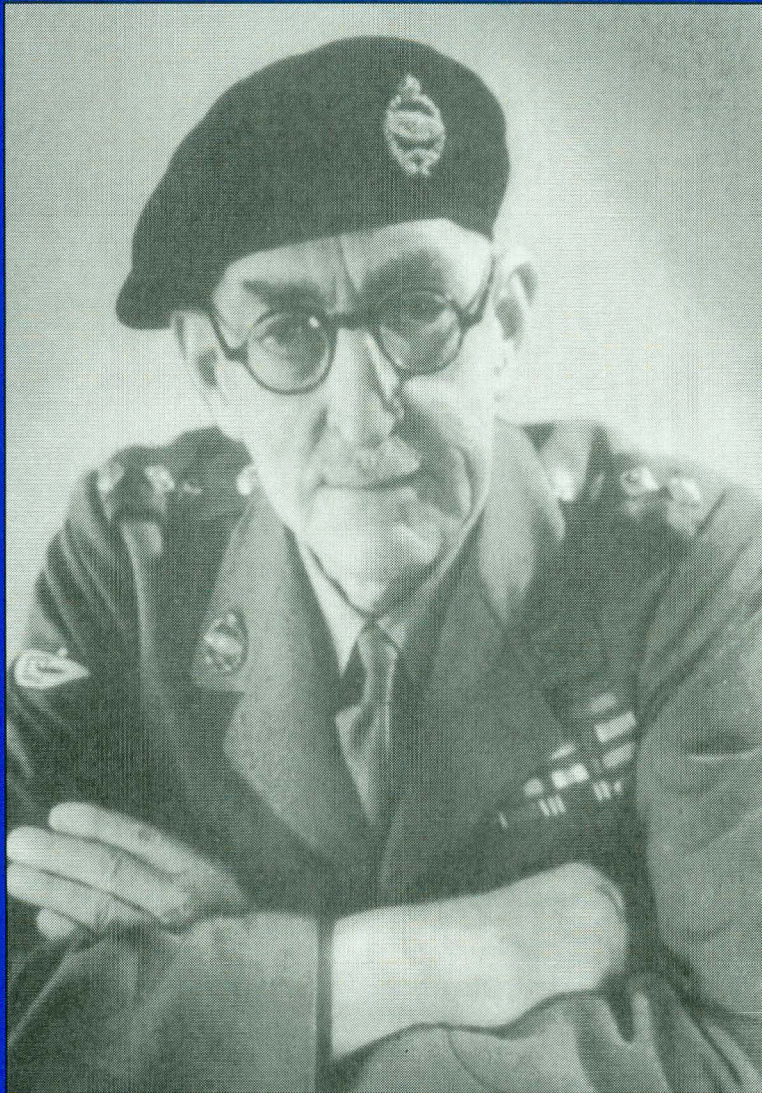


The Journal of Historical Review

Volume 18, Number 1

January / February 1999



Percy Hobart's Little-Known Story

Trevor J. Constable

Hilberg on Jewish 'Blackmail' Against Switzerland

Telepathic Genocide: Hilberg Explains

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German 'Indexing' of IHR Leaflets Cancelled

New Revisionist Publications

Jewish Power

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Zionism and Anti-Semitism: A Strange Alliance

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Shermer, editor-publisher of *Skeptic* magazine, makes one startling concession after another. He acknowledges that numerous Holocaust claims — once "proven" by eyewitnesses and courts — are obviously not true. Shermer concedes, for example, that an execution "gas chamber" at Majdanek — shown to thousands of trusting tourists yearly — is a fraud. (At Nuremberg the Allies "proved" that the Germans murdered *one and half million* people at this one camp.)

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On the cover: Major-General Percy Hobart

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The Little-Known Story of Percy Hobart

They Called Him 'Hobo'

TREVOR J. CONSTABLE

Winston Churchill threw down the *Sunday Pictorial* on the morning of August 11, 1940, with an angry scowl on his face. "We Have Wasted Brains!" blazed the headline to a slashing critical article by Britain's top military analyst, Captain B. H. Liddell Hart. Dominating the page was a photograph of a hawk-faced officer in the black beret of the Royal Tank Corps, former Major-General Percy Hobart. He was Liddell Hart's classic example of Britain's "wasted brains."

Practical pioneer and developer of the now-dreaded *Blitzkrieg* technique and former commander of the world's first permanent tank brigade, Hobart's revolutionary innovations in armored warfare had won him international military fame — and special attention in Germany. Dire peril now threatened Britain, but General Hobart was not commanding British tanks. He wasn't even in the Army. He had been found serving as a corporal in the Home Guard [overage men and other civilians otherwise unfit for regular military service, meagerly armed, whose "uniform" was an arm band] — the highest responsibility Britain's military mandarins were willing to give to the progenitor of the *Blitzkrieg*.

Aroused by Liddell Hart's exposure of the situation, Churchill was determined to change Hobart's assignment. In the process, the prime minister was to launch and bring to its climax a drama of personal resurrection unsurpassed in military history. As Churchill pressed buzzers and rumbled memoranda to his secretaries, the country stood on the brink of ruin. The struggle with the Luftwaffe raged overhead. German armies were massing on the French coast for the projected invasion. The British Army had been routed in France with the modern tank methods first demonstrated to the world by Hobart, now a Home Guard corporal. The Germans had learned and applied only too forcefully the techniques pioneered by Hobart's tank brigade years before.

Trevor J. Constable, born in New Zealand in 1925, has an international reputation as an aviation historian and author. With Colonel Raymond F. Toliver, he has authored a number of successful works on fighter aviation and ace fighter pilots. He has lived in the United States since 1952. He now makes his home in southern California.



Trevor J. Constable

The prime minister directed that Hobart should be taken back into the Army. The chief of the Imperial General Staff should give him at least one of the new armored divisions to command. Delay was to be avoided. A personal meeting was to be arranged promptly between Corporal Hobart and the prime minister.

In a modest home near Oxford, lean, bushy-browed Percy Hobart was preparing to leave for his Home Guard duties. The one-time general who had commanded hundreds of armored vehicles in maneuvers and raised and trained the 7th Armoured Division in North Africa took a wry look outside his front door at what was now his "transport." A baby Austin driven by a member of the Women's Volunteer Services stood waiting. The telephone jangled, Corporal Hobart answered, and found himself talking to one of Churchill's secretaries. The tank expert was asked to have lunch with the prime minister at Chequers, the official country residence of the British leader. Bigger things were in store for the aggressive 55-year-old ex-general, whose stormy and controversial past held the key to his future.

From the early 1920s, when he had transferred to the Royal Tank Corps as a military engineer, Hobart had turned his thinking to the future. He was among the few pioneers in every major nation to whom the tank appeared as the decisive land weapon of any future war. These tank enthusiasts,

British, German, American and French, took their tactical inspiration from two outstanding British theorists, J. F. C. Fuller and Captain B. H. Liddell Hart. Liddell Hart in particular was influential. He was even then winning recognition as Britain's leading military brain — in or out of uniform — and he wrote forcefully and persuasively in favor of the new doctrine of strategic mobility. This concept is basic to today's military teachings, but it was heresy in the 1920s. Liddell Hart held that tanks would restore to 20th-century warfare the ancient Mongolian idea of extreme mobility — the Mongols' main instrument of conquest. Bloody slugging matches in the 1914-18 fashion were doomed. Generalship would again flourish and replace the dull butchery of mass frontal attacks by infantry.

Orthodox military minds of that time could not grasp such concepts, which demanded creative imagination no less than military understanding. Men with imagination, vision and ability to carry these qualities over into practical soldiering were rare in the static-minded, socially-centered British Army. Percy Hobart was one such man. His diversified background and interests ensured that imaginative, mobile thinking would be second nature to him. A student of history and its lessons, he had delved also into such creative non-military fields as painting, literature and church architecture. Vibrant facets of mind to which regular military life gave no scope sparkled brilliantly in Percy Hobart.

Liddell Hart's "Mongolian" concept of strategic mobility became the focus of Hobart's considerable intellectual resources. Development of these concepts and their adjustment to the mechanical twentieth century dominated Hobart's life from the time they were put forward. His creative imagination had been fired by the military revolution he could visualize, but his creativity was combined with a rock-hard realism. "Wars cannot be fought with dream stuff," he used to say, as he poured his life's energies into the development of practical machines for armored warfare, and the effective methods of directing these new mobile weapons. His goal was to

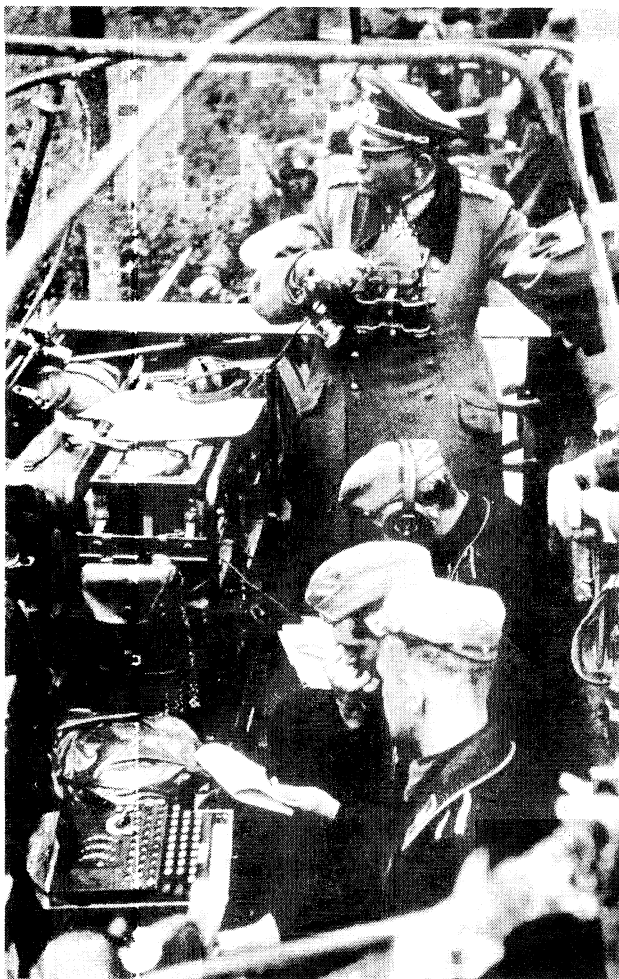


Percy Hobart, right, in conversation with General William H. "Big Bill" Simpson, US Ninth Army Commander. Units of Hobart's specialized 79th Experimental Armoured Division served with distinction with Simpson's Ninth Army. The two men became personal friends. Simpson called Hobart "the most outstanding high British officer I met during the war."

break military science out of the straitjacket of trench warfare by updating the Mongol methods.

Where the Mongols lived off the country through which they ranged, Hobart planned to carry sustaining rations in the tanks. Refueling would be from lightly-protected dumps in the enemy rear, where the far-ranging armored columns would penetrate and strike. He worked with relentless zeal to cut "the tail" of non-fighting service vehicles which hobbled and almost immobilized conventional army units. Tank forces of the future were to be self-contained for the maximum possible range.

Down-to-earth problems such as these did not prevent Hobart from taking a prescient look up at the sky. He planned for the time when the increasing power and versatility of aircraft would permit mobile armored columns to be completely supplied by airdrop. Standard practice today, this concept was in those times often the subject of mockery. Hobart planned to send his hard-hitting columns ripping into enemy supply lines and nerve centers in the rear, paralyzing command and demoralizing troops in the front lines. Less than twenty years later, America's General George S. Patton was to carry out these tactics on a vast scale and with historic success.



General Heinz Guderian in his armored command vehicle during operations in France, June 1940. His panzer units played a major role in routing British and French forces in May and June 1940.

Resistance to these radical ideas began to stiffen. The old order found its neurotic and professional security threatened by the progress of strategic mobility. "Hobo," as he was affectionately called by his intimates, viewed the old order and its resistance to the new ways with direct and unconcealed contempt. "Why piddle about making porridge with artillery," he said, "and then send men to drown themselves in it for a hundred yards of No Man's Land? Tanks mean advances of miles at a time, not yards!"

Views like these were shared only by a small military minority. The powerful ruling faction of military conservatives was convinced of the value of the tank only in scattered use to support infantry formations. Horsed cavalry had been literally swept from the battlefield by the machine gun, but cavalrymen and cavalry philosophy nevertheless still ruled the high commands of the British Army. Men like these regarded Hobart's ideas as anathema.

Professionally, they were maintaining the kind of army that could fight the First World War over again. Content with familiar ideas and concepts, and fearful deep inside that Hobart and others might be right, these controlling conservative elements closed the high commands of the British Army to tank advocates.

During this same period in the USA, despite the nation's massive mechanical heritage, a similar situation prevailed. Development of an independent armored force was stifled on that side of the Atlantic, although General Douglas MacArthur held a vision of the military future similar to that of Percy Hobart. Tank development was largely left to devoted individual officers in both Britain and America.

What Hobart's faction lacked in authority they made up for with energy and persistence. Aided by the strong independent voice of Liddell Hart, the tank enthusiasts were finally able in 1927 to pressure the British military hierarchy into the formation of an "experimental mechanized force." Maneuvers demonstrated dramatically that such a force outclassed old-style formations, leaving them bewildered and embarrassed. The theories of Liddell Hart and Fuller and the practical genius of Hobart's training and organization were vividly vindicated. The writing was on the wall for the old order.

The die-hards reacted with a more energetic campaign against tank advocates and theorists. At all costs tank men were to be kept out of high command. Major-General J. F. C. Fuller, whose writings had been widely acclaimed both in the US and Germany, was the first victim. By a series of subtle maneuvers he was quietly squeezed into retirement and never allowed to hold an important post. Other tank officers were sidetracked and discriminated against professionally.

Hobart was now a rising power in British military circles, and conservative machinations were directed against him. He miraculously survived these early efforts at strangulation of the new ideas, and held a series of commands in the Royal Tank Corps. He worked out a basic modern battle drill for tanks, and used all his considerable powers of persuasion to get radio-telephones for his armored fighting vehicles.

Like most things for which he struggled, radios are indispensable to the military of today. A tank in today's armies would hardly be considered battle-worthy without radio. But Hobart spent months requesting, cajoling, demanding it. When the precious radios were finally obtained, Hobo was as happy as a child on Christmas morning. "Control is as important as hitting power, armor or mobility," he said.

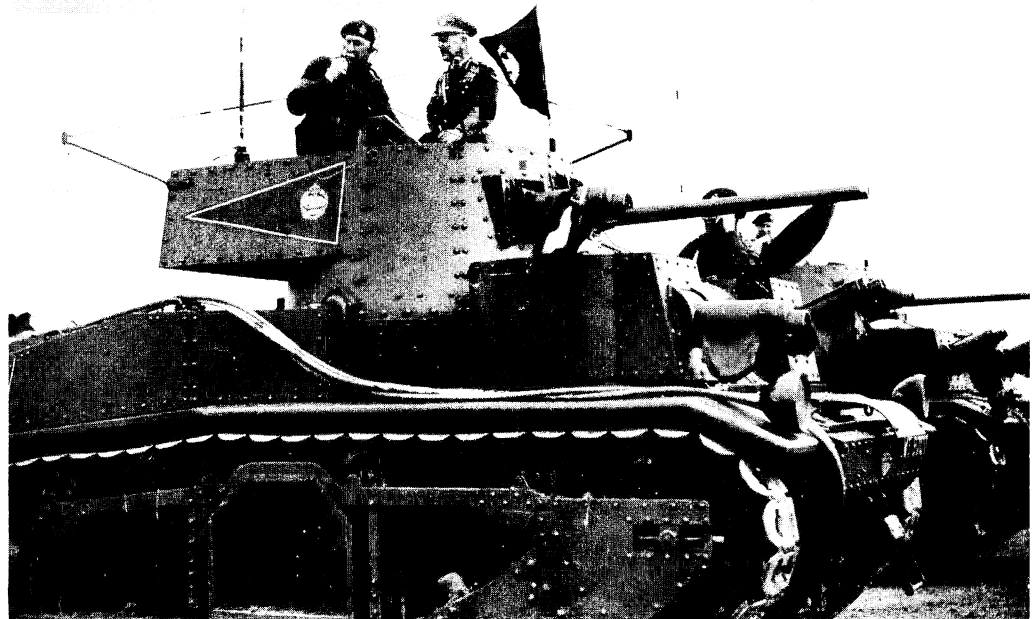
With the radios came a new dimension in tank tactics. The basic equipment for a modern tank force was now to hand and Hobart began building up the techniques of command and control that were to rock the world. He made a sharp departure from the army concepts of leadership then in vogue. He believed in men knowing what they were seeking to accomplish in a military operation, right down to privates. "I do not want automata serving under me," he told his subordinates.

He brought everyone serving with him into intimate contact with the higher strategic and tactical principles he was striving to establish in modern war. Although not an orator, Hobart was possessed of a virile and inspiring eloquence that generated tremendous enthusiasm. His gift was to focus this enthusiasm on practical military matters, charging the mundane with a rare magic. Hobart carried this principle over into the civilian circles where equipment was being manufactured for his tanks. When he finally got his radios, he sought out the young woman scientist who ground the crystals for these long-awaited sets. She was set up in the tank turret beside Hobart and he showed her how hundreds of fighting vehicles depended on the accuracy of her work.

After the young woman had gone away visibly impressed by what she had been shown, Hobart turned to his brigade major. "What a damned boring, awful job that girl has, grinding those crystals — but now she knows where we'd be without her."¹

The soaring enthusiasm generated by Hobart's methods reached its zenith in the 1st Tank Brigade, formed in 1934 as the world's first permanent tank unit on modern lines. By this time a brigadier despite his radical views on warfare, Hobart was given command of this historic unit. He quickly infused the brigade with a booming *esprit de corps* unrivalled in the British Army.

Under his control at long last was the kind of formation that could conclusively prove the case for



Hobart, top left (in beret), commander of Britain's 1st Tank Brigade, atop a modified 16-tonner during 1934 military exercises on southern England's Salisbury Plain.

strategic mobility. Hobart lost no time. In a series of brilliantly executed war games, he proved the feasibility of driving to the enemy's rear with fast-moving armored units and completely disrupting enemy organization. He carried the revolution even further.

Hobart proved that armored units could both travel and fight by night. This innovation forced a complete revision of strategic and tactical concepts, for it placed old-style military units more than ever at the mercy of armored fighting vehicles. He firmly established the fundamentals of co-operation between tanks and air power, central to all that is done on the modern battlefield. He drove the 1st Tank Brigade hard. He knew how much could be proved and needed to be proved and that he might not be granted the time by his superiors. Continuing antagonism toward tanks, tank advocates and the new concepts of armored warfare characterized the high command of the army, and Hobart was never sure that his next war game would not be his last.

These unsparing efforts by Percy Hobart gave birth to the basic technique of the *Blitzkrieg*, the new mode of mobile warfare that was to bring nation after nation tumbling down and force Britain to the brink of defeat. The British high command remained irrationally prejudiced against the military technique that Hobart was unfolding. With a curious kind of intellectual detachment, most British leaders did not believe that the devastating



Medium battalions of Britain's 1st Tank Brigade, under the command of Percy Hobart, in close-order drill during military exercises in 1934.

effects of Hobart-style armored units could be carried over into actual warfare. Purbblind views such as these aroused Hobart's fiercest antagonism: "What in hell is the use of having war exercises," he would fume, "when every lesson they teach us is ignored?"²

Skepticism about armor was reinforced by lingering love of the cavalry horse. The logical passage of this beloved beast into military limbo was delayed and obstructed by its devotees. These men became opposed to the tank on emotional, sentimental grounds, and found in Hobart a hostile, aggressive opponent. Horsemen nevertheless carried far more weight than tank men in British military life. Cavalry experts not only ruled the army commands, but had long tentacles into the body politic. Their influence was such that as late as 1936 the then secretary of war, Alfred Duff Cooper, apologized to the cavalry in Parliament for mechanizing eight of its regiments.

