met in fifty years of journalism. "Stuart Alsop's verdict was that Duranty was "a fashionable prostitute" and "lying was his stock in trade."

Duranty was awarded for his mendacity by the American and Soviet establishment. He received permission to accompany Litvinov across the Atlantic on the S.S. *Berengaria* for negotiations leading to American recognition of the Soviet Union. Duranty was present at the November 18, 1933 press conference in which President Roosevelt proudly announced that the U.S. would recognize the U.S.S.R. Duranty was also among the guests of honor at a lavish dinner for 1,500 dignitaries at New York's Waldorf-Astoria.

Stalin granted Duranty a second exclusive interview on Christmas Day, 1933.[10]

There were to be other occasions when Walter Duranty would conspicuously serve as apologist for the Soviet regime. In 1936 a series of show trials and purges began against alleged opponents of the Stalinist regime.

In January 1937, sixteen prominent Soviet officials were accused of conspiring with Germany and Japan to overthrow the Soviet government. Trotsky, in exile in Mexico, was absurdly accused *in absentia* of plotting with the Nazis.

Public confession of guilt by many of the defendants astounded the West. Ms. Taylor writes:

> Predictably, Western response to this second trial was one of confusion, and there was a half-willing reluctance to believe in the guilt of the accused. If the confessions were true, the reasoning went, it demonstrated that conditions within the country were so bad that avowed and dedicated Party members would conspire with Fascists to overthrow their own government. If untrue, the trials were an indictment of the entire system in the Soviet Union.

Duranty wrote in *The New Republic* that he believed the confessions to be true. Outraged, Trotsky directly attacked Duranty in a speech for his "psychological divinations." In 1938, at the last and largest of the trials, Nikolai Bukharin, a former member of the Politburo, condemned Duranty from the dock.

With the coming of World War II, the *New York Times* began to cut back on and centralize operations. Late in 1940, the Moscow bureau was closed down. At the end of that year, Walter Duranty's twenty-five years with the *New York Times* came to an end.

Duranty left his mistress Katya and their seven-year-old son Michael behind in Moscow. He did not make it easy for them to contact him. In 1948 Katya managed to get a letter through to him. In awkward English she wrote:

> I don't believe it is possible to forget, that here, in Moscow growing up your only the son, that we lived together nearly for twenty years, that I gave you the best years of my life . . . Could not you write to me something, or if you don't want to do that, for God knows what reason, you must send a letter to Mike. He is already 15 years old, he is not a child any longer and understands things very well. He wants to know and must know where his father is, why his father keeps silence for such a long time.

Although he occasionally sent a little money, Duranty never made an effort to see them again.

In the last years of his life Duranty lived in Hollywood and Florida. Until his death in 1957 he continued to write and lecture, although increasingly his political views were out of date.

Now, three and a half decades after Walter Duranty's death, the Soviet system is defunct, assigned to the garbage heap of history. What is astounding is that it managed to survive for seventy years.

J.S. Taylor's excellent book demonstrates how, in addition to Duranty, many Western journalists, "intellectuals," businessmen and diplomats ignored the crimes of Stalin and

company. *The New York Times*, the so-called "Newspaper of Record," and scores of other publications suppressed the truth and spewed the Soviet line.

Nor did Western complicity in an apology for Soviet atrocities end with Stalin's death. At the 1945-46 show trials in Nuremberg, Germany, Allied apologists for Stalin worked hand-in-hand with the murderous functionaries who had created the Ukrainian famine, the show trials and the *gulag*. The same physical and mental torture techniques developed by Soviet commissars were used on Germans.

Even today, the "Nazi-hunting" office of Special Investigations hunts down and deports from America aged immigrants who served, often in their teenage years, as guards and other low-ranking functionaries of the Axis nations half a century ago, using information, evidence, and testimony originally supplied by the same henchmen who helped carry out Stalin's terror famine and his numerous other sanguinary crimes. Meanwhile, leading lieutenants, not infrequently Jewish, of Stalin and his successors live on untroubled, in the "post-communist" Soviet Union or in Israel and the West, to be sent off with discreet obituaries in Duranty's old paper, *The New York Times*, when they finally expire. Clearly, for the media which dominates today's popular (and "informed") mentality, the duty of "memory" and the "demands of "justice" (as regards the "Holocaust") are not to be honored for far greater, and essentially unpunished, crimes of communism.

Marxism's deady toll of human suffering would have been impossible without the complicity of thousands of apologists for Stalin. Walter Duranty was but a single sordid example. Many more biographies remain to be written. Much more revising of the lies and evasions of the Western Establishment's "Sovietologists," revision based on the public record of the past seventy-five years as well as the documents coming to light in Russian and other archives, lies before us.

Notes

1. Only portions of two pages in *Stalin's Apologist* are devoted to a description of the ritual magic employed by Crowley and Duranty. For more information see the following source material listed by J.S. Taylor: Martin Starr's *Sex & Religion* (Nashville, 1981), which contains a diary of the Paris workings, and John Symond's *The Great Beast: The*

Life and Magick of Aleister Crowley (London: MacDonald, 1971).

Additional material on the relationship between Duranty, Crowley and Neuburg can be found in Francis King's *The Magical World of Aleister Crowley* (New York: Coward, McCann & Geoghegan, Inc., 1978).

The occultism practiced by Aleister Crowley appears repeatedly in the twentieth century as a sinister undercurrent of sociopolitical revolution. For a detailed, candid description of the history and method of this subversive philosophy by a knowledgeable adherent, see Peter Tompkin's *The Magic of Obelisks* (New York: Harper and Row, 1981), pages 309 through 462.

2. Walter Duranty, "Five Men Directing Destiny of Russia," *New York Times*, January 18, 1923, p. 3.
3. The "omelette" quotation first appeared in Duranty's mediocre poem "Red Square" in a two-page spread with six photographs in the September 18, 1932, *NYT* (VI: p. 10). The lines containing the "omelette" quotation read:

   "Russians may be hungry and short of clothes and comfort, But you can't make an omelette without breaking eggs."
4. The *kulaks* were "middle-ranked peasants" in Soviet agricultural regions. This "class" of farmer generally worked hard and owned enough land and livestock to be moderately prosperous (by Soviet standards).
5. Walter Duranty, *I Write As I Please* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1935), p. 288.
6. Walter Duranty, "Stalin Sees Capitalists Drifting Surely to War," *NYT*, December 1, 1930. Duranty also wrote a follow-up article in *The New York Times Magazine*, January 18, 1931.
7. "Musical Play Gets the Pulitzer Award; Mrs. Buck, Pershing, Duranty Honored," *NYT*, May 3, 1932, p. 1. Duranty expanded on this in an interview with John F. Roche. "Uninterpreted News of Russia Puzzles Prejudiced World, Says Duranty," *Editor & Publisher*, June 4, 1932.
8. In the acknowledgements to *Stalin's Apologist*, S.J. Taylor credits Robert Conquest's *The Harvest of Sorrow* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986) as a very important inspiration for her biography of Walter Duranty. *The Harvest of Sorrow* is the only thorough, complete account of the Ukrainian famine of 1932-33, and belongs in every Revisionist library.
9. Walter Duranty, "Russians Hungry But Not Starving," *NYT*, March 31, 1933, p. 13.
10. Walter Duranty, "Stalin Says Japan Is Great Danger, Hopes for Peace," *NYT*, December 28, 1933, p. 8.

DOCUMENT

Mercy for Japs

The following exchange of letters was published in The Best from Yank, The Army Weekly *(Cleveland: The World Publishing Co., 1945).* Yank, *to quote from its editors introduction to the anthology, "was written by and for enlisted men" during the Second World War; The Best from Yank draws on material published between the summer of 1942 and the fall of 1944 in the sixteen different regional editions worldwide.*

As the editors point out:

> *The writings, drawings, photographs and cartoons in this collection were never intended originally to please civilian tastes. They were made to order for the pages of* Yank, The Army Weekly, *by enlisted men on active duty in the armed forces who wanted to please other enlisted men and nobody else.*

These letters would seem to indicate that the standards of American GI's on observing the laws of warfare were somewhat more flexible than those of American prosecutors at the war-crimes trials at Tokyo, Nuremberg, and elsewhere, understandable though that may be.

Dear *Yank*:

As God is my witness I am sorry to read of the way two American soldiers treated the enemy on Makin Island; they shot some Japanese when they might have been able to take them alive. I don't believe in killing unless it has to be done. I am a servant of God, so when I get into battle I hope by His help to take as many Japs alive as I can. If I am compelled to destroy lives in battle I shall do so, but when U.S. troops throw grenades into an enemy position and Japs run out unarmed we should make an effort to take them alive. I know that if I were in a dugout and forced to run out I would want mercy.

Camp Davis, N.C. —Pvt. Ralph H. Luckey

Dear *Yank*:

We just read the letter written by that servant of God, Pvt. Luckey, and wish to state that he has the wrong slant . . . After being in combat and seeing medics being killed trying to help our wounded makes you want to kill the bastards . . . Fair play is fine among sportsmen but we are fighting back stabbers!

Hawaii Jap Killers*

**Signed by Pvt. P. Stupar*

Dear Yank:

. . . No mercy for murderers!

On Maneuvers —Pvt. Sam Bonanno

Dear *Yank*:

Brother, Pvt. Luckey better live up to his last name if goes into combat with the idea of taking Jap prisoners alive!

Port of Embarkation —Sgt. Carl Bethea*

**Also signed by 13 others.*

Dear Yank:

We are all Navy men who are suffering from combat fatigue. Many of us have been strafed by Jap Zeros while floating helplessly in the sea and have seen what the soldiers and marines have gone through in this fight. If Pvt. Luckey heeds his own call for mercy for Japs, his soul will belong to God but his body will belong to the Japs . . .

—Vets of World War II

Norfolk Naval Hosp., Portsmouth, VA

Dear *Yank*:

. . . If I had another chance I certainly would do the same thing those Yanks on Makin did. Shoot 'em and shoot 'em dead. I know what I'm talking about. I have been there.

Camp Blanding, Fla. —T/Sgt. J.N. Olsen

Dear *Yank*:

. . . Please notify the FBI, G-2, anything—but have that guy locked up!

Fort Custer, Mich. —Cpl. S. Schwartz

Dear *Yank*:

Has Pvt. Luckey ever seen his friends and buddies shot down by the Japs? Has he ever carried our dead out of the jungle for burial? I have—and more, during the eight months I spent on Guadalcanal. Pvt. Luckey will have no dead Japs on his conscience when they kill him.