Hobart's achievements were running a poor second to the cavalry horse in Britain, but elsewhere they were undergoing dynamic scrutiny. A strong-jawed German colonel named Heinz Guderian probed with Teutonic thoroughness and an enthusiast's zeal into the lessons of every Hobart trial and exercise. Every report, observation and paper pertaining to Hobart's force was meticulously analyzed by Guderian, the Hobart of the new German Army. These studies formed the basis of the new panzer divisions, armored spearheads of Germany's new

army. Hobart's 1st Tank Brigade was Guderian's practical guide, and answered many of the German leaders early problems. Guderian had his difficulties with German military conservatives, but he accorded his country's tank debunkers little attention. When they spoke of "tank limitations," Guderian would not listen. "That's the old school," Guderian would say, "and already it is old history. I put my faith in Hobart, the new man."

At the conclusion of some prewar maneuvers of Guderian's panzer division, the German general was

reported to have offered a farewell toast in champagne — "To Hobart." The dynamic British pioneer was considerably less popular in Britain than he was with the modern military men of Germany. Unreasoning conservatism was taking an even sharper stand against tank men than ever before. The irrational nature of the conservative standpoint, combined with the menace to his country and the disasters that he could already foresee had turned Hobart into an explosively fierce advocate of what he knew to be true and proved by actual test.

The slender general's personal forcefulness and vehement manner of expressing himself in pursuit of his goals had earmarked him for professional extinction. "No man is any good who has no enemies" was one of Hobart's credos.³ By the late 1930s he had more bitter foes in Britain's War Office than any other officer in the British Army. He had become involved in heated arguments with all Britain's military mandarins. Every leader from the Chief of the Imperial General Staff downwards had felt the whiplash of his tongue and the weight of his eloquent logic. Confrontations with senior officers could not long continue. Hobart's passion for the armored idea was actually leading him to risk his all.

Efforts to tone him down had little success. A deeply concerned Liddell Hart, in company with General "Tim" Pile — another long-time tank advocate — took Hobo out to dinner one evening. Their

purpose was to save not only Hobart himself, but the armored idea, which Hobo's confrontations with high personages was placing in jeopardy. Relaxing in a pleasant atmosphere, Liddell Hart quietly stressed to Hobo that he was alienating potential War Office converts by his infuriating ways of argument. Like all strong personalities, Hobart could pass from one extreme of behavior to another. Force was balanced in his character by a courtly and irresistible charm. "He apologized disarmingly," Liddell Hart recalls, "and promised that it would not occur again. But only a week later the Chief of the Imperial General Staff complained to me that Hobo had again been intolerably rude to him. I tackled Hobo about it, but he was completely unaware of having been rude to anyone."

In this climate of clash and controversy, Britain tardily began the formation of its first modern armored division. The Germans already had four and were building more. Hobart's fears and predictions were being realized. He was the logical man for the command, and the new secretary of war, energetic, reform-conscious Leslie Hore-Belisha, was determined that Hobart should get the vital assignment. War Office conservatives dug their toes in and treated Hore-Belisha to a bewildering exhibition of bureaucratic and professional resistance. The secretary was unable to put Hobart into the post, and recalled in later years: "In all my experience as a minister of the Crown, I never encountered such obstructionism as attended my wish to give the new armored division to Hobart."

A cavalryman whose most recent assignment had been the training of riding instructors was proposed by the War Office for command of the new armored division. This proposal fairly characterized the uncomprehending state of British military thought on the eve of the world's greatest war. In a compromise arrangement with the War Office, Hobart became director of military training. Hore-Belisha hoped by this stratagem that Hobart's personal drive, enthusiasm and knowledge of armored warfare could permeate all army training.

The tank genius was now deep in "enemy" territory. He was the last tank man of high rank left in an influential post. Like a loathsome infection, he was gradually walled off by the subtle processes of the War Office organism, while pressure mounted to expel him entirely from that august body. Hore-Belisha was continually urged to dismiss Hobart.

The Munich crisis provided the right emotional climate and an excuse to get rid of him completely. He was bundled on a Cairo-bound aircraft, assigned to raise and train Britain's second modern armored division. With Hobo's removal to the Nile delta, tank thinking was exterminated in Whitehall [Britain's Foreign Office], and as Liddell Hart put it, "The

British Army was again made safe for military conservatism." For these decisions on the part of its highest military professionals, Britain was to pay dearly in life and prestige.

Scattered motorized and mechanized troops with obsolescent equipment were all that Hobart found in Egypt as the basis for a modern armored division. A grim enough prospect in itself, the equipment situation was overhung by a demoralizing and obstructive emotional factor. Commanding in Egypt was one of the British Army's remaining conservative hangovers from the First World War, a soldier for whom Hobart, himself a decorated veteran of the first conflict, had never failed to express his professional contempt. The commanding general was also a socially-minded soldier. He especially detested Hobart at the personal level for his 1928 marriage, for which Hobart's wife had gone through the divorce court.

Modern minds would regard such a procedure as little more than a fact of life. To the British Army of the period between the wars, it was a transgression sufficient to bring many threats of professional retribution on Hobart, one of them from the general who now commanded in Egypt.

Hobart's arrival was followed by a brief and brutally uncereemonious interview in the quarters of the commanding general. "I don't know why the hell you're here, Hobart," he barked, "but I don't want you."

In this poisonous atmosphere, once again virtually isolated, Hobart buckled down to build the kind of armored division of which he had always dreamed. There was virtually no communication with main HQ, no sympathy with what he was doing, no co-operation and no equipment. Hobart proved his superb qualities under these negative, antagonistic conditions by bringing off the miracle of the 7th Armoured Division.

Troops accustomed to the sleepy garrison routine of Egypt found themselves with a stern taskmaster. Rushed into the desert to train by day and by night they soon found themselves permeated by the unconquerable spirit of the tall, hawk-faced Hobart. He infused them with the same magic morale he had given to the 1st Tank Brigade, and month by month he welded the scattered units into a determined, smoothly functioning fighting division.

Taking the *jerboa* (desert rat) as their emblem they were soon known as the "Desert Rats." They proved themselves Britain's finest armored division in the whole North African campaign. Lieutenant-General Sir Richard O'Connor, commander of the Western Desert Force of 1940, called the 7th Armoured Division "the best trained division I have ever seen."⁴



J. F. C. Fuller, as a Colonel, about 1919. During World War I, he organized the first British tank corps. Author of nearly 40 books, he is widely acknowledged as one of this century's most brilliant military strategists and historians. (A review of two biographies of Fuller appeared in the May-June 1993 *Journal*.)

The grim and frustrating duels of the War Office and the struggle for the armored idea slipped into the background as Hobart fulfilled himself in a man's job. When war broke out in September 1939, a deadly, hard-hitting and superbly mobile force was under his command. Lean, tanned and hard of body and mind, the 54-year-old Hobo was ready for whatever the war could bring.

Three months later, Hobart was dismissed from his command and sent into retirement.

This shocking blow came at the hands of General Sir Archibald Wavell, who decided to act on an adverse report on Hobart filed by the general who hated him and who had sworn professional retribution. Normally a man impervious to the effects of opposition or professional misfortune, Hobart was shaken to the roots of his being by his abrupt and complete dismissal.

Lady Hobart recalls the 1940 dismissal from the army as the one time in their life together that the

general had shown distress over any reverse. "He was a stricken man," she says today. "To anyone lacking his intense fortitude, the wound would have been mortal. No warning whatever was given that this blow was to fall."

General Sir Archibald Wavell, who was himself a man with a keen mobile sense, was unable in later years to explain adequately his action in dismissing Hobart. The loss of the tank genius from the desert command was to have incalculable consequences for British arms and fortunes. Liddell Hart tackled Wavell about Hobart's dismissal personally, and made it clear to him how deplorable and damaging the whole affair had been. "Wavell's explanation was rather lame," says Liddell Hart.

Wavell went on to win his own immortal glories by crushing the Italians with the Hobart-trained 7th Armoured Division — the only unit available and able to nullify the overwhelming Italian advantage in manpower and machines. By one of destiny's strangest twists, Liddell Hart had compiled a list of the most promising officers in the British Army for Hore-Belisha in 1937. Only two men were singled from the multitude of British generals as likely to become great commanders — Wavell and Hobart.

The fortunes of the British Army in North Africa were left after Hobart's dismissal in the hands of high commanders who were no more than amateurs in the handling of modern armored forces. So tight was the conservative grip on command that it was not until the latter part of 1942 that authentic tank officers even reached divisional commands. This continuing prejudice and incomprehension was reflected by the British Army's record in the field. With an inferiority of force but with an intuitive gift for handling mobile forces, Rommel proceeded to thrash humiliatingly a succession of British generals sent against him. The troops in the field, as well as the public all over the world, began to wonder if the British had ever heard of the tank before Rommel. British troops in North Africa, repeatedly let down by their armored forces, began to look on their own tank units with considerable suspicion.

When Hobart went back to England, an appeal against his dismissal was made to the king. The appeal was never put forward by the War Office. In Britain's time of mortal danger, Hobart's foes had eliminated him completely from military affairs, and had no intention of bringing his case to the attention of the monarch. For his general's uniform and badges of rank Percy Hobart substituted the white brassard of the Home Guard on the sleeve of his lounge suit.

He joined the Home Guard without communicating anything of his intense disappointment to his wife and family. A deliberate effort had been made to break Hobart's spirit as well as to end his mili-

tary career. Self-pity might easily have overwhelmed a lesser man but Hobo was made of sterner stuff. "I cannot do what is ideal, so I must do what I can," he told his wife. He entered seriously into his Home Guard duties as a corporal. As the months passed, he seemed to develop an inner conviction that his chance would come, and that the wheels of the gods would eventually grind. For Hobo, the wheels of the gods ground along on German tank tracks.

Six months after Hobart's removal from the army, Guderian's panzers had run the British Army out of France in one of history's most humiliating routs. The able and farsighted German leader had used to perfection in war the techniques first tried and proved by Hobart. Never was there a more appropriate time for review of their military affairs and doctrines by the British, for only the miracle of Dunkirk had saved their beaten army from capture or annihilation.

Incredible as it must now seem, the stinging defeat of France and Dunkirk, with its devastating effects on morale and national pride, made little impression on Britain's military conservatives. Their intellectual detachment from the dynamism of events continued. The smashing of their First World War type formations in France was deemed due to some sort of lucky German punch, even though Hobart's Tank Brigade exercises in the middle 1930s had portended the armored revolution with undeniable clarity.

Winston Churchill was not satisfied either with these military notions, or the defeats they had brought upon Britain. He was no friend of military die-hardism. One of the early pioneers of the tank in the First World War, Churchill had helped batter down opposition to its introduction into the earlier conflict. Between the wars, the future prime minister had watched tank developments closely. Hobart's disastrous misemployment incensed Churchill. As prime minister and minister of defense he was the most powerful official in Britain, but getting Britain's leading tank tactician and general back into the army was to take every ounce of his authority, as well as some of his eloquence.

As late as October 1940, Hobart was still unemployed, his appointment obstructed high in the War Office. Churchill was given a dossier listing the reasons why the progenitor of the *Blitzkrieg* should not be given an armored division. Churchill replied to the resisting spirits in the War Office with a historic minute:⁵

October 19, 1940

Prime Minister to Chief of Imperial General Staff:

I was very pleased last week when you told

me you proposed to give an armored division to General Hobart. I think very highly of this officer, and I am not at all impressed by the prejudices against him in certain quarters. Such prejudices attach frequently to persons of strong personality and original view. In this case, General Hobart's views have been only too tragically borne out. The neglect by the General Staff even to devise proper patterns of tanks before the war has robbed us of all the fruits of this invention. These fruits have been reaped by the enemy, with terrible consequences. We should, therefore, remember that this was an officer who had the root of the matter in him, and also vision. I have carefully read your note to me, and the summary of the case for and against General Hobart. We are now at war, fighting for our lives, and we cannot afford to confine Army appointments to officers who have excited no hostile comment in their career. The catalogue of General Hobart's qualities and defects might almost exactly be attributed to any of the great commanders of British history.

... This is a time to try men of force and vision, and not be confined exclusively to those who are judged thoroughly safe by conventional standards.

With this push from Churchill, Hobart's star went into the ascendant. He raised and trained the 11th Armoured Division, earmarked to fight in North Africa. While he set his indelible personal stamp on the 11th, Hobart chafed at the disasters inflicted on the British in North Africa by Rommel. He felt certain that he could defeat the Desert Fox if given the chance, but on the eve of the 11th Armoured's departure for Africa, Britain's military reactionaries took one last ignominious cut at the brilliant tank leader.

Because his military views could no longer be gainsaid, the final effort to oust Hobart was made on medical grounds, and mainly because he was now 56. His opponents were unfortunate in that they made their last effort to ruin and remove Hobart in September of 1942, a black month for the British Army. Only three months earlier, Rommel had sent the powerful British 8th Army reeling back in a rabble from Tobruk. The Desert Fox stood now at El Alamein, readying his final thrust at Alexandria. This reverse had been inflicted by dynamically directed armored forces on the superior British Army and had left Churchill furious. The prime minister had also personally visited and inspected Hobart's new 11th Armoured Division only a few months previously, and had found Hobo in full vigor. Churchill's reaction to the final attempt to oust



Heinz Guderian was Germany's most important architect of armored warfare. In the years before Hitler came to power, when tanks were forbidden to Germany under the punitive Versailles Treaty, he learned much about modern armored warfare from a close study of the pioneering work of Britain's military strategists. In his post-war memoir, he specifically acknowledged his great debt to the writings of J.F.C. Fuller and B.H. Liddell Hart. Guderian also carefully studied accounts of Percy Hobart's innovative tank operations. After Hitler's advent, these lessons were applied in rapid development of the world's most powerful and effective armored force. In 1934 Hitler sanctioned the new *Wehrmacht's* first tank battalion, and four years later he named Guderian to command Germany's armored formations.

Hobart was this second historic minute on the tank leader, filed on September 4, 1942:⁶

Prime Minister to Secretary of State for War:

I see nothing in these reports [of the Medical Board report on General Hobart] which would justify removing this officer from command of his division on its proceeding on active service.

General Hobart bears a very high reputation, not only in the service, but in wide circles outside. He is a man of quite exceptional mental attainments, with great strength of charac-

ter, and although he does not work easily with others, it is a great pity we do not have more of his like in the service. I have been shocked at the persecution to which he has been subjected. I am quite sure that if, when I had him transferred from a corporal in the Home Guard to the command of one of the new armored divisions, I had insisted instead on his controlling the whole of the tank developments, with a seat on the Army Council, many of the grievous errors from which we have suffered would not have been committed.

The high commands of the Army are not a club. It is my duty ... to make sure that exceptionally able men, even though not popular with their military contemporaries, are not prevented from giving their services to the Crown.

As it happened, the assignment of Hobart's 11th Armoured Division to North Africa was cancelled at the last minute. Under Major-General G. P. B. "Pip" Roberts, a Hobart-trained tank leader of great skill, the 11th later became Britain's finest armored division in the whole of the European campaign. Hobart raised and trained the two finest British armored divisions of the war, but a more massive challenge awaited him now, beside which an ordinary divisional command would have been misuse of his unique talents.

The invasion of Europe and the subsequent campaign into Germany required a host of new-type tanks and armored vehicles. Tanks were needed for bridging ditches and rivers, clearing mine fields, throwing flame, destroying pillboxes and emplacements and for swimming ashore from landing craft with the assault waves and crossing rivers. Because these tanks did not exist in usable form, they had to be developed, together with the tactics for their employment. Men would have to be trained in the specialized task of manning these new weapons.

Design and development problems were enormous, and it was not a job for a riding instructor. Britain's new Chief of the Imperial General Staff, General Alan Brooke, had not been a Hobart enthusiast in prewar days. Nevertheless he was man and soldier enough to recognize that at this juncture there was one man in Britain pre-eminently qualified to develop specialized armor for the invasion and conquest of Europe.

General Alan Brooke called a somewhat bewildered and cautious Hobart to his London office in March 1943 and asked him to train a unit in the handling of specialized armor. This unit was later to become known as the 79th (Experimental) Armoured Division. After almost two decades of frustration, disappointment, sidetracking and out-

right victimization, Hobart suspected some sort of trap. Sir Alan Brooke's prewar apathy to the armored idea remained fresh in his mind. The ex-Home Guard corporal asked for time to consider the offer of command made to him by the Chief of the Imperial General Staff. Sir Alan Brooke agreed to this request, and Hobart set out to track down Liddell Hart and get his views on the proposal.

Hobart found Liddell Hart at the house of friends in Stoke Hammond, outside London. All urgency and energy, Hobo took the famed military analyst out in the garden for a private talk. Striding up and down in an icy wind for an hour, arguing about the new armored unit as a vehicle for Hobo's talents, they looked like anything but friends. Liddell Hart's wife Kathleen took periodic nervous looks out of the window. The vehemence of their discussion was unmistakable, and she wondered if they were quarrelling.

Liddell Hart finally convinced the gun-shy Hobart that it was an opportunity to be seized, and that such a chance would never come his way again. The 79th was to be the biggest division in the world, and also the first all-armored division. Tempted by the prospects, excited by the challenge, Hobo's resistance crumbled. He took the job.

Hobart's drive, knowledge and will-power became decisive in the building of the epic 79th. Time was short. There was virtually no background of previous experience on which to draw, a situation which placed a premium on Hobart's acumen, experience and military intuition. Challenge and fulfillment came together.

Trials and tests were endless. Hobart's gift for arousing enthusiasm for a new idea found full scope. The 79th (Experimental) Armoured Division took a bull's head as its insignia and soon boasted the same kind of soaring élan and confident professionalism that characterized other Hobart-trained formations. Urgency and excitement pervaded Hobart's environment, and no longer were there blockheads in brass hats to scrutinize and obstruct his requirements. On the contrary, men with wide authority moved heaven and earth to provide him with the necessary resources.

Field Marshal Montgomery, the conqueror of Rommel, was Percy Hobart's brother-in-law. Although a Hobart admirer for many years, Monty had tended to shy away from the tank idea when it was unpopular at the War Office. The hero of El Alamein now put his prestige behind Hobart's work and took up the needs of the 79th with General Eisenhower. The Supreme Commander quickly recognized Hobart's vital role and his unique abilities in developing specialized armor. Eisenhower slashed red tape and gave top priority to the US manufacture of the odd-looking tanks and attach-



Prime Minister Churchill, left, accompanied by General Hobart, right, inspects the 11th Armoured Division in November 1941.

ments Hobart required. High-level push of this kind, and Eisenhower's unstinting support of anything likely to save lives, soon provided the resources to assemble Hobart's "Menagerie," as it became known.

Liddell Hart has called the 79th Armoured Division "the tactical key to victory." Because it was not a division that fought as a unit, but had its elements farmed out to the Allied armies wherever they were needed, the 79th has far less historical fame than most of the Allied divisions that stormed through Europe. How far many other divisions would have been successful without the "funnies" of the 79th is a question for debate.

By the time the Allies reached the Rhine, Hobart's 79th Division consisted of eight brigades and a total of 17 regiments, quadrupling the complement of armored and tracked vehicles on the establishment of any normal armored division. This huge metal menagerie was spread out at times over a front of ninety miles, and the direction and allocation of its 1,900 armored vehicles kept Hobo hopping.

As the US Army in the beginning did not have specialized armor of its own, the 79th frequently worked in close support of US troops, and was the only British unit to do so. This situation suited Hobart. He liked Americans and they liked him. He was direct, frank and forceful, knew what he was

talking about and understood the American character as few British commanders ever did. He would verbally thrash any officer or man he heard speaking against the Anglo-American alliance, to which he was deeply devoted. At one time, he even had an American aide, New York oilman George Thomson Jr., who served with the British Army. Hobart's radiant admiration for things American, such as know-how and mechanical skill, was not a superficial or transitory thing. He had an intimate knowledge of American commanders and their views, and an extensive knowledge of US military history. He held America's top generals in the highest regard.

The directness and honesty of most American generals appealed greatly to Hobart. With the US 9th Army commander, General W.H. "Big Bill" Simpson, the feeling was mutual. Simpson was taken aback by Hobo's quiet boast that he was "the oldest major-general serving in Europe." Simpson says of the amazing Englishman: "He was the outstanding British officer of high rank that I met during the war, and from his mind and bearing no one could possibly have guessed his age."

Vigorous and vitally alive, Hobart served with his fantastic steel menagerie until the final gun of the war from which he had almost been excluded. The case for armor had been proved. The basis for future manifold developments of tanks had been laid by the accomplishments of the 79th. Wrote General Eisenhower in his report:⁷

Apart from the factor of tactical surprise, the comparatively light casualties which we sustained on all beaches, except OMAHA, were in large measure due to the success of the novel mechanical contrivances which we employed, and to the staggering moral and material effect of the mass of armor landed in the leading waves of the assault. It is doubtful if the assault forces could have firmly established themselves without the assistance of these weapons.

Hobart had probably done more than any other single individual to advance both tanks and special-



Major-General Sir Percy Hobart, K.B.E., C.B., D.S.O., M.C., Colonel-Commander of the Royal Tank Regiment, in a formal postwar photograph.

ized armor on the practical level. Had Hobart's 79th Armoured Division, with its fearsome bull's head insignia, not been such a spectacular success, tank innovations may well have halted as they did after the First World War. Tanks are today an integral part of atomic battlefield planning.

Percy Hobart was knighted by King George VI, and from the US received the Legion of Merit, Degree of Commander, a decoration of which he was extremely proud. When he went into retirement after the Second World War, it was in an honorable and upright way, with his admirers far outnumbering his critics. His death in 1957 saw him deeply honored and widely mourned, and to have "served with Hobo" is a real distinction in the British Army, where his one-time juniors and students are now in the highest commands.

From persecution, victimization, and his incredible misemployment as a Home Guard corporal, Hobart's resurrection to a decisive command in the Allied armies is one of the more startling personal stories of the Second World War. His story was hardly the kind of thing likely to impress the public with the efficiency of the war effort, or the quality of Britain's military leadership. Thus he remained almost unknown outside army circles.

The most memorable tribute to Hobart came from Captain B. H. Liddell Hart, whose exposure of the Home Guard episode started the tank pioneer on the road back. All the high British commanders and most of the Americans had passed before the famed analyst in a living parade, as they pursued their careers and often aroused his criticism. Liddell Hart also knew the Germans well — perhaps better than any other military writer and thinker outside Germany. As Britain's leading military brain, his judgment has many times been vindicated, although his warnings all too often went unheeded.

In Liddell Hart's opinion, the independence of a top command would probably have proved Hobart to be the best of the British commanders, capable of matching the best of the Germans on equal terms. In summing up, Liddell Hart writes of Hobart: "He was one of the few soldiers I have known who could be rightly termed a military genius."

Notes

1. Personal reminiscence provided by General Sir John Crocker, Hobart's brigade-major in 1934.
2. Personal remembrance of General Sir John Crocker.
3. Personal recollection of Lady Dorothea Hobart.
4. General Sir Richard O'Connor, commander of the Western Desert Force, 1940-41. Cited in: B.H. Liddell Hart, *The Tanks* (Praeger, 1959), vol. I, p. 404.
5. Winston S. Churchill, *The Second World War*, vol. II, "Their Finest Hour," 1st ed., pp. 602-603.
6. Winston S. Churchill, *The Second World War*, vol. IV, "The Hinge of Fate," 1st ed., p. 791.
7. Cited in: B. H. Liddell Hart, *The Tanks* (Praeger, 1959), vol. II, p. 332.

Author's Note

This article is slightly adapted from a chapter of my book *Hidden Heroes*, which was published in London in 1971 by Arthur Baker, Ltd. Since then, this unique collection of biographical sketches has received no exposure or publicity.

Consequently, the little-known Second World War tale of Percy Hobart's victimization and vindication is presented here, for the first time ever, to an American readership.

I remain much obliged, even after more than 30 years, to the late eminent military historian and analyst, Captain Sir Basil H. Liddell Hart. He gave freely of his professional time to assist me with numerous details, insights and clarifications. He patiently corrected my drafts of this story, in which he himself had been intimately involved from first to last.

The late General William H. Simpson, former commander of the US Ninth Army, enthusiastically shared his reminiscences of General Hobart. George Thomson, Jr., of New York, and Major John Borthwick of Britain, military aides to General Hobart after his "resurrection," provided valuable insights, each from his own perspective, into a many-sided military genius.

The late Generals Sir John Crocker and Sir Harold "Pete" Pyman, similarly contributed to this portrait of Hobart, as former students who lived not only to see their visionary teacher's predictions come true, but to be developed further in scarcely conceivable ways. Lady Dorothea Hobart, the great man's widow, rendered indispensable aid by rallying these eminent men to help me, and was throughout the soul of kindness.

"Nothing can alter my inner soul: I shall pursue my own straight course and shall do what I believe to be right and honorable."

— Frederick the Great

Liddell Hart on Hobart

"Much of the credit [for the February 1941 British victory against larger Italian forces at Beda Fomm, Libya] was due to a man who took no part in the campaign — Major-General P.C.S. Hobart, who had been appointed to command the armored division in Egypt when it was originally formed in 1938, and had developed its high pitch of maneuvering ability. But his ideas of how an armored force should be handled, and what it could achieve when operating in strategical independence of orthodox forces, had been contrary to the views of more conservative superiors. His 'heresy,' coupled with an uncompromising attitude, had led to his removal from command in the autumn of 1939 — six months before the German panzer forces, applying the same ideas, proved their practicability."

— B. H. Liddell Hart, in his *History of the Second World War* (New York: 1971), p. 117.

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"The good society is marked by a high degree of order, justice, and freedom. Among these, order has primacy: for justice cannot be enforced until a tolerable civil social order is attained, nor can freedom be anything better than violence until order gives us laws."

— Russell Kirk, *The Roots of American Order*

Hilberg Denounces Jewish 'Blackmail' Against Switzerland

For several years now, the World Jewish Congress and other major Jewish organizations have waged a fierce and much-publicized campaign to force Switzerland to pay millions to Jewish organizations and Holocaust survivors, to compensate for money allegedly deposited in Swiss banks by Jews who later perished during the Second World War, and for gold purchased from Germany that was allegedly stolen from Jews. On August 12, 1998, major Swiss banks capitulated by agreeing to a "global settlement" payment of \$1.25 billion dollars.

While US politicians and the American media have predictably supported the Jewish campaign against the Alpine confederation, which has included threats of economic boycott, many



Edgar Bronfman with Bill Clinton

thoughtful people rightly regard this entire campaign as a disgraceful manifestation of Jewish power. Among those who have spoken out against it is Holocaust historian Raul Hilberg.

"I was nearly alarmed when I heard that the Swiss banks would pay 1.25 billion dollars," he said in a recent interview published in the respected Swiss weekly *Weltwoche* (January 28, 1999). In the campaign against Switzerland, Hilberg went on, "the Jews have used a weapon that can only be described as blackmail (*Erpressung*). At another point in the interview he said: "I cannot accept the thesis that the blackmail methods were the only way to deal with this issue."

Hilberg, one of the world's most prominent Holo-

caust historians, is the author of the three-volume work *The Destruction of the European Jews*. Born in Vienna in 1926, he has for decades been a professor at the University of Vermont.

"I believe that the [Swiss] banks have paid more than they actually owe," Hilberg also told the Swiss weekly. "The demands of the World Jewish Congress are therefore morally false. If something belongs to another person, it doesn't belong to me. If I say that it belongs to me, I have to prove it. And when, as in the case of Holocaust money, it cannot be proven, a compromise based on healthy human intellect must be reached that is rational and acceptable."

"There is thus no relationship whatsoever," he went on, "between what the banks owe the Jews and what the World Jewish Congress has demanded and received." He expressed concern that the amount of the "global settlement" suggests that Europe's Jews in the late 1930s and early 1940s were much more wealthy than was actually the case.

Hilberg singled out World Jewish Congress president Edgar M. Bronfman for pointed criticism: "I cannot stress enough that the man who heads the World Jewish Congress does not speak for me. His family has one and half billion dollars. If he really wanted to, he could help a few poor survivors with money from his own vest pocket."

Hilberg also spoke about the problem of false Holocaust witness testimony, specifically citing the widely-praised memoir of "survivor" Benjamin Wilkomirski as a fabrication. (See "Holocaust Survivor Memoir Exposed as Fraud," Sept.-Oct. 1998 *Journal*, pp. 15-16.) Said Hilberg: "This is indeed a problem of Holocaust research: people often make use of survivor testimony. It's the primary literature. But one must be very careful, because testimonies are often mistaken, memories can deceive, and some things are suppressed."

— M.W.

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Genocide By Telepathy, Hilberg Explains

Robert Faurisson

Raul Hilberg, the most prestigious of the authors who defend the thesis of the physical extermination of Jews by the Germans during the Second World War, began his investigation of this subject in 1948.

In 1961, after more than a dozen years' labor, he published *The Destruction of the European Jews* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books). In this work, he presents "the destruction of the European Jews" as a vast undertaking personally supervised by Hitler who, he says, gave two orders to this effect. Then, he continues, various German administrative agencies, especially in the police and the military, acted in conformity with these orders, duly coordinating their efforts to prepare, organize, control and carry out this vast criminal enterprise.

In 1976 appeared *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, a work by the most prestigious of revisionist authors, Arthur R. Butz, who teaches at Northwestern University near Chicago. He shows that the alleged extermination of the Jews constitutes "the hoax of the twentieth century."

In 1978-1979, I published two articles in the prominent Paris daily *Le Monde* demonstrating that the alleged Nazi gas chambers could not have existed, and this essentially for physical and chemical reasons.¹ These articles caused something of a stir. Two well-known French intellectuals, Raymond Aron and François Furet, announced that an international colloquium of experts would be held to establish before the world that the extermination of Jews and the Nazi gas chambers really existed. Among the experts who figured in this was Raul Hilberg.

Just before the start of the colloquium, a lengthy interview with Hilberg appeared in the influential French magazine *Le Nouvel Observateur*, in which the German-born Jewish historian expressed some astounding ideas.² Regarding the destruction of the European Jews and the Nazi gas chambers, he basically said that no documents exist that really prove these things, but rather only some testimonies that

Robert Faurisson is Europe's foremost Holocaust revisionist scholar. Born in 1929, he was educated at the Paris Sorbonne, and served as a professor at the University of Lyon in France from 1974 until 1990. He was a specialist of text and document analysis. His writings on the Holocaust issue have appeared in several books and numerous scholarly articles, many of which have been published in this *Journal*.

This essay is an adaptation of a piece originally written in 1988.



Raul Hilberg

"accord somewhat."

While Hilberg of course holds to his basic extermination thesis, this explanation is radically different from the one he had previously given. It is obvious that revisionism is responsible for this change. Hilberg more or less conceded this, even if only indirectly. Specifically, he declared:³

I will say that, in a certain way, Faurisson and others, without wanting to, did us a favor. They raised questions which had the effect of engaging historians in new research. They have obliged us to once again collect information, to re-examine documents and to go further into the comprehension of what has taken place.

The international colloquium took place as scheduled at the Sorbonne from June 29 to July 2, 1982, but behind closed doors. Then, an account of its discussions and conclusions was given at a press conference. But, to the surprise of everyone present, only Raymond Aron and François Furet appeared at the press conference, declaring, on the one hand, that "despite the most scholarly research," no one had been able to find any order by Hitler for the extermination of the Jews, and, on the other, that pursuing the revisionists in court was like conducting a witch-hunt. *Not one word was said about gas chambers.*

Seven months later Hilberg summarized his new thesis before an audience of nearly 2,700 at Avery Fischer Hall in New York City: the entire German policy for the physical destruction of the Jews was to be explained by *mind reading*! No document attesting to this criminal policy could be found, because no such document existed. For several years, the entire German bureaucratic machinery operated through a kind of telepathy. As Hilberg put it:⁴

But what began in 1941 was a process of destruction not planned in advance, not orga-

nized centrally by any agency. There was no blueprint and there was no budget for destructive measures. They [these measures] were taken step by step, one step at a time. Thus came about not so much a plan being carried out, but an incredible meeting of minds, a consensus — mind reading by a far-flung bureaucracy.

Let us note again those final words: “an incredible meeting of minds, a consensus — mind reading by a far-flung bureaucracy.”⁵

Two years later, Hilberg confirmed those words and this explanation during the first “Holocaust trial” of Ernst Zündel in Toronto. He did this under oath during his cross-examination by Zündel’s lawyer, Douglas Christie, whom I was assisting.⁶

That same year (1985) the “revised and definitive” edition of his book appeared. In it, the University of Vermont professor did not use the expression “consensus” or “mind reading.” And yet he wrote:⁷

In the final analysis, the destruction of the Jews was not so much a product of laws and commands as it was a matter of spirit, of shared comprehension, of consonance and synchronization.

He also wrote of “countless decision makers in a far-flung bureaucratic machine” without “a basic plan.” He mentioned “written directives not published,” “oral directives and authorizations,” and “basic understandings of officials resulting in decisions not requiring orders or explanations.” There had been “no one agency,” he wrote, and “no single organization directed or coordinated the entire process.” The destruction of the Jews, he concluded, was “the work of a far-flung administrative machine,” and “no special agency was created and no special budget was devised to destroy the Jews of Europe. Each organization was to play a specific role in the process, and each was to find the means to carry out its task.”⁸

For me, this is like explaining what would have been a huge criminal undertaking of industrial proportions based, in particular, on a weapon (a chemical slaughterhouse using an insecticide), operating through the intervention of the Holy Ghost, all of which had been conceived and created through a kind of spontaneous generation.

I refuse to believe that which is not believable. I refuse to believe in the incredible. I refuse to believe in what Hilberg himself calls “an incredible meeting of minds.” I refuse to believe in mind reading or telepathy, just as I refuse to believe in the intervention of the Holy Ghost or in spontaneous generation. I take exception to any historical thesis, any system

of historical explanation, based on such hare-brained notions.

On November 23, 1978, the French historian René Rémond declared to me: “As for the [Nazi] gas chambers, I am ready to follow you; as for the genocide, I have the deep conviction that Nazism in itself was sufficiently perverse so that this genocide was part of its motivations and its actions, but I recognize that I have no scientific evidence for this genocide.”

This is indeed the least one might say when one is concerned about historical truth.

Notes

1. “Le problème des chambres à gaz’ ou ‘la rumeur d’Auschwitz,’” *Le Monde*, Dec. 29, 1978, and, “Une lettre de M. Faurisson,” *Le Monde*, Jan. 16, 1979, Reprinted in: R. Faurisson, *Memoire en Defense* (Paris: La Vieille Taupe, 1980), pp. 71-75, 83-88, and in: R. Faurisson, *Écrits Révisionnistes* (1974-1998), published in four volumes in 1999, vol. 1, pp. 122-124, 131-134.
2. “Les Archives de l’horreur,” *Le Nouvel Observateur*, July 3-9, 1982, pp. 70-73, 75-76. The interview was conducted Guy Sitbon, regular correspondent in the United States for *Le Nouvel Observateur*.
3. *Le Nouvel Observateur*, July 3-9, 1982, p. 71. Also quoted in the Summer 1985 *Journal*, p. 170.
4. Quoted in: George De Wan, “The Holocaust in Perspective,” *Newsday* (Long Island, New York), Feb. 23, 1983, p. II/3. Also quoted in the Summer 1985 *Journal*, pp. 170-171.
5. According to *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*, “mind reading” is defined as “The faculty of discerning another’s thoughts through extrasensory means of communication; telepathy.”
6. Hilberg testimony on Jan. 16, 1985 (Toronto). Trial transcript, pp. 846-848.
7. Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1985, 3 vols.), p. 55.
8. R. Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (1985), pp. 53-55, 62.

False Assumption

“American policy today stirs up everything and settles nothing. The result is that it creates a void, opening the way to new tyrannies instead of new freedoms. At the bottom of America’s attitude is the assumption that all the world wishes to be American. And that assumption is false.”

— Hadj T’hami el Glaoui, pasha of Marrakesh, in 1944. Quoted in: James J. Martin, *Revisionist Viewpoints* (1971), p. 18.

German 'Indexing' of IHR Leaflets Cancelled

In October 1996 a German government agency "indexed" as "dangerous to youth" translations of two popular leaflets published by the Institute for Historical Review. Germany's "Federal Review Agency for Literature Dangerous to Youth" (*Bundesprüfstelle für jugendgefährdende Schriften*), acting at the request of the country's Interior Ministry, "indexed" unauthorized Internet translations of "The Holocaust: Let's Hear Both Sides," by Mark Weber, and "The Liberation of the Camps: Facts versus Lies," by Theodore J. O'Keefe.

An "indexed" item cannot be publicly advertised or otherwise offered for sale to minors. Normally the agency uses its "indexing" authority to restrict distribution of pornography, although it often targets "politically incorrect" books and other literature as well.

In the case of these IHR leaflets, the impact of the agency's action was mostly symbolic, because these two flawed German translation texts exist only on the "Zündelsite," a California-based Internet web site that includes writings by German-Canadian publicist Ernst Zündel, reports on his activities, and extensive writings by others.

As any careful reader of the texts in question can easily determine for himself, the key justifications given by the agency for this particular "indexing" decision are simply not true. (See "German Authorities 'Index' Two IHR Leaflets," July-August 1997 *Journal*, pp. 29-31.)

Zündel's German attorney, Jürgen Rieger of Hamburg, formally appealed the agency's "indexing" of several "Zündelsite" items, including the two IHR leaflets. For one thing, he argued, the agency had failed to explain precisely in what way these items were "dangerous to youth."

In a letter to the agency, Rieger went on to remark:

Apparently you seem to think that merely to show that someone is a revisionist is sufficient basis for an indexing application. In this regard, I would like to point out that the European Union declined to adopt the comparable German laws [regarding "indexing"], and that the United Nations Organization has issued an official reprimand against the [German] Federal Justice Ministry because the Holocaust law and legal system in Germany violate the basic right of freedom of opinion.

While pushing for ever greater restrictions on freedom of opinion, the [German] Federal Republic, at the risk of loitering in the Middle Ages, isolates itself ever further from the stan-



Jürgen Rieger

dard of law that prevails, fortunately, around the world.

In January 1999 an administrative court in Cologne agreed with Rieger that the agency lacked a legal basis for its "indexing" of the seven "Zündelsite" items. The 1996 action, it declared, was therefore contrary to law.

Capable and Dedicated Activist

Over the years Rieger has earned a hard-won reputation as one of his country's most capable and courageous legal defenders of "politically incorrect" nationalists and patriots. And his activism is not confined to the courtroom.

Participating in the large open-air "Leuchter Kongress" rally in Munich on March 23, 1991, he delivered a detailed address on the legal situation in Germany. On September 28, 1996, he addressed

6,000 people at a meeting in Passau of the "German Peoples Union" (DVU), where he was also awarded the "Freedom Prize" of the weekly *Deutsche National-Zeitung*. He is also a capable writer and editor. At one time he edited the impressive scholarly journal *Neue Anthropologie* ("New Anthropology"), published by the Society for Biological Anthropology, Eugenics and Behavioral Science.