Harmon Gen. Hosp., Longview, Tex. —Pvt. C.E. Carter

Dear *Yank*:

. . . Luckey is out of this world and should be confined in a small room heavily padded on four sides.

Bermuda —S/Sgt. Arthur J. Kaplan

Dear *Yank*:

Me and my buddies sure were mad as hell when we read Pvt. Ralph Luckey's letter. He sure shot off his mouth about our treatment of the Japs. The trouble is that he has had it nice and soft so far . . .

Trinidad —Pfc. Edward Staffin

Dear *Yank*:

. . . We don't know whether to feel sorry for this guy or just laugh the thing off . . .

—M/Sgt. W.F. Hardgrove*
NC Hosp., Mitchel Field, N.Y. (South Pacific)

**Signed also by M/Sgt. R.M. Stephens (SWP); T/Sgts. L.C. Sheehan (Britain) and N. Sedorick (Britian); S/Sgts. P.F. Teraberry (Italy, Africa), R.I. Vogel (Italy, Africa), L.V. Behout (CBI), J.M. Haresign (Italy) and H.R. Garrison (New Guinea); Sgts. W.J. Polera, P. Nadzak (CBI) and J. Seginah (Britain), and Cpl. M.J. Bursie (New Guinea).*

Dear *Yank*:

. . . Wake up, Luckey. The Jap doesn't care if God is his witness or not.

Worthington Gen. Hosp., Tuscaloosa, Ala. —PFC. C.J. Nichols

Dear *Yank*:

It's evening. We're sitting about two feet from our foxhole thinking about a letter written by Pvt. Ralph H. Luckey from Camp Davis, N.C. in a recent issue of *Yank*. Do you mind if we ask him a question? Pvt. Luckey, you're now living in an Army camp, just as we did. Making friends, just as we did. Friends who, in time, will be much closer, dearer, to you than you would believe possible.

We bunked together, ate together, laughed and played together, worked and dated together. Recently we fought together. During the battle, Blackie was wounded and taken prisoner. When we advanced several hours later, we found Blackie. His cheeks were punctured by sharp sticks—pulled tight by a wire tourniquet, the sticks acting as a bit does for a horse's mouth. There were slits made by a knife along the center of his legs and on his side—just as if an artist had taken pride in an act of torture well done.

We continued to move on. Do you think that we also continued to remember the niceties of civilized warfare?

Central Pacific —S/Sgt. B.W. Milewski

This is the last of a series of GI comments in reply to Pvt. Luckey's letter. *Yank* has received a great number of letters on the subject, but only two readers supported the point of view advocated by Pvt. Luckey.

An Interview with Admiral Kimmel

Dean Clarence Manion

December 7. Whenever this fateful date reoccurs on the calendar, it invariably revives a flood of tragic and painful recollections. The pain of recollection will be intensified this year when you read the recently published frank, and informative, memoirs of the widely experienced and universally respected General Albert C. Wedemeyer [*Wedemeyer Reports!* —Ed.]. This big revealing book begins and ends with the emphatic and unequivocal assurance that the attack on Pearl Harbor could have been—and should have been—prevented, and that the United States could have—and should have—stayed out of World War II.

Says Wedemeyer, and I quote: "The Soviet colossus would not now bestride half the world had the United States kept out of war—at least until Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany had exhausted each other. But Franklin D. Roosevelt, the proclaimed champion of democracy," continues the General, "was as successful as any dictator could have been in keeping Congress and the public in ignorance of his secret commitments to Britain, commitments which flouted the will and the wishes of the voters who had reelected him only after he had assured them that he would keep us out of the war. The fact that Japan's attack had been deliberately provoked was obscured by the disaster at Pearl Harbor," says Wedemeyer. "President Roosevelt had maneuvered us into the war by his patently unneutral actions against Germany and the final ultimatum against Japan."

So much for the beginning of *Wedemeyer Reports!* Near the conclusion we find this, and I quote again:

"On December 4th, 1941, we received definite information from two independent sources that Japan would attack the United States and Britain, but would maintain peace with Russia. On December 6, our intercepts told us, the Japanese would strike somewhere the very next day. President

Roosevelt," he says "had ample time to broadcast a warning that might have caused the Japanese to call off the attack." "In any event," continues the General, "we should not have permitted 2,500 Americans to die in Hawaii without an opportunity to fight back."

Who, then, was responsible for the bloody surprise at Pearl Harbor? A few days after the bombs fell there, President Roosevelt made a radio speech to the American people in which he condemned the treachery that propelled us into war, and called Sunday, December 7, 1941 a day that will live in infamy. Mr. Roosevelt was never more truly prophetic than he was when he spoke those words. The infamy of Sunday, December 7, 1941 becomes increasingly notorious with each passing year. Ever more and more certainly that calamitous day is being firmly established in history as the infamous time when more than 3,000 American soldiers and sailors were sentenced to sudden and violent death by the calculated and deliberate dereliction of their own Commander-in-Chief.

Pearl Harbor was but the bloody beginning of what is yet an endless tale of woe. Down with the sacrificed sailors and soldiers went the heart and soul of our proud Pacific Fleet. But with the flotsam of this powerful and humiliating holocaust came the corrosive curse of Communism to poison the whole stream of human civilization. The bright light of freedom that was extinguished by Mr. Roosevelt's dreadful "day of infamy" may not come on again for a thousand years.