Not surprisingly, Rieger's work has provoked the wrath of spiteful enemies, some of whom have not confined their expressions of hate to mere rhetoric. On August 30, 1995, several masked leftists brutally attacked him while he was walking on a public street in Hamburg. They beat him with wooden clubs and baseball bats, and kicked him after he fell to the ground.

The attacks stopped when passersby intervened. A rescue helicopter quickly flew Rieger to a university hospital, where intensive care unit physicians treated a large head wound, a fractured wrist, and bruises all over his body. They were able to save the almost fatally injured victim only because he had used his briefcase to protect his head. All the same, his right arm and right hand were in a cast for weeks, and he was not able to move his right hand for months.

Only one of the assailants was caught and charged: a 21-year-old Iranian-born student, A. Grakoui, who held a German passport. His parents lived in Berlin where, amazingly, his mother was employed at the Jewish Museum.

Expressing no regret for the cowardly attack, Grakoui refused to name any of his fellow assailants. He was sentenced to 15 months imprisonment for aggravated assault. In addition, Rieger brought a civil lawsuit against Grakoui, who paid 20,000 marks as injury compensation.

If a similar attack had been carried out by German skinheads against an Iranian student, says Rieger, the perpetrators would have been charged with attempted murder (not aggravated assault), and sentenced to eight years (not 15 months) imprisonment.

At the time of the attack, Rieger was defending two young Germans who were being prosecuted for having used the phrase "Auschwitz myth" in a critical commentary they had issued about Spielberg's "Schindler's List" movie.

— M.W.

"When truth is buried underground, it grows, it chokes, it gathers such an explosive force that on the day it bursts out, it blows up everything with it."

— Emile Zola

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Revisionist Publications: Around the World

Garaudy Reaches Japanese Readers

In terms of global impact, especially in France and the Arab-Muslim world, one of the most important revisionist works to appear in recent years is *Les mythes fondateurs de la politique israélienne* ("The Founding Myths of Israeli Policy"), a readable and well referenced work by noted French author and intellectual Roger Garaudy.

In a much-publicized case, a Paris court on February 27, 1998, fined Garaudy 240,000 francs (\$40,000) for statements made in his 1996 book. The octogenarian scholar was found guilty of "denying crimes against humanity" by expressing skepticism of the Holocaust extermination story, and for "racist defamation" by citing the awesome Jewish role in the Western media. Garaudy, a convert to Islam, garnered considerable support in Arab and Muslim countries for his legal battle, where the case has been widely regarded as yet another example of the hypocrisy that prevails in Europe and the United States on issues involving Jewish and Zionist interests. (For more about Garaudy and his travails, see the March-April 1998 *Journal*, pp. 16-18.)

Garaudy's "Founding Myths" (reviewed in the March-April 1996 *Journal*, pp. 35-36) quickly appeared in several languages. Now a Japanese edition is available in a handsome, 400-page hardcover volume, with bibliography, source references and index. Responsible for this edition is revisionist activist Aiji Kimura, a Tokyo journalist who is the author of several books, including a critical treatment of the US-Japanese role in the Gulf War. In November 1994 he visited the IHR office in southern California, where he conducted a videotaped interview with *Journal* editor Mark Weber.

Attractive Booklet for Czech Readers

Aimed at a wide readership is a handsome, well illustrated, 52-page Czech-language booklet, *Osvetim: fakta versus fikce* ("Auschwitz: Facts versus Fiction"), by Rudolf Seidl. In spite of its title, it covers much more than Auschwitz. Packed with charts, diagrams and numerous good quality photographs, including several in full color, this punchy 1998 booklet is an effective introduction to the revisionist view of the Holocaust extermination story. It sells for 60 Czech koruny each, with bulk rates available. Order from: VHO, Postbus 60, 2600 Berchem 2, Belgium.

Ahead of His Time

The generally acknowledged founder of Holocaust revisionism was Paul Rassinier, a French educator and underground Resistance activist who was



Roger Garaudy

arrested by the Gestapo in 1943 and interned until the end of the war in the Buchenwald and Dora concentration camps. His courage and suffering were later recognized with France's highest decoration awarded for Resistance activities, and he was elected to the French National Assembly as a deputy of the Socialist Party (SFIO). His memoirs of wartime camp experiences, *Passage de la Ligne* ("Crossing the Line") and *Le Mensonge d'Ulysse* ("The Lie of Ulysses"), brought heated rebuke.

In 1950 the gifted French writer Albert Paraz provided a preface to an edition of Rassinier's "Ulysses' Lie." In this remarkable piece, Paraz courageously and elegantly identified with Rassinier's skepticism about the gas chamber story, even calling for an international commission of independent historians to thoroughly investigate this emotion-laden issue.

Paraz' 1950 preface, out of print for many years, is once again available in a booklet published in January 1999, *Préface à Mensonge d'Ulysse de Paul Rassinier* ("Preface to 'The Lies of Ulysses' by Paul Rassinier"). In foreword to this new edition, Robert Faurisson commends Paraz for the "audacity of his



Paul Rassinier

thinking and the freedom of his tone." Comparing him to Céline, Faurisson also praises Paraz for "his generosity, his panache, his style." This 60-page, soft cover booklet is available, for 80 francs each, from: Éditions Akribéia, 45/3 route de Vourles, 69230 St.-Genis-Laval, France.

Detailed Majdanek Study

At the great Nuremberg trial of 1945-46, Allied officials charged that the Germans had killed one and a half million people at the Majdanek concentration camp, at Lublin in Poland. In recent decades, though, Majdanek has been little more than a footnote to the Holocaust story, and today no serious historian accepts the once supposedly proven claims of hundreds of thousands of victims there. Moreover, detailed, scholarly information about the camp has been scarce.

To fill this gap, two of Europe's leading revisionist scholars — Jürgen Graf of Switzerland and Carlo Mattogno of Italy — have written *KL Majdanek: Eine historische und technische Studie* ("Majdanek Concentration Camp: A Historical and Technical Study"). This new detailed work is the fruit of two years of diligent archival work and intensive study of original documents from Eastern European archives. Among other issues, the authors examine and debunk the Majdanek "gas chambers" legend.

This soft cover, German-language work of 300 pages was published in 1998. It contains charts, diagrams, facsimile reproductions of original documents, and wartime aerial photographs. There are 30 photographs (including eight in color), as well as a bibliography, copious source references, and an index. It is available, for 45 German marks each, from the publisher: Castle Hill, P.O. Box 118, Hastings, E. Sussex, TN34 3ZQ, England - UK.

Auschwitz Central Construction Office

Italian scholar Carlo Mattogno has written a detailed study of the central SS construction office, or *Zentralbauleitung*, of the Auschwitz camp complex. This agency was responsible for all construction in Auschwitz-Birkenau, including the notorious crematory facilities (with their alleged extermina-

tion "gas chambers").

La "Zentralbauleitung der Waffen SS und Polizei Auschwitz," published in 1998, is based on long-suppressed German wartime documents, especially records seized by the Soviets in 1945 and hidden for decades in Moscow state archives.

About half of this 215-page soft cover work consists of facsimile reproductions of original documents, including work orders, labor lists, charts and diagrams. It contains source references and a name index. It is available from: Libreria Ar, largo Dogana Regia, 84121 Salerno, Italy.

German Booklet Aims at Mass Readership

Germany's leading Jewish community figure, Ignatz Bubis, has called on authorities to take legal measures against an effective, information-packed, 40-page revisionist booklet, *Antwort Auf die Goldhagen- und Spielberglügen* ("Answer to the Goldhagen and Spielberg Lies"). By July 1998, some 40,000 copies had been distributed in Germany and Austria, making it the most widely distributed German-language revisionist publication so far. It is now in its fourth edition.

Its clear, easily readable prose style, catchy illustrations and handy format (6 1/2 by 9 1/2 inches) make it well suited for a mass readership. It is available — ten copies for 30 German marks — from the publisher: VHO, Postfach 60, B-2600 Berchem 2, Belgium.

Nuremberg Study in French

Taking aim at well-entrenched myths about the Nuremberg trials is a recently published 125-page soft cover book by Mark Weber, *La Face cachée de Nuremberg* ("The Hidden Side of Nuremberg"). Abundantly illustrated, this is an adaptation, with much added material, of Weber's lengthy essay, "The



Carlo Mattogno, left, with Russ Granata, at the Twelfth IHR Conference, September 1994.

Nuremberg Trials and the Holocaust,” from the Summer 1992 *Journal of Historical Review*. This is a special 1998 issue of a new the French revisionist periodical. (See “Alternative History’ in France,” in the March-April 1998 *Journal*, p. 30.) Selling for 125 francs each, this book is available from *L’Autre Histoire*, B.P. 3, 35134 Coesmes, France.

An Italian Examination of the ‘Faurisson Case’

Italian author Cesare Saletta presents an overview of legal repression of Holocaust revisionism in various European countries, with special emphasis on the legal persecution of French scholars Robert Faurisson and Serge Thion, in a December 1997 booklet, *Il Caso Faurisson e il Revisionismo Olocausto* (“The Faurisson Case and Holocaust Revisionism”).

This 135-page soft cover book (with index) includes essays by Faurisson and Thion, as well as the much-cited 1980 essay by Jewish-American scholar Noam Chomsky, in which he defends the free speech of Holocaust revisionists. By the same publisher is a 55-page companion booklet, *La repressione legale del revisionismo e l'emergere di una questione ebraica* (“The Legal Repression of Revisionism and the Rise of a Jewish Question”). Both are published by: Graphos, Campetto 4, 16123 Genova, Italy.

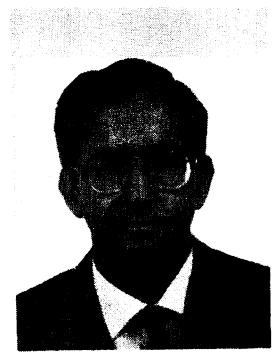
A New Look at the Gerstein ‘Confession’

For many years the “confession” of SS officer Kurt Gerstein has been widely cited as proof for the existence of German wartime homicidal gas chambers. The first critical and scholarly examination of this postwar “testimony” was provided by French historian Henri Roques in a much-discussed 1986 doctoral dissertation. Striking at the roots of the Holocaust story, Roques concluded in his “thesis of Nantes” that not only were Gerstein’s allegations of mass killings of Jews groundless, but prominent Holocaust historians have deliberately manipulated and falsified key parts of Gerstein’s tortured testimony. Roques’ exposé was published in English by the IHR as *The ‘Confessions’ of Kurt Gerstein* (available from the IHR for \$9.50, postpaid).

Now Roques has expanded on his 1986 work with a complementary new work, *Quand Alain Decaux raconte l’histoire du SS Kurt Gerstein* (“When Alain Decaux recounts the history of SS [man] Kurt Gerstein”). The title of this recently published, French-language booklet refers to a work by the well-known French historian Alain Decaux. This bold 76-page booklet (with source references), written together with Vincent Reynouard, further nails the role of the Gerstein “testimony” in the Holocaust extermination legend.

Revisionist Writing from Spain

For some time now the most important revisionist scholar in Spain has been Enrique Aynat, an IHR *Journal* contributor and a member of this *Journal*’s Editorial Advisory Committee. His publications include *El Holocausto a Debate: Respuesta a César Vidal* (“The Holocaust in Debate: a Response to César Vidal”), a 182-page booklet with index and source references, and *Estudios sobre el ‘Holocausto’* (“Holocaust’ Studies”), a 175-page soft cover work.



Enrique Aynat

A more recent publication is a 132-page, 1997 soft cover work, *Estudios sobre Auschwitz* (“Auschwitz Studies”), with charts, source references, and facsimile reproductions of some original documents. It includes a lengthy statistical examination by Aynat of data on the mortality of Jews deported from France to Auschwitz in 1942, as well as a detailed essay by Jean-Marie Boisdefeu on a wartime report about Auschwitz by Belgian Resistance figure Victor Martin. *Estudios sobre Auschwitz* is available from: Apdo. de Correos 12.083, 46080 Valencia, Spain.

Affirmation, Not Denial

A reminder: Revisionists do not deny the genocide and the gas chambers. That is a misconception. Galileo didn’t deny that the earth was stationary; he affirmed, at the conclusion of his research, that the earth was not stationary, but that it rotated on its axis and revolved around the sun. In the same way, the revisionists, after concluding their own research, affirm that there was no genocide and no gas chambers, and that the “final solution of the Jewish question” consisted of the removal of the Jews from Europe — by emigration if possible, and by deportation if necessary.

The revisionists strive to establish what happened; they are positive, while the exterminationists doggedly continue to tell us about things which didn’t happen: their work is negative.

The revisionists stand for the reconciliation of the antagonists in the recognition of what really happened.

— Robert Faurisson

Zionism and Anti-Semitism: A Strange Alliance Through History

ALLAN C. BROWNFIELD

It has, for many years, been a tactic of those who seek to silence open debate and discussion of US Middle East policy to accuse critics of Israel of “anti-Semitism.”

In a widely discussed article entitled “J’Accuse” (*Commentary*, September 1983), Norman Podhoretz charged America’s leading journalists, newspapers and television networks with “anti-Semitism” because of their reporting of the war in Lebanon and their criticism of Israel’s conduct. Among those so accused were Anthony Lewis of *The New York Times*, Nicholas von Hoffman, Joseph Harsch of *The Christian Science Monitor*, Rowland Evans, Robert Novak, Mary McGrory, Richard Cohen and Alfred Friendly of *The Washington Post*, and a host of others. These individuals and their news organizations were not criticized for bad reporting or poor journalistic standards; instead, they were the subject of the charge of anti-Semitism.

Podhoretz declared: “... The beginning of wisdom in thinking about this issue is to recognize that the vilification of Israel is the phenomenon to be addressed, not the Israeli behavior that provoked it ... We are dealing here with an eruption of anti-Semitism.”

To understand Norman Podhoretz and others who have engaged in such charges, we must recognize that the term “anti-Semitism” has undergone major transformation. Until recently, those guilty of this offense were widely understood to be those who irrationally disliked Jews and Judaism. Today, however, the term is used in a far different way — one which threatens not only free speech but also threatens to trivialize anti-Semitism itself.

Anti-Semitism has been redefined to mean anything that opposes the policies and interests of Israel. The beginning of this redefinition may be said to date, in part, from the 1974 publication of

the book *The New Anti-Semitism* by Arnold Forster and Benjamin R. Epstein, leaders of the Anti-Defamation League of B’nai B’rith. The nature of the “new” anti-Semitism, according to Forster and Epstein, is not necessarily hostility toward Jews as Jews, or toward Judaism, but, instead a critical attitude toward Israel and its policies.

Later, Nathan Perlmutter, when he was director of the Anti-Defamation League, stated that, “There has been a transformation of American anti-Semitism in recent times. The crude anti-Jewish bigotry once so commonplace in this country is today gauche ... Poll after poll indicates that Jews are one of America’s most highly regarded groups.”

‘Semantically Neutral Postures’

Perlmutter, however, refused to declare victory over such bigotry. Instead, he redefined it. He declared:

The search for peace in the Middle East is littered with mine fields for Jewish interests ... Jewish concerns that are confronted by the Semantically neutral postures of those who believe that if only Israel would yield this or that, the Middle East would become tranquil and the West’s highway to its strategic interests and profits in the Persian Gulf would be secure. But at what cost to Israel’s security? Israel’s security, plainly said, means more to Jews today than their standing in the opinion polls ...

What Perlmutter did was to substitute the term “Jewish interests” for what are, in reality, “Israeli interests.” By changing the terms of the debate, he created a situation in which anyone who is critical of Israel becomes, ipso facto, “anti-Semitic.”

The tactic of using the term “anti-Semitism” as a weapon against dissenters is not new. Dorothy Thompson, the distinguished journalist who was one of the earliest enemies of Nazism, found herself criticizing the policies of Israel shortly after its creation. Despite her valiant crusade against Hitler, she, too, was subject to the charge of “anti-Semitism.” In a letter to *The Jewish Newsletter* (April 6,

Allan C. Brownfield is a syndicated columnist and associate editor of the *Lincoln Review*, a journal published by the Lincoln Institute for Research and Education, and editor of *Issues*, the quarterly journal of the American Council for Judaism. This article is reprinted from the July-August 1998 issue of *The Washington Report on Middle East Affairs* (P.O. Box 53062, Washington, DC 20009).

1951) she wrote:

Really, I think continued emphasis should be put upon the extreme damage to the Jewish community of branding people like myself as anti-Semitic ... The State of Israel has got to learn to live in the same atmosphere of free criticism which every other state in the world must endure ... There are many subjects on which writers in this country are, because of these pressures, becoming craven and mealy-mouthed. But people don't like to be craven and mealy-mouthed; every time one yields to such pressure one is filled with self-contempt and this self-contempt works itself out in a resentment of those who caused it.

A quarter-century later, columnist Carl Rowan (*Washington Star*, Feb. 5, 1975) reported:

When I wrote my recent column about what I perceive to be a subtle erosion of support for Israel in this town, I was under no illusion as to what the reaction would be. I was prepared for a barrage of letters to me and newspapers carrying my column accusing me of being "anti-Semitic" ... The mail rolling in has met my worst expectations ... This whining baseless name-calling is a certain way to turn friends into enemies.

What few Americans understand is that there has been a long historical alliance — from the end of the 19th century until today — between Zionism and real anti-Semites — from those who planned pogroms in Czarist Russia to Nazi Germany itself. The reason for the affinity many Zionist leaders felt for anti-Semites becomes clear as this history emerges.

Theodor Herzl

When Theodor Herzl, the founder of modern political Zionism, served in Paris as a correspondent for a Vienna newspaper, he was in close contact with the leading anti-Semites of the day. In his biography of Herzl, *The Labyrinth of Exile*, Ernst Pawel reports that those who financed and edited *La Libre Parole*, a weekly dedicated "to the defense of Catholic France against atheists, republicans, Free Masons and Jews," invited Herzl to their homes on a regular basis.

Alluding to such conservatives and their publications, Pawel writes that Herzl "found himself captivated" by these men and their ideas:

La France Juive [of Edouard Drumont] struck him as a brilliant performance and — much



Theodor Herzl

like [Eugen] Dühring's notorious *Jewish Question* ten years later — it aroused powerful and contradictory emotions ... On June 12, 1895, while in the midst of working on *Der Judenstaat*, [Herzl] noted in his diary, "much of my current conceptual freedom I owe to Drumont, because he is an artist." The compliment seems extravagant, but Drumont repaid it the following year with a glowing review of Herzl's book in *La Parole Libre*.

In the end, Pawel argues, "Paris changed Herzl, and French anti-Semites undermined the ironic complacency of the Jewish would-be non-Jew." Yet Herzl was not entirely displeased with anti-Semitism. In a private letter to Moritz Benedikt, written in the final days of 1892, he writes: "I do not consider the anti-Semitic movement altogether harmful. It will inhibit the ostentatious flaunting of conspicuous wealth, curb the unscrupulous behavior of Jewish financiers, and contribute in many ways to the education of the Jews ... In that respect we seem to be in agreement."

Herzl's book *Der Judenstaat* ("The Jewish State"), was widely disparaged by the leading Jews of the day, who viewed themselves as French, German, English or Austrian citizens and Jews by religion — with no interest in a separate Jewish state. Anti-Semites, on the other hand, eagerly greeted Herzl's work. Herzl's arguments, Pawel points out, were "all but indistinguishable from those used by the anti-Semites." One of the first reviews appeared in the *Westungarischer Grenzboten*, an anti-Semitic journal published in Bratislava by Ivan von Simonyi, a member of the Hungarian Diet. He praised



Menachem Begin speaking at a political rally in Israel, 1948. In front is the emblem of the *Herut* ("Freedom") party, which he led. (This was the predecessor of today's *Likud* party.) The emblem shows a map of *Eretz Israel*, or "greater Israel," which includes not only the West Bank, but all of Jordan to its border with Iraq. Behind, on the wall, is a portrait of Zionist leader Vladimir Jabotinsky. In the years before the founding of the Israeli state in 1948, Begin led the *Irgun Zvai Leumi*, a Zionist terrorist organization. Later, he served as Israel's prime minister, 1977-1983.

both the book and Herzl, and was so carried away with his enthusiasm that he paid Herzl a personal visit. Herzl wrote in his diary:

My weird follower, the Bratislava anti-Semite Ivan von Simonyi came to see me. A hypermercurial, hyperloquacious sexagenerian with an uncanny sympathy for the Jews. Swings back and forth between perfectly rational talk and utter nonsense, believes in the blood libel and at the same time comes up with the most sen-

sible modern ideas. Loves me.

After the barbaric Kishinev pogrom of April 1901, when hundreds of Jews were killed or wounded, Herzl came to Russia to barter with V. K. Plehve, the Russian interior minister who had incited the pogrom. Herzl told Jewish cultural leader Chaim Zhitlovsky: "I have an absolutely binding promise from Plehve that he will procure a charter for Palestine for us in 15 years at the outside. There is one condition, however, the revolutionaries must stop their struggle against the Russian government."

Zhitlovsky, incensed at Herzl for dealing with a killer of Jews, and aware that Herzl had been outsmarted, persuaded him to abandon the idea. Still, the Zionist leaders in Russia agreed with the government that the real responsibility for the pogroms rested with the Jewish Bund, a socialist group urging democratic reforms in the Czarist regime. Zionists wanted Jews to remain aloof from Russian politics until it was time to leave for Palestine.

The head of the secret police in Moscow, S.V. Zubatov, was sympathetic to Zionism as a way to silence Jewish opponents of the repressive Czarist regime. In her book *The Fate of the Jews*, Roberta Strauss Feuerlicht reports that

Zionism appealed greatly to police chief Zubatov, as it does to all anti-Semites, because it takes the Jewish problem elsewhere. Both Zubatov and the Zionists wanted to destroy the Bund, Zubatov to protect his country, and the Zionists to protect theirs. Zionism's success is based on a Jewish misery index; the greater the misery, the greater the wish to emigrate. The last thing the Zionists wanted was to improve conditions in Russia. Zionists served Zubatov as police spies and subverters of the Bund ...

In his book *Jewish History, Jewish Religion*, Israel Shahak points out that

Close relations have always existed between Zionists and anti-Semites; exactly like some of the European conservatives, the Zionists thought they could ignore the “demonic” character of anti-Semitism and use the anti-Semites for their own purposes ... Herzl allied himself with the notorious Count von Plehve, the anti-Semitic minister of Tsar Nicholas II; Jabotinsky made a pact with Petlyura, the reactionary Ukrainian leader whose forces massacred some 100,000 Jews in 1918-1921 ... Perhaps the most shocking example of this type is the delight with which Zionist leaders in Germany welcomed Hitler's rise to power, because they shared his belief in the primacy of “race” and his hostility to the assimilation of Jews among “Aryans.” They congratulated Hitler on his triumph over the common enemy — the forces of liberalism.

‘We Jews’

Dr. Joachim Prinz, a German Zionist rabbi who subsequently emigrated to the United States, where he became vice-chairman of the World Jewish Congress and a leader in the World Zionist Organization, published in 1934 a book *Wir Juden* (“We Jews”) to celebrate Hitler's so-called German Revolution and the defeat of liberalism. He wrote:

The meaning of the German Revolution for the German nation will eventually be clear to those who have created it and formed its image. Its meaning for us must be set forth there: the fortunes of liberalism are lost. The only form of political life which has helped Jewish assimilation is sunk.

The victory of Nazism ruled out assimilation and inter-religious marriage as an option for Jews. “We are not unhappy about this,” said Dr. Prinz. In the fact that Jews were being forced to identify themselves as Jews, he saw “the fulfillment of our desires.” Further, he states,

We want assimilation to be replaced by a new law: the declaration of belonging to the Jewish nation and the Jewish race. A state built upon the principle of the purity of nation and race can only be honored and respected by a Jew who declares his belonging to his own kind. Having so declared himself, he will never be capable of faulty loyalty towards a state. The state cannot want other Jews but such as declare themselves as belonging to their nation...

Dr. Shahak compares Prinz's early sympathy for Nazis with that of many who have embraced the Zionist vision, not fully understanding the possible implications: “Of course, Dr. Prinz, like many other early sympathizers and allies of Nazism, did not realize where that movement was leading ...”

Zionist-Nazi Alliance Proposal

Still, as late as January 1941, the Zionist group LEHI, one of whose leaders, Yitzhak Shamir, was later to become a prime minister of Israel, approached the Nazis, using the name of its parent organization, the Irgun (NMO). The naval attaché in the German embassy in Turkey transmitted the LEHI proposal to his superiors in Germany. It read in part:

It is often stated in the speeches and utterances of the leading statesmen of National Socialist Germany that a New Order in Europe requires as a prerequisite the radical solution of the Jewish question through evacuation. The evacuation of the Jewish masses from Europe is a precondition for solving the Jewish question. This can only be made possible and complete through the settlement of these masses in the home of the Jewish people, Palestine, and through the establishment of a Jewish state in its historic boundaries.

The LEHI proposal continues: “The NMO ... is well acquainted with the good will of the German Reich Government and its authorities towards Zionist activity inside Germany and towards Zionist emigration plans.” It goes on to state:

The establishment of the historical Jewish state on a national and totalitarian basis and bound by a treaty with the German Reich would be in the interests of strengthening the future German position of power in the Near East ... The NMO in Palestine offers to take an active part in the war on Germany's side ... The cooperation of the Israeli freedom movement would also be in line with one of the recent speeches of the German Reich Chancellor, in which Herr Hitler stressed that any combination and any alliance would be entered into in order to isolate England and defeat it.

The Nazis rejected this proposal for an alliance because, it is reported, they considered Lehi's military power “negligible.” [For more on this, see: M. Weber, “Zionism and the Third Reich” in the July-August 1993 *Journal*, pp. 29-37.]

Rabbi David J. Goldberg, in his book *To the Promised Land: A History of Zionist Thought*, discusses the life and thought of the leader of Zionist



SS officer Adolf Eichmann: "I am a Zionist too."

revisionism, Vladimir Jabotinsky, who was the great influence upon the life of Menachem Begin. "The basic tenets of Jabotinsky's political philosophy," writes Goldberg,

are subservience to the overriding concept of the homeland: loyalty to a charismatic leader, and the subordination of the class conflict to national goals. It irked Jabotinsky when, over 20 years later, he was accused of imitating Mussolini and Hitler. His irritation was justified: he had anticipated them ... Given that for Jabotinsky echoing Garibaldi "there is no value in the world higher than the nation and the fatherland," it is not altogether surprising that he should have recommended an alliance with an anti-Semitic Ukrainian nationalist. In 1911, in an essay entitled "Schevenko's Jubilee," he had praised the xenophobic Ukrainian poet for his nationalist spirit, despite "explosions of wild fury against the Poles, the Jews and other neighbors," and for proving that the Ukrainian soul has a "talent for independent cultural creativity, reaching into the highest and most sublime sphere."

In a review of the book *In Memory's Kitchen: A Legacy From The Women of Terezin*, Lore Dickstein, writing in *The New York Times Book Review*, notes that, "Anny Stern was one of the lucky ones. In 1939,

after months of hassle with the Nazi bureaucracy, the occupying German army at her heels, she fled Czechoslovakia with her young son and emigrated to Palestine. At the time of Anny's departure, Nazi policy encouraged emigration. 'Are you a Zionist?' Adolf Eichmann, Hitler's specialist on Jewish affairs, asked her. '*Ja wohl*,' she replied. 'Good,' he said, 'I am a Zionist too. I want every Jew to leave for Palestine'."

A 'Close Relationship'

The point has been made by many commentators that Zionism has a close relationship with Nazism. Both ideologies think of Jews in an ethnic and nationalistic manner. In fact, Nazi theoretician Alfred Rosenberg frequently quoted from Zionist writers to prove his thesis that Jews could not be Germans.

In his study, *The Meaning of Jewish History*, Rabbi Jacob Agus provides this assessment:

In its extreme formulation, political Zionists agreed with resurgent anti-Semitism in the following propositions: 1. That the emancipation of the Jews in Europe was a mistake. 2. That the Jews can function in the lands of Europe only as a disruptive influence. 3. That all Jews of the world were one "folk" in spite of their diverse political allegiances. 4. That all Jews, unlike other peoples of Europe, were unique and unintegratable. 5. That anti-Semitism was the natural expression of the folk-feeling of European nations, hence, ineradicable.

Nazi theoretician Rosenberg, who was executed as a result of his conviction for war crimes at the Nuremberg trials, declared under direct examination that he had studied the writings of Jewish historians [IMT, vol. 11, pp. 451-452]. He continued:

It seemed to me that after an epoch of generous emancipation in the course of national movements of the 19th century, an important part of the Jewish nation found its way back to its own tradition and nature, and more and more consciously segregated itself from other nations. It was a problem which was discussed at many international congresses, and [Martin] Buber, in particular, one of the spiritual leaders of European Jewry, declared that the Jews should return to the soil of Asia, for only there could the roots of Jewish blood and Jewish national character be found.

Long-Standing Alliance

Feyenwald, the Nazi, in 1941 reprinted the following statement by Simon Dubnow, a Zionist histo-

rian and author:

Assimilation is common treason against the banner and ideals of the Jewish people ... One can never "become" a member of a national group, such as a family, tribe or a nation. One may attain rights and privileges of citizenship with a foreign nation, but one cannot appropriate for himself its nationality too. To be sure the emancipated Jew in France calls himself a Frenchman of the Jewish faith. Would that, however, mean that he became part of the French nation, confessing to the Jewish faith? Not at all ... A Jew ... even if he happened to be born in France and still lives there, in spite of these, he remains a member of the Jewish nation.

Zionists have repeatedly stressed — and continue to do so — that, from their viewpoint, Jews are in "exile" outside of the "Jewish state." Jacob Klatzkin, a leading Zionist writer, declared: "We are simply aliens, we are foreign people in your midst, and we emphasize, we wish to stay that way." This Zionist perspective has been a minority view among Jews from the time of its formulation until today.

When the term "anti-Semitism" is casually used to silence those who are critical of the government of Israel and its policies, it should be noted that Zionism's history of alliance with real anti-Semitism has been long-standing, and this has been so precisely because Zionism and anti-Semitism share a view of Jews which the vast majority of Jews in the United States and elsewhere in the world have always rejected.

This rarely discussed chapter of history deserves study, for it illuminates many truths relevant to the continuing debate, both with regard to Middle East policy and the real nature of Jews and Judaism.



Alfred Rosenberg

"Whoever would overthrow the liberty of a nation must begin by subduing the freeness of speech; a thing terrible to public traitors."

— Benjamin Franklin

Could You Survive a Nuclear Attack?

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By Akira Kohchi (Albert Kawachi)

Until now, the *real* story of the first nuclear holocaust had not been told. Previous books on the atomic bombings of Hiroshima approached it only obliquely: technical works hailed it as a marvel of nuclear science, and books written from the military perspective honored the men who gave and carried out a difficult order. Even the eyewitness accounts, numbering some two thousand—and almost all yet to be translated from the Japanese—are overwhelmingly stories of *personal* misery. The total picture—the background, scope, and consequences of the catastrophe—has, until now, never been presented.

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Holocaust survivor
and author
Albert Kawachi

Capitol Hill is 'In Our Hands'

One isn't supposed to say this, but many people believe that Israel now holds the White House, the Senate, and much of the American media in its hands. This is what is known as an anti-Semitic conspiracy theory.

The odd thing is that it is held by many Israelis. In an essay reprinted in the May 27 [1996] issue of the *New York Times* Ari Shavit, an Israeli columnist, reflected sorrowfully on the wanton Israeli killing of more than a hundred Lebanese civilians in April. "We killed them out of a certain naive hubris. Believing with absolute certitude that now, with the White House, the Senate, and much of the American media in our hands, the lives of others do not count as much as our own ..."

In a single phrase — "in our hands" — Mr. Shavit has lit up the American political landscape like a flash of lightning.

Notice that Mr. Shavit assumes as an obvious fact what we Americans can say publicly only at our own risk. It's surprising, and refreshing, to find such candor in an American newspaper (though his essay was reprinted from the Israeli paper *Haaretz*).

The prescribed cant on the subject holds that Israel is a "reliable ally" of the United States, despite Israel's long record of double-dealing against this country, ranging from the killing of American sailors to constant espionage and technology theft. The word "ally" implies that the relationship exists because it's in the interests of this country, though Israel's lobby is clearly devoted to the interests of Israel itself, and it's childish to suggest otherwise.

You expect that from the Israeli lobby; lobbies are lobbies, after all. But it's unnerving that the White House, the Senate, and much of the American

media should be "in our hands," as Mr. Shavit puts it. Bill Clinton, a lover of peace since his college days, raised no protest when the Israelis drove 400,000 innocent Lebanese out of their homes this year in "retaliation" for rockets launched into Israel (wounding one Israeli) by a faction over whom those 400,000 had no control.

Congress of course, was supine as usual at this latest extravagance of Israeli "defense." Congress too is "in our hands."

A recent article in the *Washington Post* likened the Israel lobby's power to that of the gun and tobacco lobbies. But there is one enormous difference.

Newspapers like the *Post* aren't afraid to criticize the gun and tobacco lobbies. They will say forthrightly that those lobbies seek goals that are dangerous for this country. They don't dare say as much of the Israel lobby.

But much of the press and electronic media are "in our hands" in a more active sense: they supply misleading pro-Israel propaganda in the guise of news and commentary, constantly praising Israeli democracy



Joseph Sobran

and ignoring Israel's mistreatment of its non-Jewish minorities — mistreatment which, if any government inflicted it on a Jewish minority, would earn it the fierce opprobrium of our media.

No decent American would think of reducing American Jews to the status of Palestinians in Israel. The idea is almost absurd. Yet Americans are taxed to subsidize the oppression of Palestinians, on the flimsy pretext that they are helping an "ally" in America's own self-interest, as if it were in our interest to be hated and despised by the whole Muslim world.

All this is interesting less for what it tells us about Israel than for what it tells us about America. Frank discussion of Israel is permitted in Israel, as Mr. Shavit's article illustrates. It's rarely permitted here. Charges of anti-Semitism and a quiet but very effective boycott will be the reward of any journalist

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who calls attention to his own government's — and his own profession's — servitude to Israeli interests.

Very few in America are doing anything to change that sorry state of affairs. Mr. Shavit wrote his article in the desperate hope of turning back his countrymen and his government from a morally and politically perilous course. At least he can hope. It's harder for us, when our own government isn't in our hands.

Judaism and Jewishness

Israel has been torn by a dispute over the definition of a Jew — a grave problem for a government dedicated to Jewry. The Orthodox rabbinate, which prevails in Israel, refuses to accept converts to Reform and Conservative Judaism as authentic Jews. For the Orthodox, claiming to be a Jew isn't enough; that way chaos lies. Only those converted according to strict Orthodox procedures, including circumcision, are eligible for Israeli citizenship. Many non-Orthodox Jews find this outrageous.

Meanwhile, the Union of Orthodox Rabbis of the United States and Canada has issued a statement rejecting Reform and Conservative Judaism as not Judaism at all, but as "an alien religion." This has only added to the fury of other Jews.

Orthodox Judaism, with its hundreds of severe and minute rules, is a little like a rhinoceros: you may not think it's a pretty house pet, but it's built to last. It grossly offends all modern notions of universalism, equality, civil rights, sexual freedom, and simple human conviviality. It has offended the morals and manners of earlier civilizations, which have generally accused the Jews of misanthropy and worse. But the old rhino has never much cared what outsiders think of it. And it has kept Jewry in continuous existence for more than three millennia, while whole civilizations have come and gone.

Without Orthodox Judaism, there would be no Jews today. Even to call it "Orthodox" is misleading. For most of history, it was the *only* form of Judaism. Reform and Conservative Judaism date from the nineteenth century, and both reflect the desire of many Jews to define themselves on terms more compatible with the modern world. To the Orthodox, these adaptations mean not only fatal compromise but disobedience to divine law.

At the least, the staying power of these Westernized forms of Judaism seems highly questionable. Jewry has survived thanks precisely to the exclusive nature of Judaism — its refusal of intermarriage, close association, and easy fellowship with gentiles. It regards assimilation, so tempting to other Jews, with utter horror. And it can point to the high rates of defection and intermarriage among modern Jews as justification for its stern self-segregation.

Considered backward in every age, Torah Judaism has survived every age, every successive form of modernity. That in itself is an awesome fact that commands, if not veneration, at least respect.

C. S. Lewis observed that liberal Christianity was always a way out of orthodox Christianity, never a way in. The cannibal doesn't convert to Unitarianism and progress to High Church Anglicanism; he converts to some dogmatic, evangelical version of the faith, or he doesn't convert. The whole idea of Unitarianism is to strip Christianity down to an acceptably undemanding form that may provide comfort for those who are weary of the rigors of a sterner faith, but it doesn't inspire the heathen to sign up for active duty. There are Christians today only because there were once martyrs willing to die for the very things the liberal Christian rejects.

In the same way, it seems highly doubtful that if the Jews of the ancient or medieval world had been Reform Jews, there would be any Jews today. I don't mean to pound the Reform Jews; but it appears to me that they are only one version of the modern Jewish identity crisis.

"In proportion to their numbers, Jews are the most successful and powerful group in the United States today."

Despite ferocious persecution, the children of Abraham have prospered amazingly in the modern world. We are in the middle of a sort of Jewish Renaissance, a burst of intelligence and genius rarely equaled. In my own scholarly pursuits, for example, I've never studied a field in which some of the best work wasn't done by Jews. And this is only one facet of their talent. In proportion to their numbers, Jews are the most successful and powerful group in the United States today. They have both raw power, political and economic, and enormous intellectual influence, shaping America's self-understanding but doing much to de-Christianize American public life; the Jewish revival has its darker and troubled side. Jews have also made their contributions to crime, political subversion, and cultural perversity. The Jews have given the modern world some of its most brilliant minds, but also some of its most notable intellectual charlatans: for every Einstein there has been a Marx or a Freud.

The remarkable fact is that the Jewish Renaissance has occurred, for better and worse, largely among the non-Orthodox. It may actually be inseparable from the Jewish identity crisis of modernity. The Jews who have left Judaism have not, by and large, left Jewry, even when they have married gen-

tiles. And they are preoccupied with finding new ways of defining what it means to be "Jewish," while tacitly renouncing Orthodox Judaism itself. Jews in the media, for example, rarely call attention to their Orthodox brethren.

The Jewish quest for identity has generated many ideologies. At first these tended to be universalist political creeds: liberalism, socialism, Communism. But these abstract creeds have more recently been displaced by the interlocked particularist causes of Zionism and anti-anti-Semitism. Supporting Israel and opposing anti-Semitism have now become ways of being a "good Jew" without observing the Mosaic law. Keeping kosher has been superseded by supporting Israel. Even many of the Orthodox have become fanatically attached to Israel, though Zionism is a modern political ideology, conceived on the model of European nationalism. Israel began its existence as a secular socialist democracy, a homeland for the Jews and a refuge from anti-Semitism, though opposed as sacrilegious by the most strictly Orthodox (some of whom remain adamant).

There's a crucial difference between Torah Judaism and ideological "Jewishness." The one is based on piety, which is absent from secular Jewishness; the other is defined by the notion of "anti-Semitism," which is absent from the five books of Moses, the whole Old Testament, and pre-modern Jewish culture. By today's standards, the severe judgments of the Lord and the Prophets on the Jews are virulently anti-Semitic; but of course the whole purpose of those judgments was the spiritual health and salvation of Jewry.