Fixing the responsibility for this terrible catastrophe has been a delayed and difficult task. In war the truth is always the first casualty. It was so at Pearl Harbor. The American people were shocked by this successful sneak attack, and enraged at the realization that it had dragged them into the foreign war from which the president had promised "again, and again, and again" to steer them clear. Popular clamor demanded appropriate scapegoats, and the president obligingly and promptly met the popular demand by nominating for disgrace two men who, respectively, commanded the United States Army and Navy forces in Hawaii on that fatal day.

The American people did not know then that the president and his top military advisors in Washington had been intercepting Japanese secret messages for many months, and that as General Wedemeyer has said, "These messages had finally indicated the time, the place, and the character of the

Pearl Harbor attack, days in advance of December 7." Neither did the American people know then that this dreadful and important information had been deliberately withheld from the men who were most entitled to know it, namely, the top commanders of the United States Army and Navy forces in Hawaii.

Ten years ago the distinguished newsman George Morgenstern wrote and published what he called *Pearl Harbor: The Story of the Secret War.* The politicians saw to it that Morgenstern's early revelation was given the silent treatment in the press of the country. But, in that book today, you can trace the long, sadistic persecution that was forced upon two great military men who were selected as the scapegoats for the day of infamy.

Namely, Lieutenant Walter C. Short and Rear Admiral Husband E. Kimmel. General Short is now dead, but Admiral Kimmel is now living in Connecticut. Three years ago, he published his own book about Pearl Harbor, which is authentic, remarkably restrained and entirely without rancor [*Admiral Kimmel's Story* —Ed.].

In the magazine section of the *Chicago Tribune*, he writes an up-date of his findings concerning the available warning that was never given to him. Admiral Kimmel happens to be my life-long personal friend. Last week I went to his home to obtain his direct answers to key questions about the Pearl Harbor attack. Here is my recorded interview with this distinguished, long-suffering man, to whom the officers and trustees of his alma mater, The United States Naval Academy, recently gave an extended testimonial for the patriotism, loyalty, ability, fortitude and devotion to duty that he displayed at Pearl Harbor, before, on and after the 7th day of December, 1941.

CM: Admiral Kimmel, for myself and the radio audience, I am very greatful for the privilege of this interview. You know, of course, that you hold the key to one of the great tragic mysteries in our country's history. What you are doing here today is a continuation of the great patriotic service to which your whole life has been dedicated.

HEK: Thank you, Dean Manion. In view of our long family friendship, I'm delighted to give this information to you, and through you, to the American people.

CM: To your present knowledge, how many people knew in advance that the Japanese planned to attack Pearl Harbor on December 7?

HEK: I believe those who had seen the intercepted and decoded Japanese messages, including the 14-part message received on December 6 and December 7, 1941, knew war with Japan was inevitable. And the almost certain objective of the Japanese attack would be the fleet at Pearl Harbor, on December 7, 1941, at 1 p.m. Washington time.

CM: Who are some of these people and from what source did they get the information?

HEK: Those who saw the intercepted Japanese messages as they were received included: the President, Mr. Roosevelt; the Secretary of State, Mr. Hull; the Secretary of War, Mr. Stimson; the Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Knox; the Chief of Staff of the Army, General Marshall; the Chief of Naval Operations, Admiral Stark; the Chief of War Plans, Army, General Gerow; the Chief of War Plans, Navy, Admiral Turner; the Chief of Army Intelligence, General Miles; Chief of Naval Intelligence, Admiral Worthington. Recorded testimony shows that all of these, except General Marshall and Admiral Stark were shown 13 parts of the 14-part message by 9 p.m. December 6, 1941, or shortly thereafter. When Mr. Roosevelt had read the 13 parts, about 9 p.m. December 6, 1941, he remarked: "This means war." All investigations of the disaster have failed to disclose where George Marshall spent the evening of December 6, 1941, or what he did. Admiral Stark, some two years after he had first been asked, finally produced evidence that he had attended the theater on that evening, though he still maintained that he had no independent recollection of where he spent the evening or what he did during the evening of December 6, 1941. In 1957, I received information, which I believe to be reliable, that the British subject serving in the Chinese government as commissioner of education and intelligence in China received on November 30, 1941, from his intelligence sources in Japan, information of the planned attack on Pearl Harbor to be launched on December 7: Where the Japanese fleet would congregate to launch the planes, the hour the planes were to be launched, the berths of the U.S. fleet in Pearl and which ships were to be bombed first. This information was sent to London in a coded message, on Sunday,

November 30, and Monday, December 1, 1941. Whether the Chinese commissioner's intelligence was transmitted from London to Washington, I do not know, but it appears highly probable that it was made available to Mr. Roosevelt. If Mr. Roosevelt did, in fact, receive the Chinese commissioner's intelligence, it was merely a detailed confirmation of the intercepted Japanese messages already available to him.

CM: In your opinion, why were you and General Short not notified well in advance that the attack was expected?

HEK: My belief is that General Short and I were not given the information available in Washington and were not informed of the impending attack because it was feared that action in Hawaii might deter the Japanese from making the attack. Our president had repeatedly assured the American people that the United States would not enter the war unless we were attacked. The Japanese attack on the fleet would put the United States in the war with the full suppport of the American public.

CM: Thank you, Admiral Kimmel, for this interview and for the patriotic persistence with which you have pursued and corralled the tragic facts about the attack upon Pearl Harbor.

My friends, you now have the authentic postscript on memorable day of infamy in 1941.

Seventeen years later the United States stands poised once more on the brink of shooting war. If the fighting must start again, let us demand the full truth in advance as a condition precedent to the conflict. Are we again bound by secret commitments which put the interest of other countries ahead of the interests of the United States? Are our far-flung armed forces spread around the world for our own defense, or as an assurance that we will automatically participate in every brushfire that breaks out any place on earth? The terrible truth about Pearl Harbor should galvanize our foreign policy with impenetrable armor of our own national self interest.

At long last, the finally revealed truth has revived righteous respectability of a policy that put the interest of America first.

(*This interview was broadcast under the auspices* of The Manion Forum in Fall, 1958.)

Holocaust Education: Cui Bono?

CARL HOTTELET

The following letter was written to the editor of the Asbury Park Press *on August 20, 1991. As an answer to the question posed in the above title, it would be difficult to better.*

A 14-line single-column item inserted inconspicuously into an inside page of your July 7, 1991 issue revealed to attentive readers that "Florio OKs bill to aid Holocaust education."

For the last thirty years the newspapers have been drenching us in "survivor" epics and other horror tales of the "Holocaust," while film, radio, and television have been bombarding us incessantly with the most spectacular and imaginative "Holocaust" stories. One would think, then, that nothing is less in need of further aid than is "Holocaust education."

However, Florio put it over. New Jersey's children and young people, already deficient in reading and writing, having but a vague knowledge of geography and history, practically ignorant of logic, mathematics, and the sciences, will have vital learning time stolen from them so that their minds can be numbed by "Holocaust education." How will that "education" prepare them for a productive career, to compete on an equal basis with Asians and with Europeans?

As a state governor Florio must know, if only from what is happening in another state—Illinois—that "Holocaust education" is designed to achieve aims that have nothing to do with education, but have everything to do with "diseducation." Three of those aims, summarily stated, are:

> to instill guilt-feelings in non-Jews, and to serve as a pretext for prostituted politicians to vote ever more billions of dollars for Israel, to bind America to Israel's atrocious practices, to approve tax exemption for the billions of non-

governmental, private contributions to Israel, thereby increasing the tax burden on the rest of us; to perpetuate our subservience to Israel and to Zionism—despite their numerous grave offenses against the United States.

To incite hatred, especially against Germans, though in proportionately equal degree, as it were, against Balts, Croatians, Hungarians, Poles, Romanians, Ukrainians, and other Christians, often focussing their vituperation on Pius XII, despite the asylum accorded by this saintly pope to uncounted thousands of Jews.

At the same time, while playing down, when it can't be suppressed entirely, information about Israeli atrocities in Lebanon, in Palestine, and elsewhere, "Holocaust education" seeks to generate disproportionate, some would say excessive, sympathy for Jews, to the exclusion of every other ethnic group in the country, and on the planet, and at the expense of peoples who have suffered far worse and in infinitely greater numbers. In conjunction with above, "Holocaust education" is calculated to condition Americans to submit to Jewish hegemony in our society, and to tolerate the extraordinary privileges Jews have arrogated to themselves.

"Holocaust education" intends to expunge American (and other) history from American memory, and to replace it with a new Jewish scripture. Thus, in Illinois, children are taught: "The period from 1933 to 1945 is known as the Holocaust . . ." The headline over a full-page *New York Times* Book Review (May 13, 1990) advertisement for the *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust* proclaims it to be "The Definitive Guide to the Most Important Event of the 20th Century."

For the "Holocaust educators" there was no Boer war, no Russo-Japanese War, no World War, no Bolshevist Russian Revolution, no Sino-Japanese War, no Chinese floods that drowned millions, no African, Chinese, Indian famines that killed millions; Stalin's forced starvation of the Ukrainians isn't worth mentining; there was no World War II with its additional tens of millions of Russian and German soldier and civilian dead; of thousands of American soldiers dead, and many more mutilated since 1917—all in the twentieth century. There is only the "Holocaust."

There *were* holocausts. Berlin, Cologne, Dresden, Hamburg, and a hundred other German cities. Nagoya, Osaka, Tokyo, Yokohama, and a hundred other Japanese cities, until the ultimate hells of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Those were British and American holocausts. No one tries any longer to deny them. Nevertheless, it has never occurred to any German, or to any Japanese, to want to force these searing events into the minds of young Americans, and that least of all under the pretense of "combatting hatred," "fostering sensitivity," and "promoting understanding."

But the "Holocaust"—as we have been led to understand it—becomes more and more controversial. When the great Frenchman, Paul Rassinier, began in the the 1950's to question the stories that came out of the concentration camps, demographers, historians, scholars and scientists were moved to look critically at the assertion "Hitler ordered the extermination of the Jews" and at the "6,000,000," the "gas chambers," the "death factories" and the rest. No evidence to support the existence of any of these was found, and has not been found to this day.

The brilliant young Italian, Carlo Mattogno, specialist in contemporary European history, has examined, and exposed, the successive reptilian twists of the "Exterminationist" writers through edition after edition of their works. Among the first Americans to stand publicly against the "Holocaust" onslaught is Professor Arthur P. Butz, of Northwestern University. His *Hoax of the Twentieth Century* is the basic American text on the "Holocaust."