The Jews had the peculiar habit of recording and treasuring the divine rebukes, a practice at the opposite pole from the usual chauvinism of the human race and from the chauvinism of Zionist "Jewishness." Chauvinism always glorifies, justifies, and excuses one's own nation, while blaming others for its troubles. The all-purpose word "anti-Semitism" is used to explain all frictions between Jews and gentiles; in the moral universe of secular Jewishness there is no such fault, or word, as "anti-gentilism," because the ideology itself is so thoroughly anti-gentile in its premises.

This is why so many Jewish apologists for Israel — even clever men like William Safire, Martin Peretz, and Charles Krauthammer — can never admit that the Palestinians or even American critics of Israel have a point. They never seem to feel it may appear morally odd that the Israelis should always be in the right, and are never embarrassed to take the Zionist party line in every dispute.

According to the ideology, the survival of the Jewish people is inseparable from Israel and its "right to exist." Yet it wasn't Zionism that preserved

the Jews for thousands of years; it was Judaism. And Israel itself hasn't preserved the Jews for the last half-century; on the contrary, Israel's existence has been secured by Diaspora Jewry, especially the Jewish "lobby" in the United States. The Zionist pioneers envisioned a homeland where Jews could be "normal," free from the marginal, precarious, and "parasitic" existence they were forced to live in other nations. But Jews now live "normal" lives in the Western countries where they have no special status, while Israel is heavily dependent on outside help. Israelis regard it as a moral failing for other Jews to continue living in Diaspora instead of migrating to Israel. Yet the Israelis themselves rely on those Jews for their sustenance.

Underlying the whole situation is the fact, which many of the most sophisticated modern Jews are reluctant to acknowledge, that all the Jews owe their existence to the long pre-Zionist centuries of Judaism, with its strict, reactionary, tribal, ethnocentric, patriarchal, etc., code. That code is in affront to nearly every principle liberal Jews espouse. Yet it has proven itself uniquely durable, while liberal Jews keep melting into the general population, having no firm reason to refuse assimilation. Ambiguously liberal Jews like Alan Dershowitz (whose son recently married a Catholic) are now worrying about the threat posed to the future of Jewry by social acceptance, which seduces Jews into assimilating and thereby surrendering their Jewish identity. In essence, such worriers are saying that the chief threat to Jewish survival today is not anti-Semitism, but the *absence* of anti-Semitism.

Nothing could better illustrate the moral corrosiveness, not of Judaism, but of liberalism. Judaism never felt vexed by the absence of anti-Semitism. The source of its strength was internal, not the hostility of its neighbors. A secular Jew like Dershowitz can't give a compelling reason why Jews *should* survive as a distinct group. The question doesn't present itself when danger looms; you fight for survival first and philosophize later. Secular Jewishness is so empty because it has defined itself in terms of enemies who have ceased to exist. That's why it has to keep redefining "anti-Semitism" to include even people who insist that they are *not* anti-Semitic (Pat Buchanan, Pat Robertson, the Christian Right).

When no avowed and visible enemy exists, covert and invisible enmity has to be posited. In a strange counterpoint to Torah Judaism, which claims to define who is a Jew, secular Jewish groups like the Anti-Defamation League now claim the privilege of deciding who is an anti-Semite. A gentile's denial that he's an anti-Semite counts for little with this secular rabbinate, which may rule that

he's an anti-Semite anyway. It is sufficient grounds for condemnation if he opposes the claims of Zionism or speaks critically of the American Jewish lobby.

This is why I sometimes quip that an "anti-Semite" is no longer a man who hates Jews, but a man who is hated by Jews.

Torah Judaism has no need of such malevolent quibbling, because it doesn't need anti-Semitism to create Jewish "identity." But Torah Judaism is profoundly embarrassing to secular Jewishness, which does its best to marginalize the Orthodox Jew along with the anti-Semite. Not the least curious fact in this whole situation is that the secular Jewish ideology not only exaggerates the significance of the anti-Semite, but *minimizes* the significance of the Orthodox Jew. Which one does it really regard as the greater threat to its version of "Jewishness"?

Jewish What?

Addison Wesley has just published a fascinating book by J. J. Goldberg of the Israeli magazine *Jerusalem Report*, titled *Jewish Power: Inside the American Jewish Establishment* [reviewed in the March-April 1998 *Journal*]. It deals frankly, informatively, and on the whole fairly with a touchy subject; so touchy that a blurb on the cover from the Canadian Jewish novelist Mordecai Richler calls the book "brave," a word nobody would use of a book about Irish or black Americans.

In fact the book isn't particularly brave, and it comes nowhere near the bottom of the subject. I don't mean to disparage it, because it remains well worth reading. The problem is that Goldberg sees no problem. He says that yes, Jews have power, but they use it for largely legitimate and benign purposes. One of his examples — abortion rights — is enough to illustrate the problem he doesn't see.

Goldberg describes the inner workings of the Jewish establishment — meaning the major secular Jewish organizations, often collectively called "the Jewish lobby" — in considerable detail. And he makes it clear that the establishment is a far more humdrum affair than it may seem in the imaginations of suspicious outsiders. The Jews' two chief weapons, to call them that, are simply intelligence and energy. They are always, as we used to say, on the go. They are not, in most respects, monolithic, and they often work at cross-purposes. Their power only seems preternatural until you see how it actually operates (not for nothing was Houdini a Jew), and it's healthy to have it demystified and shown to be part of the everyday world. So far, so good. At times the reader even suspects that the Jews have a lot more fun than they like to admit. And yet there is a problem, one that transcends the mundane

activities of the Anti-Defamation League and the American Israel Public Affairs Committee.

The problem used to be called, by all sides, "the Jewish problem." It recognized that there are serious difficulties in integrating Jews into a larger society. The proposed "solutions" have included assimilation, conversion, the ghetto, Zionism, pluralism, expulsion, and outright extermination. At the moment Jews themselves are still torn over the best course, complicated by their own vexing minority problem in Israel. Meanwhile, gentiles, and Christians in particular, have ceased arguing about the problem, because they now feel uneasy about calling it a problem.

Goldberg notes that as anti-Semitism has virtually disappeared, Jews have become incredibly sensitive to supposed anti-Semitism, which they are inclined to find lurking everywhere, usually without warrant. Yet though he is perceptive about this "perception gap," he fails, again, to see what it means. The "Jewish problem" remains alive for Jews, but it has new names, and others are forbidden to acknowledge it as in any sense their problem too.

For Goldberg the prevalence of Jews in the major media doesn't translate into Jewish power in the media. He notes that most Jews in the media don't participate in Jewish communal life and are often critical of Israel, often outraging ordinary pro-Israel Jews and the Jewish establishment. But this ignores another fact about media Jews: they are often hostile to Christianity, even if they have ceased to be partial to Judaism and Israel. And Christians certainly feel this hostility emanating from the media, even if it isn't exactly a matter of organized power in the way the Israel lobby is.

For many Jews, Christianity is synonymous with anti-Semitism and general benightedness. In this respect, the apostate Jew remains very Jewish. Goldberg retains something of this attitude himself, though he acknowledges that Jews, unlike members of other pre-Christian faiths, enjoyed a certain amount of tolerance in Christian Europe (far more than Christian heretics did).

Henry Ford's *Dearborn Independent* once observed: "As soon as the Jew gained control of the 'movies' we had a movie problem, the consequences of which are visible. It is the peculiar genius of that race to create problems of a moral character in whatever business they achieve a majority." Goldberg calls this "delusional," but allowing for its rudeness and one-sidedness, it makes a point. Whether you want to call Jews "disruptive" (the hostile version) or "in the forefront of social change" (the flattering version), it comes down to this: *cultures don't mix*.

That, after all, is what makes them cultures. A

culture is a closed system of symbols and values. Cultures not only can't mix, they have difficulty adjusting to each other, even when they do a lot of mutual borrowing. When there are so many tensions within cultures (as witness both Jewry and Christendom), it is hardly to be expected that they will live together in easy harmony, despite the rosy rhetoric of "pluralism" and "multiculturalism," which assumes that all differences are merely superficial, like the colorful variety of ethnic costumes in a parade. Cultural minorities, unless they are willing to assimilate totally (thereby surrendering their own identity), are apt to be more or less subversive of the majority's culture, whether or not they intend to be.

There is no need to impute this fact of life to minority villainy. On the other hand, the majority is entitled to keep its guard up. Each side, from its own point of view, is merely acting in self-defense, and sees the other side as oppressor or aggressor. "The Jewish problem," from the Jews' point of view, is "the Christian problem."

In public rhetoric, Jews today have the upper hand. Not long ago it was otherwise; they were troublemakers at worst, marginal at best. Christians regarded them as obviously undesirable and thought nothing of excluding them from neighborhoods, social clubs, and other institutions. Now they have become central in American public life, endowed with certified victimhood; they have managed to make themselves the test of others' tolerance, without the responsibility of meeting any moral tests but their own. That's why the charge of being anti-Semitic is so much more damaging than the charge of being anti-Christian. The slightest bias against Jews is apt to become at least a public embarrassment, while Israel may practice official racial and religious discrimination not only without facing much criticism, but with vocal moral support from American politicians and pundits like Al Gore and George Will. The Jewish side is nearly always the safe side, the side of the secular angels; also, to be crude about it, the side of money.

This is a dimension of Jewish power Goldberg seems unaware of. He is laudably disinclined to make loose charges of anti-Semitism; in fact he thinks the charge is usually grossly exaggerated. But he doesn't seem to understand how much such charges both express *and increase* Jewish power, making it difficult for Christians (and gentiles in general) to reply to Jewish attacks, whether those attacks are reasonable criticism or outright libel.

I learned this on the battlefield, so to speak, when I began to criticize Israel from the premises of the cold-war patriotism of the conservative magazine I used to work for. I was soon taken aside and cautioned that we didn't necessarily apply our prin-

ciples to Israel in any literal-minded sort of way.

Pat Buchanan later got the same treatment on a much larger scale. He called attention to Israel's "Amen Corner in this country," and it quickly transpired (if we hadn't known already) that the Amen Corner didn't like to have its existence advertised. It proceeded to blast Buchanan in such a way as to destroy any pretense that he was wrong. We were supposed to pretend that the Israel lobby, which is pretty much identical with the Jewish lobby, wasn't acting against American interests; but how could a foreign lobby possibly be acting in American interests at all times? Why would it exist at all, except to ensure the subordination of American interests to Israeli interests? If the two countries' interests were identical, why would anyone seek to influence either's government in behalf of the other's? Such obvious questions were ignored by Buchanan's detractors, who included as many servile Christians as Jews.

The telling side of such encounters is the behavior of Christians. The fear of the Jews is a reflection of Jewish power, but it also magnifies that power. I often think of a line in the movie "Miller's Crossing," in a scene where the Irish mob boss is warned by his best friend: "You don't hold elective office in this town, Leo. You only run it because people think you run it. When they stop thinkin' it, you stop runnin' it."

The Jews don't really "run" America; but they *haunt* it in a peculiar way that makes it seem as if they run it, and gives them a leverage out of all proportion to their numbers, and even to their raw power. They have a certain moral authority, which isn't altogether specious, but is certainly lopsided, since they are exempted from the kind of public criticism they are free to dish out.

This is true partly because, I think, they mistakenly experience criticism as a prelude to persecution. And they may not be altogether mistaken. Deep down they may realize, more than Christians do, that cultures don't mix as easily as sentimental Americans like to pretend. They may well fear that if the fictions of pluralism were to collapse, gentiles might once again start talking aloud about "the Jewish problem," and might even ask why American Christians should be more tolerant of minorities than the Israelis are.

If it's "brave" to discuss Jewish power, it's surely because the Jews don't welcome such discussion. Most powerful people glory in their power and find it advantageous, as well as pleasurable, to display it. The Jews seem to feel that their kind of power will tend to evaporate if attention is called to it; and that if it evaporates, they may lose more than power.

This is understandable. Nobody should want the

Jews or anyone else to be vulnerable to persecution. Still, cultural differences and rival interests can't be papered over forever. It's useless to prattle about pluralism in front of the abortion clinic, where cultural differences show up as a total impasse. The Jews speak frankly among themselves of their own interests, and of the threats to those interests posed by Christians. Christians should be free to do the same without being called bigoted — or "brave."

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"It is always difficult for the non-historian to remember that there is nothing absolute about historical truth. What we consider as such is only an estimation, based upon what the best available evidence tells us. It must constantly be tested against new information and new interpretations that appear, however implausible they may be, or it will lose its vitality and degenerate into dogma or shibboleth. Such people as David Irving, then, have an indispensable part in the historical enterprise, and we dare not disregard their views."

— Gordon A. Craig, noted American specialist of modern German history, and professor emeritus at Stanford University. Writing in *The New York Review of Books*, Sept. 19, 1996, p. 8.

A Warning from the Roman Republic

"The state budget must be balanced. If the state is not to go bankrupt, public debts must be cut back, the arrogance of the officials must be curbed and brought under control, and payments to foreign governments must be reduced."

— Marcus Tullius Cicero, 55 B.C.



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

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Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace is the most authoritative, and the most comprehensive, one-volume history of America's real road into World War II. The work of eight outstanding American historians and researchers, under the editorial leadership of the brilliant Revisionist historian Harry Elmer Barnes, this timeless classic demonstrates why World War II wasn't America's war, and how our leaders, from President Franklin Delano Roosevelt on down, first lied us into the war, then lied us into a maze of international entanglements that have brought the American people *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace*.

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

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- Detailed, definitive historical sleuthwork exposing FDR's hidden treachery in preparing for war on behalf of Stalin's USSR and the British Empire — while falsely representing Germany and Japan as

"aggressors" against America

- Incisive, unmistakably American perspectives on how the U.S. made a mockery of its own professed ideals during the misnamed "Good War," by allying with imperialists and despots to wage a brutal, pointless war culminating in the massacres of Dresden and Hiroshima and the betrayals at Yalta and Potsdam

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

Eleven Books in One!

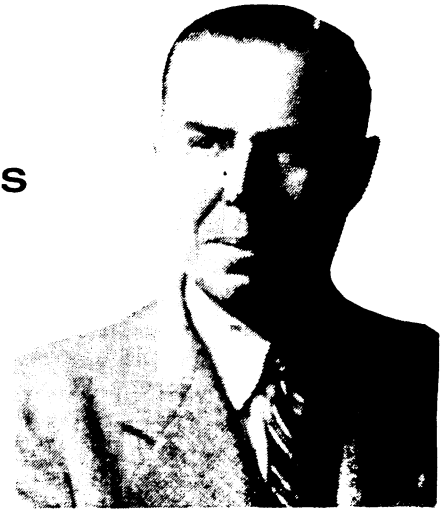
Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace is much, much more than a standard history book. Its *eleven* separate essays by *eight* different authors (average length 65 pages) make it a virtual encyclopedia on the real causes and the actual results of American participation in the Second World War. You'll find yourself reading, and re-reading, the following concise, judicious and thorough studies by the leading names in American Revisionist scholarship:

Revisionism and the Historical Blackout by Harry Elmer Barnes • *The United States and the Road to War in Europe* by Charles Callan Tansill • *Roosevelt Is Frustrated in Europe* by Frederic R. Sanborn • *How American Policy toward Japan Contributed to War in the Pacific* by William L. Neumann • *Japanese-America Relations: 1921-1941: The Pacific Back Door to War* by Charles Callan Tansill • *The Actual Road to Pearl Harbor* by George Morgenstern • *The Pearl Harbor Investigations* by Percy L. Greaves, Jr. • *The Bankruptcy of a Policy* by William Henry Chamberlin • *American Foreign Policy in the Light of National Interest at the Mid-Century* by George A. Lundberg • *How "1984" Trends Threaten American Peace, Freedom and Prosperity* and *Summary and Conclusions* by Harry Elmer Barnes

War that Never Ends

Continuing persecution of aged "war criminals"
Grandiose new "Holocaust" museums
Ever more billions in "aid" and "reparations"
to the State of Israel
Non-stop scapegoating of Germans and Europeans
Ceaseless wars and interventions justified as
"rejecting appeasement," "stopping aggression,"
"standing up to a new Hitler"

**HARRY
ELMER
BARNES**



Classic... and Burningly Controversial

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

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

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

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

Today, the Institute for Historical Review is proud to be able once more to make this enduring, phoenix-like classic available to you, and to our fellow Americans. It is in silence the lies about World War II, and thus the bombs and bullets our interventionist rulers plan — for our own American troops no less than the enemy — in the Middle East, Europe, Africa, Asia, or wherever else the interventionist imperative imposed by World War II may lead us.

Harry Elmer Barnes (1889–1968), American historian and sociologist, was one of this century's most influential scholars. He was a major figure in developing the school of history writing known as "revisionist." During the 1920s he played a leading role in overturning the propaganda myth of sole or primary German responsibility for the First World War.

Even after the drastic change in intellectual fashions during the 1940s, Barnes remained true to his principles. During the final decades of his life, he came under ever more stern rebuke for his revisionist debunking of official claims about the Second World War and the Cold War.

Barnes authored many books and countless articles and reviews, and he taught economics, sociology and history at various institutions of higher learning.

He wrote with remarkable assurance and competence in a range of scholarly fields. Of Barnes *The New Columbia Encyclopedia* (1975) noted: "His wide interests generally centered about the main themes of the development of Western thought and culture. His ability to synthesize information from various fields into an intelligible pattern showing human development profoundly affected the teaching of history."

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Killing Noncombatants

SHELDON RICHMAN

On May 11, 1940, Great Britain made a fateful decision in its approach to fighting the Second World War. On that night, 18 Whitley bombers attacked railway installations in the placid west German province of Westphalia, far from the war front. That forgotten bombing raid, which in itself was inconsequential, has been called “the first deliberate breach of the fundamental rule of civilized warfare that hostilities must only be waged against the enemy combatant forces.” (F. J. P. Veale, *Advance to Barbarism* [1993 edition, p. 170])

J. M. Spaight, who had been principal secretary of Britain’s Air Ministry, wrote later, in his book *Bombing Vindicated* (1944), that “it was we who started the strategic [that is, civilian] bombing offensive” with the “splendid decision” of May 11, 1940. “It was,” wrote Spaight with horrifying honesty, “as heroic, as self-sacrificing, as Russia’s decision to adopt her policy of ‘scorched earth’.” Note that the German attack on Coventry, which is often cited as the first strategic bombing in the war between Germany and Britain, occurred six months later (on November 14, 1940). Note further that part of the British bombing strategy was apparently to provoke German attacks on England in order to stimulate support for total war against the Third Reich. As the official Air Ministry volume, *The Royal Air Force, 1939-1945: The Fight at Odds* (1953), stated:

If the Royal Air Force raided the Ruhr, destroying oil plants with its most accurately placed bombs and urban property with those that went astray, the outcry for retaliation against Britain might prove too strong for the German generals to resist. Indeed, Hitler himself would probably head the clamor. *The attack on the Ruhr, in other words, was an informal invitation to the Luftwaffe to bomb London.*

The first instance of “area” bombing, guided by a

Sheldon Richman is senior editor at the Cato Institute in Washington, DC, and the author of *Separating School & State*, published by The Future of Freedom Foundation (FFF). This essay is reprinted from the September 1995 issue of *Freedom Daily*, published monthly by the FFF, 11350 Random Hills Rd., Ste. 800, Fairfax, VA 22030.

newly expanded definition of military target, occurred at Mannheim in December 1940, in which bombs were dropped on factories and the homes of factory workers. On February 14, 1942, the policy of targeting other than military sites became more explicit. With World War II now in full gear, Prime Minister Winston Churchill’s British government directed the Bomber Command of the Royal Air Force to begin the destruction of German civilian morale. In other words, it was open season on cities. The decision was curious, for, as the neo-conservative Paul Johnson wrote in *Modern Times* (1983):



Sheldon Richman

By the end of 1941, with both Russia and America in the war, the defeat of Hitler, as Churchill himself realized, was inevitable in the long run. The utilitarian rationale for attacks on cities had disappeared; the moral case had always been inadmissible.