The Costa Mesa, California-based Institute for Historical Review inquires into the truth of the "Holocaust." Contributions to the IHR quarterly *Journal* are invited, even solicited, from all sides. Historians and scientists of every continent have been responding.In the dozen or so years of *The Journal's* publication, among the hundreds of contributions that have been submitted, not one has ventured to substantiate the "Holocaust."

Little publicity has been given the Institute's standing offer, and challenge, to debate the question of the "Holocaust." Even less publicity has been accorded the premature withdrawal of the very "Exterminationists" who have trumpeted their "acceptance" of the challenge.,

No newspaper, and no radio or televisions station, has informed the American people that those who most strenuously,

and stridently, want—at public expense—to force the "Holocaust" dogma on them and their children refuse to debate its veracity.

Among these curious "refuseniks" are the leaders and members of the myriad Jewish organizations in the United States, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress, the World Jewish Congress.

Individuals who have made fortunes on the "Holocaust"—"There's no business like Shoah business"—but shun debate on it include "Nazi-hunter" Simon Wiesenthal, hater-in-chief Eli Wiesel, and "Mr. Holocaust" himself, Professor Raoul Hilberg. Nor should the swarms of "survivors" who have profitably published their memoirs be overlooked.

The "Exterminationists," the professionals of the "Holocaust," when asked to debate their position, respond by wailing "discrimination," or "persecution," or screaming "anti-Semite," "neo-Nazi," "fascist"—but they won't debate. Why not?

Do not the American people have the right to hear, in open debate, all sides of a question that has cost them so much blood and treasure, and threatens to cost them more still?

At least until this question is resolved fairly and democratically—not, as is being pressed now, autocratically and dictatorially—to the satisfaction of the American people, the intolerable outrage of forcing a special-interest mind-set on our children and young people should be stopped.

Roosevelt's Secret Pre-War Plan to Bomb Japan

MARK WEBER

Several months before Japan's December 7, 1941 attack on Pearl Harbor, President Franklin Roosevelt secretly authorized devastating American bombing raids against Japanese cities. A top secret document de-classified in 1970, but only made public a few years ago, shows that in July 1941

Roosevelt and his top military advisers approved a daring plan to use American pilots and American war planes—deceitfully flying under the Chinese flag—to bomb Japan's major cities.[1]

The bombers would be under the command of Claire Chennault, a former U.S. Air Corps flyer who had been in the employ of Chinese Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek since 1937. In July 1941 Chennault already headed the "American Volunteer Group" squadron of U.S. "Flying Tiger" fighter planes that fought with great success against Japanese forces in China. Chennault's colorful unit was glorified in American newspapers and magazines, and in the 1942 Hollywood propaganda motion picture *Flying Tigers*, starring John Wayne.

The young pilots who flew the distinctively "shark-toothed" B-40 warplanes were ostensibly mercenaries, and the AVG force had no official connection with the U.S. government. In reality, though, the squadron was secretly organized and funded by Washington—in flagrant violation of both American and international law. Set up without consultation or consent of Congress, it specifically violated the U.S. Neutrality Act, the Reserves Act of 1940, and the Selective Service Act of 1940. Chennault's squadron was also a breach of Roosevelt's own formal declarations of U.S. neutrality in the conflict between Japan and China, which had been raging since 1937.

By aiding China, Roosevelt sought to keep Japanese forces tied up there. As long as the Japanese were fully occupied in China, he thought, they would not be a threat to British and U.S. interests in Asia. If China fell, Britain would have to divert war ships, troops and materiel badly needed in Europe.

A secret memorandum from the Office of the Chief of Naval Operations dated January 17, 1940 confirms that almost two years before the Pearl Harbor attack, the Roosevelt administration was considering war against the Japanese with U.S. mercenaries organized in "an efficient guerrilla corps." The memo also discussed a clandestine U.S. combat air operation against Japanese forces. Some months later, in May 1941, another memorandum for Roosevelt from Admiral Thomas C. Hart, Commander of the U.S. Asiatic fleet, began: "The concept of a war with Japan is believed to be sound," and went on to discuss how Japan could be attacked by American-piloted bombers.[2]

To put such ideas into effect, Chennault pushed for the formation of a task force of American-piloted bombers under his command that would raid Japan itself. "If the men and equipment were of good quality, such a force could cripple the Japanese war effort," he wrote. "A small number of long-range bombers carrying incendiary bombs could quickly reduce Japan's paper-and-matchwood cities to heaps of smoking ashes."

Chennault's proposal quickly received the enthusiastic support of China's ambassador in Washington, T. V. Soong (multi-millionaire banker brother-in-law of Chinese Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek), British ambassador Lord Lothian, U.S. Secretary of State Cordell Hull and FDR's Treasury Secretary Henry Morgenthau.

The idea to bomb Japan was first formally presented to Roosevelt on December 19, 1940. As Dr. Duane Schultz relates in his 1987 study, *The Maverick War*, FDR's response was to exclaim "Wonderful!," and to immediately instruct his Secretaries of State, Treasury, War and Navy to begin working out the details of a battle plan.[3]

Not everyone was so enthusiastic, though. Secretary of War Henry Stimson and Army Chief of Staff General George Marshall expressed misgivings. Marshall cautioned that having American pilots bomb Japan using American planes with Chinese markings was a trick that would not really fool anybody, but would simply plunge the United States into a war with Japan at a time when the U.S. was still woefully unprepared.

As a result of such misgivings, the plan was temporarily shelved. A few months later, though, a somewhat modified version was revived as "Joint Army-Navy Board Paper No. 355."[4]

As finally laid out in JB 355, an air strike force of 500 Lockheed Hudson bombers was to be organized as "The Second American Volunteer Group" under Chennault's command. Its mission would be the "pre-emptive" bombing of Japan. The strategic objective of JB 355 was the "destruction of Japanese factories in order to cripple munitions and essential articles for maintenance of economic structure in Japan." From bases about 1,300 miles away in eastern China, the American bombers would strike Japan's industrial centers, including Osaka, Nagasaki, Yokohama and Tokyo. (These air

WAR AND NAVY DEPARTMENTS SECRET

WASHINGTON

JUL 1 8 1941

SECRET

The President;

The White House.

Dear Mr. President:

At the request of Mr. Lauchlin Currie, Administrative Assistant to The President, The Joint Board has made recommendations for furnishing aircraft to the Chinese Government under the Lend-Lease Act. These recommendations are contained in the Joint Planning Committee report of July 9, 1941, J.B. No. 355 (Serial 691), which The Joint Board approved, and which is transmitted herewith for your consideration.

In connection with this matter, may we point out that the accomplishment of The Joint Board's proposals to furnish aircraft equipment to China in accordance with Mr. Currie's Short Term Requirements for China, requires the collaboration of Great Britain in diversions of allocations already made to them; however, it is our belief that the suggested diversions present no insurmountable difficulty nor occasion any great handicap.

We have approved this report and in forwarding it to you, recommend your approval.

July 23, 1941 OK - but not today

military mission to Russia

1 Incl.

Acting Secretary of War

Secretary of the Navy.

Cover letter of official U.S. "Joint Army-Navy Board No. 355" paper authorizing American bombing raids against Japan. The top secret document is signed by the Secretaries of War and Navy, and bears Franklin Roosevelt's initials of authorization and a handwritten date, July 23, 1941 – more than four months before the Japanese attack against Pearl Harbor.

strikes would have unavoidably claimed the lives of many civilians. By contrast, the Japanese planes that attacked Pearl Harbor carefully avoided civilian targets.)

U.S. funds for the operation were to be provided as part of a general loan to China and channeled through a dummy corporation. The American military personnel involved were given deceptive passports. (Chennault's gave his occupation as "farmer," and cited him as an "advisor to the Central Bank of China.")

Secret plan JB 355 was approved by the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, and—on July 23, 1941—by President Franklin Roosevelt.

No one played a more important role in promoting and organizing this plan than Lauchlin Bernard Currie, a close Roosevelt White House adviser. Now 89 years old and living in South America, he provided details of his role in the secret operation, and of Roosevelt's support for it, in a November 1991 television interview.[5] A major motive behind Currie's eagerness to get the U.S. into war with Japan, it seems, was his strongly pro-Soviet sympathies. There is even tantalizing but still inconclusive evidence to suggest that Currie was a Soviet agent.[6]

When Roosevelt approved plan JB 355, Currie sent a secret cable to Chennault: "I am very happy to be able to report that today the President directed that 66 bombers be made available to China [sic] this year, with 24 to be delivered immediately."

Although it received approval from numerous high-level officials, the plan was not well conceived. In the view of Yale University history professor Gaddis Smith, the Lockheed Hudson bombers that were to carry out the raids would have been easily shot down by Japan's first-rate fighter planes.[7]

Two days after approving JB 355, Roosevelt declared a crippling trade embargo against Japan, an act of economic strangulation that he knew full well would virtually assure war. (At that time, about 90 percent of Japan's oil and iron came from the United States.) And having broken Japanese codes, British and American officials learned in early July of Japan's sure intentions in the Pacific: war with the U.S. was now inevitable.[8]

Understandably viewing Roosevelt's campaign as a mortal threat to their country's very existence as a modern industrial nation, Japan's leaders resolved to strike a first blow. They reasoned that by destroying the U.S. Pacific fleet in Hawaii in one decisive surprise attack, they would remove the one great obstacle to forging a self sufficient Japanese empire in eastern Asia.

History thus intervened to thwart Roosevelt's plan to bomb Japan. Before JB 355 Japan could be put into effect, and before Japan felt the full impact of FDR's trade embargo, the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor—and Roosevelt had the open war with Japan that he had anticipated. In effect, Japan beat America to the punch.

On December 11, 1941, four days after the Pearl Harbor debacle, all further action on the JB 355 plan was suspended,

and the bomber pilots who had been recruited were quickly incorporated into the regular U.S. armed forces.

Franklin Roosevelt branded December 7, 1941, as "a date which will live in Infamy." And although many millions of Americans still regard Japan's "sneak attack" as the ultimate act of international deceit and treachery, it was hardly unique.

In 1801, Britain's Lord Nelson destroyed Denmark's fleet in a surprise attack on Copenhagen. In May 1846, the U.S. Army invaded Mexican territory before Congress got around to declaring that a state of war existed with Mexico. Far from feeling ashamed about it, Americans later elected as President the commander who lead the expedition, Zachary Taylor. In June 1967, Israel carried out a surprise attack against Egypt, and was widely praised in the U.S. for its adroit skill in destroying almost the entire Egyptian air force while it was still on the ground.