The bombing policy was formalized in the Lindemann Plan in March 1942, when the Bomber Command was placed under the direction of Sir Arthur “Bomber” Harris, who inaugurated civilian bombing in the Middle East and India in the 1920s. Later that month, the city of Lübeck, an old Hanseatic port with no military significance, was targeted. In the words of the official report, it “burned like kindling.” Half the city was destroyed.

By the summer of 1943, the United States was part of the air-terror campaign. In July of that year, British bombers attacked Hamburg, creating monstrous firestorms with temperatures of 800-1000 degrees centigrade over the city. The results: 40,000 people killed, 214,350 homes destroyed, 4,301 factories leveled, eight square miles burned.

On the night of February 13-14, 1945, what Johnson called “the greatest Anglo-American moral disaster of the war against Germany occurred.” Dresden, a city of indescribable beauty and no military value whatsoever, was destroyed. In two bombing waves (the second after relief efforts were



The devastation of Dresden, one of Europe's great cultural and architectural treasures, in the wake of the February 1945 firebombing is apparent in this view from City Hall tower. Some 2,000 British and American bombers took part in the attack on the undefended German city, which was packed with hundreds of thousands of women and children fleeing advancing Soviet forces.

underway), firestorms over eight square miles were ignited with 650,000 incendiaries. Some 135,000 people, including children in holiday carnival costumes, were killed; 4,200 acres were turned to rubble. "For the first time in the war a target had been hit so hard that not enough able-bodied survivors were left to bury the dead," wrote Johnson. "The funeral pyres were still flaming a fortnight after the raid." Why was it attacked? As Johnson put it, "The origin of the raid was the desire of Roosevelt and Churchill at the Yalta Conference to prove to Stalin that the Allies were doing their best to assist the Russian effort on the Eastern front." German civilians were barbecued for the Bolsheviks' westward offensive.

The unspeakable evil of the Dresden bombing made even Churchill pause. He wrote to the chief of the Air Staff, Sir Charles Portal, six weeks later:

It seems to me that the moment has come when the question of bombing of German cities simply for the sake of increasing the terror, though under other pretexts, should be reviewed. The destruction of Dresden remains a serious query against the conduct of Allied bombing ... I feel the need for more precise concentration upon

military objectives, such as oil and communication behind the immediate battle-zone, rather than on mere acts of terror and wanton destruction, however impressive.

(The official British history of the air offensive commented that Churchill "had forgotten [his] own recent efforts to initiate and maintain the offensive.")

It was only the beginning. In the Pacific theater, the Americans applied the British strategy of targeting civilians. Sixty-six Japanese civilian centers were hit from March to July 1945, even as the US authorities were receiving indications of a Japanese desire to surrender. The raids, involving 100,000 tons of incendiaries, destroyed 170,000 densely populated square miles. As night fell on March 9, 300 B-29s laid waste to 15 square miles of Tokyo. Eighty-three thousand were killed and 102,000 were injured in the firestorms. Up to roughly that point, the bombings in Japan had leveled two and a quarter million buildings; nine million people were homeless; 260,000 were dead; 412,000 were injured.

The climax came on August 6. After dropping more than 700,000 warning leaflets, the United States dropped a uranium bomb on Hiroshima. On



Many of the civilians who perished in the devastating American and British bombing attacks on Germany were not blasted or burned to death, but succumbed to poisonous carbon monoxide fumes caused by phosphorous bombs and the great fires set off in the firestorms. This young boy died clinging to a firefighter during the massive July 1943 British air raid against Hamburg, code-named "Operation Gomorrah."

that day and the days following, 200,000 died, burned, vaporized, suffocated. The deaths of some were evidenced only by the shadows they left on walls. Three days later, a second atomic bomb, this one powered by plutonium, was dropped on Nagasaki, 74,800 dead. Two more cities were put on the A-bomb target list, but Japan's surrender on August 14 averted the strikes. [See: M. Weber, "Was Hiroshima Necessary," May-June 1997 *Journal*.]

Thus the most destructive military conflict in human history ended. A new threshold had been crossed. The old rules of avoiding noncombatant casualties were erased. The bombing rules drafted after World War I were forgotten. The era of total war had arrived. Anyone was fair game. The murder of innocents became "collateral damage."

A sophisticated moral treatise should not be required to indict civilian bombing. Noncombatants had been ruled off-limits, because it was universally regarded as wrong to kill for the sake of sheer terror. War, though unspeakably horrific, was not to be an excuse for the dropping of all moral restraint. This made impeccable sense. The disputes between governments should not be permitted to spill onto the people forced to live under those governments. People rarely go to war. They are too busy making a living and raising their families; wars are costly. When they do go to war, they have first been whipped into a frenzy by dishonest political leaders, whose petty

ambitions are often advanced by a seemingly great national purpose. The leaders rarely do the paying or the dying. They are too busy with the big picture. The details are left to the people. (See Paul Fussell's great book *Wartime* [1989].)

When Allied misconduct in World War II (or any war) is pointed out, many Americans become defensive, as though acknowledging government's moral lapses is bad manners, if not outright treason. That attitude is unbecoming to the political heirs of Jefferson and Madison, who understood the dangers intrinsic to the state and who grasped that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. Those who wish not to dwell on Allied atrocities often respond that the enemy was engaged in such horrors as the rape of Nanking, the Bataan death march, the bombing of Rotterdam and Warsaw, the Holocaust. So that is what it comes down to: Dresden? Tokyo? Hiroshima? Nagasaki? They were no worse than the crimes of the Japanese imperial-

ists and the Nazis. At that point, a plea of innocence is hard to distinguish from a plea of guilty.

Moving?

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Only with the sustained help of friends can the Institute for Historical Review carry on its vital mission of promoting truth in history. If you agree that the work of our Institute is important, *please support it with your generous donation!*

"I have never, for the life of me, been able to understand the conservative. The conservative seems to me to be always clinging to the last thing which the last radical has forcibly tied him to."

— G.K. Chesterton, 1927

Keeping an Open Mind

As a school teacher, it is my job to keep an open mind and know all sides of history. Thanks to your great website, I can do that. Your articles are well written and informative. It's a nice change of pace from the biased garbage we see on the mainstream news shows.

Keep up the good work.

E.G.
[by Internet]

John Birch Society and IHR

Enclosed please find a \$100 check to help the IHR. Originally I intended to send this money to the John Birch Society. While I think the Society has done a lot of good work, they pulled exactly the kind of thing on you that is always being pulled on them, and as a faithful JBS member of 35 years, I didn't like it. ["John Birch Society Takes Aim at Holocaust Revisionism and the IHR," Nov.-Dec. 1998 *Journal*]. So, those who are the least afraid to tell the whole truth get my money. Keep up the good fight. (I intend to let the JBS know how I feel.)

S.T.S.
Norton, Mass.

Straight-Forward Style

At school I was taught that six million Jews were gassed to death. In one class we studied a fictional book about a Jewish teacher in Poland and his ordeal that our teacher presented as factual.

When I became old enough to think for myself, I rejected the portrayal of Germans as fantastically evil. I did so instinctively, even though at the time I didn't have the facts to cite in support of this. Thanks to you, now I do.

The material you present on your web site appears to be honest and well documented, with source references cited. Although I have

not (yet) checked the references, I am inclined to believe them because your style is straight-forward, "just the facts" and non-emotional.

I posted your URL [Internet web site address] along with a few facts about outrageous Holocaust claims to some e-mail lists I belong to. The replies were amazing: unintelligent, biased, abusive, even ridiculous, with no concern at all for facts, or even curiosity about the other side of the argument.

Thank you again.

C.R.
Australia
[by Internet]

Looking for Truth

My complements on your web site. While most revisionist sources speak favorably about your Institute, I have found some hostile sites that claim, essentially, that you say that the Jews had to be killed. Of course, this is not only untrue, but not even consistent with the tradition of historical revisionism. Above all, a revisionist is someone who is looking for the truth.

F.C.
Italy
[by Internet]

Good Luck

To the entire IHR staff: Merry Christmas and good luck in 1999. Thank you for your indefatigable work. Keep up the good work!

Wilhelm Stäglich
Glücksburg, Germany

Hard to Swallow

Viktor Suvorov's thesis that Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union was a defensive move or a preventive strike is a bit hard to swallow ["Stalin's Plan to Conquer Europe," July-August 1998 *Journal*]. Anyway, you should

know about a recent book, *Thunder on the Dnepr: Zhukov-Stalin and the Defeat of Hitler's Blitzkrieg*, by Bryan I. Fugate and Lev Dvoretzky (Presidio Press, 1997). Citing newly available Soviet military records, the authors contend that Zhukov and Stalin fooled Hitler by causing him to think that German forces had largely destroyed the Red Army during the opening weeks of the war. Actually, they contend, Stalin had huge reserves with heavy modern equipment to throw against the Germans after they had pushed far inland.

Journal articles, I find, are often biased in favor of capitalism. All the same, it is it worthwhile reading more than one side of every subject. Cheers for historical revisionism!

J.E.
Hot Springs, Mont.

Appreciation

I can't even adequately express how grateful I am that you do what you do. Your group is truly to be admired. All I can say is: I'm glad you're out there. I only hope that my contribution [\$100] helps a little.

S.Y.
La Plata, Maryland

Suvorov Not Alone

In his letter in the Nov.-Dec. 1998 *Journal*, P.H. writes that Viktor Suvorov is wrong in claiming that Stalin was preparing to attack Germany in 1941. Well, he should know that Suvorov is not the only historian to make this argument. Austrian historian Ernst Topitsch, for example, makes essentially the same point in his book *Stalin's War* (St. Martin's Press, 1987). He cites a mass of statistics to show that the troops amassed by Stalin on the western Soviet border greatly out-

numbered and outgunned the facing German troops, who were themselves massed in preparation for attack against the Red Army.

R.H.
[by Internet]

Today's European Unity Foreshadowed in World War II

Few realize that the steady economic and political unification of Europe — manifest, for example, in the recent introduction of the supra-national European currency, the “Euro” — was strongly foreshadowed in the Second World War planning of Germany's leaders.

During the war years, high-level German officials promoted a “European Economic Community,” forerunner of the European Community. As part of this effort, in 1942, for example, the Reich Economics Ministry, in cooperation with Berlin business and economic associations, issued a book, *Europäische Wirtschaftsgemeinschaft* (“European Economic Community”).

That same year, a leading National Socialist Party periodical, the *Schulungsbrief*, reported favorably on the rise of a new all-European economic order. An article featured a statement by Walter Funk, Economics Minister and Reichsbank president: “The economic unity of Europe is already much more in place than most people can imagine.”

An article by army teaching director Dr. Karl Christoffel in a 1944 instruction booklet for the German armed forces pointedly declared: “During the emergency of this struggle for its existence, Europe has begun to recognize that its security and continued existence are possible only in the unification of its nations in a European economic community. The grim attempt by the British and the Americans to starve out the continent, including its one-time allies, has obliged us to work together as if this was already a unified economic zone. Economic barriers between countries, which

once seemed insurmountable, have been dropped, thereby releasing productive forces on a previously unimaginable scale ... Out of inner necessity, Europe struggles for continental economic freedom with governmental pressure against the international economic hegemony of Anglo-American money imperialism and against the economic enslavement of [Soviet] Bolshevism ... Since the outbreak of the war against Bolshevism, the great German struggle for freedom has become a war for European unity...”

Newspapers and magazines in wartime Germany, and in other European countries, reflected and promoted this new vision of Europe. Among the various pan-European periodicals published in wartime Germany was the French-language *Devenir*, which was boldly subtitled “Combat Journal for the European Community.”

Along with the introduction of the Euro on January 1, 1999, the exchange rates of eleven European currencies were irrevocably “locked in” with each other, and with the Euro. For the time being, the currencies of these eleven countries continue to exist and circulate, but monetary policy for these “Euroland” currencies is no longer set by the central bank of each participating country, but rather by the new Frankfurt-based European Central Bank.

During the Second World War, several European currencies were similarly “coordinated.” While the Polish zloty, the Czech crown, and the Dutch guilder continued to exist and circulate, they were no longer independent national currencies. Monetary policy for these currencies, including the amount of notes in circulation and their exchange rates with the German Reichsmark, and thus with each other, was no longer set in Warsaw, Prague or Amsterdam, but rather in Berlin. Some other European currencies were likewise linked to the Reichsmark, although not quite as rigidly,

through various bilateral arrangements. During the Second World War, the Reichsbank in Berlin became, in effect, a European central bank.

Today, more than half a century later, important features of Third Reich Germany's visionary wartime program for European economic and monetary unification are being put into effect.

E. Svedlund
Seattle

Changing Minds

Keep up the good work. People are listening to you, and they are changing their minds.

S.T.
[by Internet]

Non-Stop Reading

The July-August 1998 issue was so good that I feel compelled to write. Thank you for your magnificent *Journal* of truth. I can't put an issue down without reading it through non-stop. I have been with you since the very beginning, and admire all of you. You are all great and brave men. I truly thank you gallant warriors for being there on the front lines, getting the truth to the public.

H.W.
Wildwood, Penn.

Someone Must Do It

Thank you again for the *Journal*, and for all the work, effort and toil required in putting it out. It's work that someone must do, and you are doing it.

L.P.
Jackson, Calif.

Appreciation from Nippon

Greetings from Japan. Even here in Sapporo, your diligent effort is much appreciated.

W.K.
Sapporo, Japan

We welcome letters from readers. We reserve the right to edit for style and space. Write: Editor, P.O. Box 2739, Newport Beach, CA 92659, USA, or e-mail us at editor@ihr.org

The Heart-warming, Infuriating, Informative, and Revisionist memoir that Dares to Tell the Truth About the Postwar Trials of the Germans

INNOCENT AT DACHAU

AMERICAN TEENAGER JOE HALOW was still a boy when he sailed to war-ravaged Germany in late 1946. The year he spent there, taking part in some of the most sensational of the war-crimes trials of the defeated Nazis, turned him into a man.

Innocent at Dachau is Joe Halow's account of his year in postwar Germany, above all his work as a court reporter during the U.S. Army courts-martial at Dachau. There Halow witnessed, recorded and transcribed some of the most gripping testimony from some of the most sensational trials of the postwar years: of SS guards from Buchenwald, Mauthausen, and Dora/Nordhausen; of the inmates who carried out their orders as kapos (prisoner trustees); and of German villagers who attacked and murdered downed American fliers in the last phase of the Allies' terrifying air war.

Armed with an ironclad faith in American righteousness when he arrived, young Halow soon saw the flaws and abuses in the trials: reliance on *ex post facto* law and broad conspiracy theories; abuse of prisoners during interrogation; and the shocking tolerance, even encouragement, of perjured testimony by concentration camp survivors. The teenaged American court reporter came to sympathize with the plight of the accused, particularly those convicted, sentenced or executed unjustly.

Innocent at Dachau is Joe Halow's story of his coming of age, of his loss of innocence in the Dachau courts. And it's the human drama of how he came to terms with his own anti-German feelings living and working in a Germany still heaped with rubble and ruled by the black market, in the shadow of the looming Iron Curtain and approaching Cold War.

Innocent at Dachau is also the story of how, four decades later, Joe Halow went back — back to the long-classified records of the Army's trials at Dachau where he found astounding confirmation from official sources of his own misgivings about the trials; and back to Germany for a moving visit with one of the German SS men Halow watched testify about his role at Nordhausen concentration camp.

Outspoken, informative, moving, *Innocent at Dachau* is a unique testimony to one American's quest for truth, understanding and honor, in a realm ruled even today

by shibboleth and taboo — a book that deserves to be read, and read again.

Joseph Halow was born and raised in Altoona, Pennsylvania. After a brief stint in the U.S. Army following World War II, during which he served in Peking, China, Mr. Halow served as a court reporter at the U.S. Army war crimes trials at Dachau. Mr. Halow has had a long career in the export-import business, during which he headed an association that promoted the exportation of American grain. A Phi Beta Kappa graduate of The George Washington University, Joseph Halow is the author of numerous articles on agricultural affairs, as well as a book, *U.S. Grain: The Political Commodity*. He lives near Washington, D.C.



TOP: The author at publisher's 1990 historical conference.

INSET: Germany, 1946: The author transcribing his courtroom "take" for the record.

INNOCENT AT DACHAU

by Joseph Halow

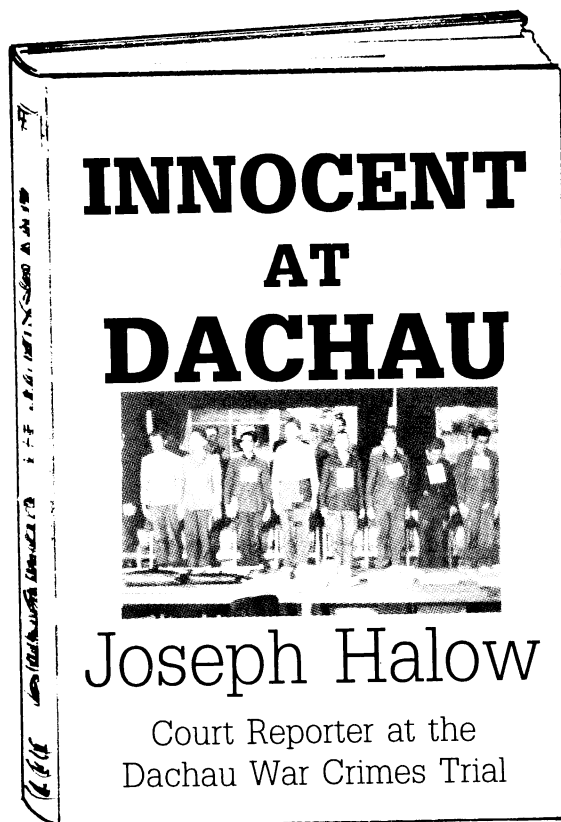
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In this concise, eye-opening book, British Parliament member Arthur Ponsonby deftly exposes the most scurrilous propaganda tales of the 1914-1918 war.

To maintain popular enthusiasm and support for the four-year slaughter of the First World War, British, French, and (later) American propagandists tirelessly depicted their German adversaries as vicious criminal "Huns," and portrayed the German emperor, Kaiser Wilhelm II, as a rapacious, lunatic monster in human form.

Ponsonby reveals how all the belligerents, but foremost his own country, faked documents, falsified photos, and invented horrifying atrocity stories.

In a foreword written for this handsome IHR edition, historian Mark Weber points out fascinating parallels with World War II atrocity tales. The "corpse factory" fable, for example, was revived during the Second World War with the Allied claim that the Germans manufactured soap from Jewish corpses.

This pioneering revisionist work remains one of the most trenchant and valuable examinations of wartime deceit and propaganda ever written. A devastating indictment of the way politicians and journalists deceive to incite people to war!

Falsehood in Wartime: Propaganda Lies of the First World War

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- The "corpse factory" where the Germans manufactured lubricating oil and fats from the bodies of dead soldiers.
- The Belgian girl whose hands were chopped off by the bestial Germans.
- German responsibility for starting the war.
- The barbaric U-boat sinking of the innocent passenger liner *Lusitania*.
- The "martyrdom" of Nurse Cavell.

Falsehood in Wartime

by Arthur Ponsonby, M.P.