Just about every major power has resorted to surprise attack at one time or another, according to a study by British army officer and historian Sir Frederick Maurice. Between 1700 and 1870, he calculated, France carried out 36 surprise attacks, Britian 30, Austria twelve, Russia seven, Prussia seven, and the United States at least five.[9]

The long-suppressed story of FDR's plan to bomb Japan certainly deserves to be better known. As sensational as it is, though, it is only one chapter of the larger—and still largely unknown—story of Roosevelt's extensive and illegal campaign to bring a supposedly neutral United States into the Second World War.[10] Indeed even before the outbreak of war in Europe in September 1939, Roosevelt was secretly doing everything in his power to incite conflict there.[11]

In the months before the Pearl Harbor attack, the American president accelerated his illegal campaign. For example, after Axis forces launched the fateful June 22, 1941, "Barbarossa" attack against Soviet Russia, he promptly began sending American aid to Stalin. On July 25, 1941, Roosevelt froze Japanese assets of $130 million in the United States, thus ending trade relations. He closed the American-run Panama Canal to Japanese shipping. In June and July 1941, he dispatched U.S. troops to occupy Greenland and Iceland. And by September-October 1941, U.S. warships were actively engaging German U-boats in the Atlantic, in flagrant violation of U.S. and international law.[12]

From a larger historical perspective, the magnitude of Roosevelt's undercover military operations against Japan and Germany, at a time when the U.S. was ostensibly neutral, dwarfs other, much ballyhooed, clandestine U.S. military operations in later years, such as President Reagan's help to the Nicaraguan "Contra" fighters, or the infamous Iran-Contra operation.

Notes

1. Much of the information for this essay is derived from: Don McLean, "Tigers of a Different Stripe: FDR's Secret Plan to Torch Japan Before Pearl Harbor," *Soldier of Fortune*, January 1989, pp. 66-93.; Transcript, ABC television "20/20" broadcast, Friday, Nov. 22, 1991 (No. 1149).
2. D. McLean, *Soldier of Fortune*, Jan. 1989, pp. 67-68.
3. Dr. Duane Schultz, *The Maverick War: Chennault and the Flying Tigers*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987.
4. Joint Army-Navy Board Paper 355, ("Aircraft Requirements of the Chinese Government"), Serial 691, National Archives, Washington, DC.
5. Transcript, ABC television "20/20" broadcast, Nov. 22, 1991.
6. D. McLean, *Soldier of Fortune*, Jan. 1989, pp. 70-71.
7. Transcript, "20/20" broadcast, Nov. 22, 1991.
8. James Rushbridger and Eric Nave, *Betrayal at Pearl Harbor* (1991); John Toland, *Infamy* (1982); John Costello, *The Pacific War* (1981); Percy L. Greaves, Jr., "Three 'Day of Infamy' Assessment," *Journal of Historical Review*, Fall 1982, pp. 319-340.
9. William H. Honan, "Remember Pearl Harbor," *Los Angeles Times*, Nov. 6, 1991.
10. For example, the ABC television "20/20" broadcast of Nov. 22, 1991, which gave sensational treatment to the JB 355 bombing plan, failed to put the story in the larger context of FDR's ongoing campaign to bring the U.S. into war.; On FDR's campaign to bring America into war, see: George Morgenstern, *Pearl Harbor: The Secret War* (1947 and 1991); Charles A. Beard, *President Roosevelt and the Coming of the War 1941* (1948); William H. Chamberlin, America's Second Crusade (1952 and 1962); Charles C. Tansill, *Back Door to War* (1952); Harry Elmer Barnes, *Barnes Against the Blackout* (1991).
11. Mark Weber, "President Roosevelt's Campaign to Incite War in Europe," *Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1983, pp. 135-172.
12. For a more detailed listing of such acts, see: George Morgenstern, *Pearl Harbor: The Secret War*, pp. 87-88; "Hitler's Declaration of War Against the United States," *Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1988-89, pp. 406-410.

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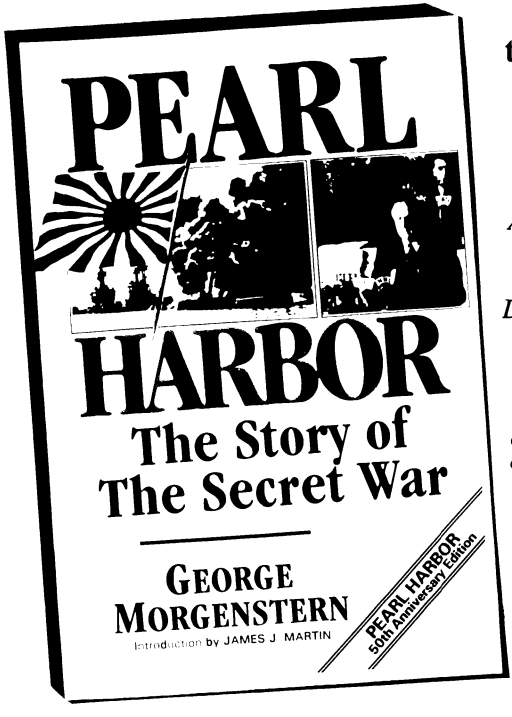

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