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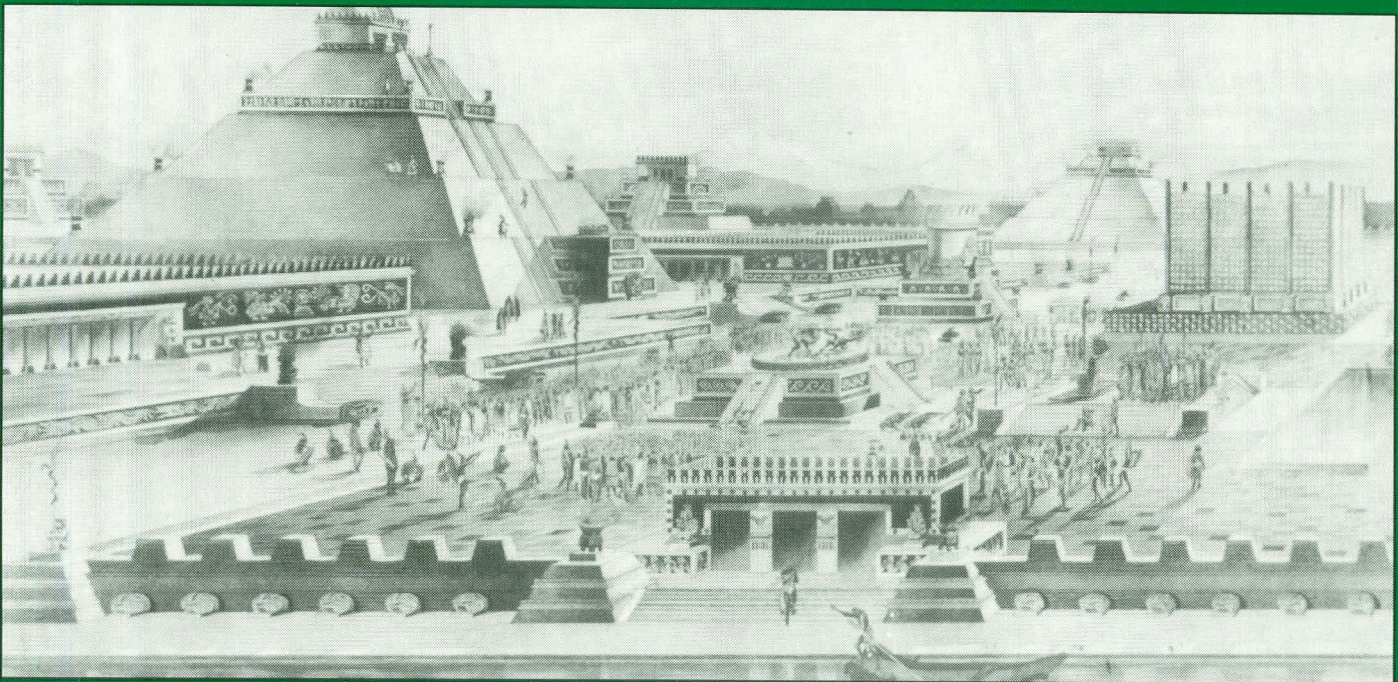
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The Journal of Historical Review

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**For a Balanced History
of the American Indian**

Zoltán Bruckner

**Bagnold's Bluff:
Desert War in North Africa**

Trevor J. Constable

Wartime Belgium and its Jews

Mark Weber

How Dangerous is the Swastika?

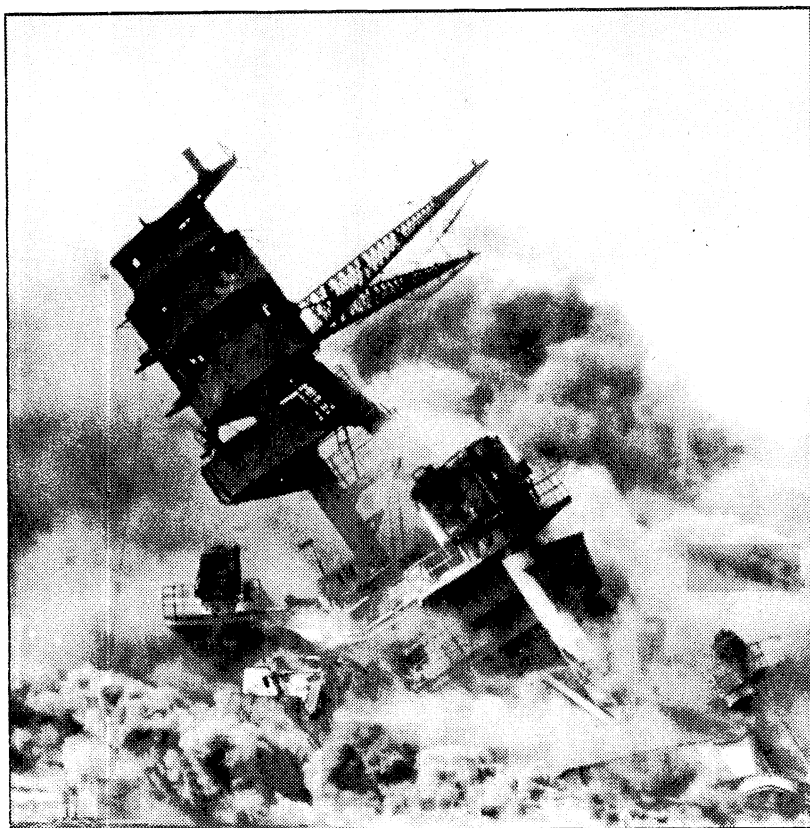
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The Classic Unraveling of the 'Day of Infamy' Mystery



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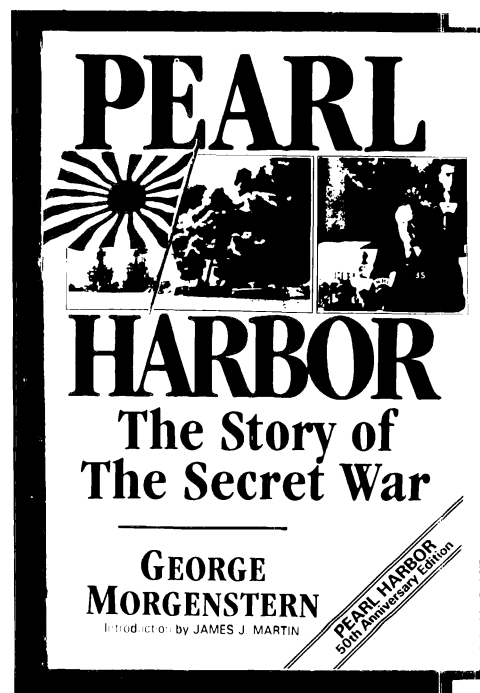
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On the Cover: Tenochtitlán, capital of Montezuma's Aztec empire.

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Belgium and its Jews During the War

MARK WEBER

A look at how German authorities treated Jews in Belgium during the years of wartime occupation is revealing because it is difficult to reconcile their policies with a German program systematically to exterminate Europe's Jews.

Belgium was quickly overrun by German military forces in May 1940, and after 18 days the country surrendered. Although the cabinet fled to London, where it established a pro-Allied government-in-exile, the country's King, Léopold III, as well as the head of government and the commander of the Belgian army, remained with their people. During the following four years of occupation, German authority was exercised through a military governor, General Alexander von Falkenhausen, while the overall administration of the country was carried out by Belgium's chief ministry officials and the regular civil service.¹

At the outbreak of the war, about 90,000 Jews were living in this small western European country of some nine million people. Most were not Belgian citizens, and many were recently-arrived refugees from Germany, Austria and Poland. About 80,000 of the country's Jews were concentrated in the two largest cities, Brussels, the capital, and Antwerp, a major seaport. About three-fourths of Belgium's Jews were self-employed, and the diamond trade of Antwerp was largely in Jewish hands.²

During the months following the German takeover, many thousands of Jews fled the country, or were deported to neighboring France, so that by late 1940 only 52,000-55,000 reportedly remained in Belgium.³

'Armed Resistance'

Jews played a prominent role in Belgium's anti-German underground. As one Jewish historian later noted with pride, Jews were among the first "to take an active part in the resistance movement and in all forms of sabotage." Eventually, "many hundreds" of Jews "took part in the armed resistance." In one spectacular case in April 1943, "in open battle between the Jewish partisans and the [German] Field Police, many Germans were killed while the partisans got away without loss." Within the overall anti-German underground movement, a special "Ninth Jewish Brigade" was established. "Several weeks before the liberation [September 1944], hundreds of Jewish volunteers answered the call of the Jewish resistance organizations and took part in

the final, open battle against the occupying forces."⁴

Jacob Gutfreind commanded the country's first Jewish terrorist group, which was organized in late 1941. Its members set fire to factories, derailed trains, attacked garages, and murdered Germans, Belgians and Jewish "informers" who collaborated with the authorities. Gutfreind and his wife were eventually caught and deported to Auschwitz. They settled in Israel after the war.⁵

Germans weren't the only ones who were concerned that Jews might constitute a threat to security. Following the Allied liberation of the country, British military authorities in Belgium rounded up and interned as "enemy aliens" some 2,000 Jews (apparently of German citizenship).⁶

Deportations

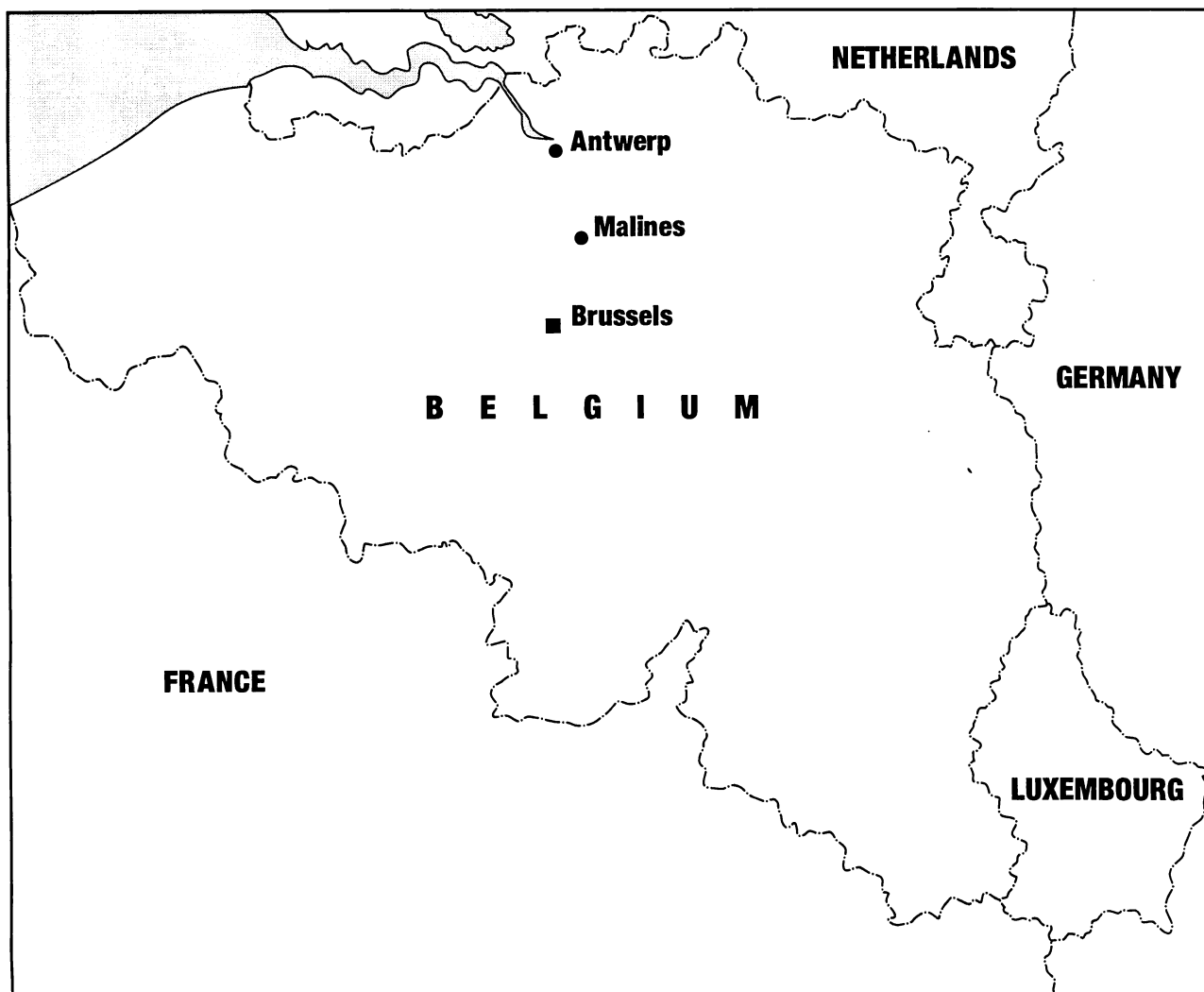
Beginning in August 1942 and continuing until July 1944, some 25,000 Jews were deported eastward from Belgium. Apparently most were transported to Auschwitz, although some were sent to the Lodz ghetto, the Theresienstadt ghetto-camp, the Bergen-Belsen camp, and elsewhere.⁷

In November 1942 the German Foreign Office representative in Brussels reported that some 15,000 Jews had been deported from Belgium to "the East," and that additional transports would be following. These deportees, he went on, were Jews of non-Belgian citizenship, mostly of Polish, Czech, German or Russian citizenship or origin, or stateless.⁸

According to some wartime reports, Jews were also deported from Belgium to the occupied Soviet territories.⁹ In August 1942 Jews were reportedly taken by train from Belgium to a labor camp in southern Russia where they worked on building fortifications.¹⁰ In October 1942 the leading Jewish community newspaper of neutral Switzerland reported that rail transports of Jews from Belgium and other western European countries had recently arrived in Riga (Latvia) before being taken further.¹¹

Such deportations seem inconsistent with a policy to exterminate all of Europe's Jews. If the goal was simply to kill them, why would the Germans have transported Jews from western Europe to territories far to the east of Auschwitz and other alleged "death camps"?

Remarkably, many Jews in Belgium were exempt from deportation. For one thing, categori-



cally exempted by the Germans from deportation from Belgium (as well as from France and the Netherlands) were Jews who were citizens of the United States, Britain and the British dominions, or the Latin American countries.¹²

More startling, the German military governor, von Falkenhausen, responded to a plea from Belgian Cardinal van Roey and the country's Queen-Mother, Elizabeth, by ordering Jews of Belgian citizenship exempt from deportation. The only exceptions were about 800 "delinquent" Belgian-citizen Jews who had refused to wear the obligatory Jewish star badge or had violated other regulations.¹³

The Breendonck Internment Camp

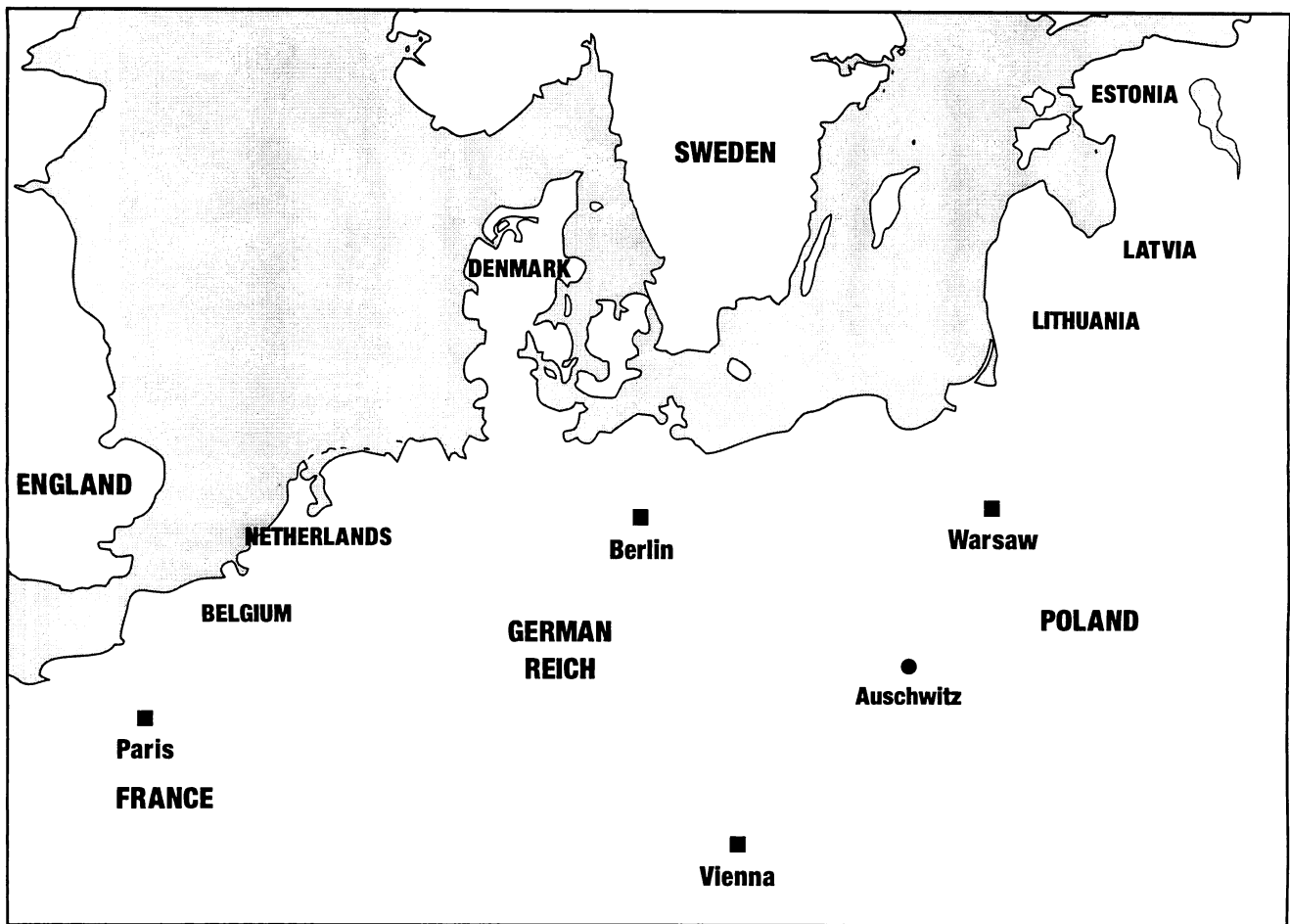
A detailed work published after the war by the World Jewish Congress and other Jewish organizations, *The Black Book: The Nazi Crime Against the Jewish People*, cited testimony evidence to charge that the German authorities had killed 200 persons each month in the Breendonck internment camp in

Belgium, which supposedly was "more horrible than Dachau and Buchenwald were before the war." Prisoners there were reportedly also killed in a special gassing cell.¹⁴ Today Breendonck is barely mentioned in the Holocaust literature, and no reputable historian credits the Breendonck gassing story,

Widely Varying Death Figures

As in the case of other countries, supposedly authoritative estimates of Jewish wartime deaths for Belgium vary greatly. According to the US government's widely publicized 1944 War Refugee Board (WRB) Report, which was submitted as an important American prosecution exhibit at the main Nuremberg trial, "approximately 50,000" Jews deported from Belgium were killed in Auschwitz-Birkenau gas chambers between April 1942 and April 1944.¹⁵

More or less consistent with this, the so-called "Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry" announced in 1946 that, out of a total of 5.7 million European



Jews who perished during the war years, 57,000 were Jews from Belgium. Lucy Dawidowicz estimated that 40,000 Belgian Jews lost their lives during the war, while another Jewish Holocaust historian, Gerald Fleming, estimated 26,000.¹⁶

A 1977 report by a German government agency affiliated with the International Committee of the Red Cross reported that between August 4, 1942, and July 31, 1944, a total of 25,557 Jews (including 497 Gypsies) were deported from Belgium, of whom 1,271 returned after the war.¹⁷ Raul Hilberg, a prominent Holocaust historian, concluded in his 1985 study that 24,000 Belgian Jews lost their lives during the war years, and that 40,000 Jews in Belgium survived the war.¹⁸

Historians Gerald Reitlinger and Yehuda Bauer — apparently referring to German and Belgian records — similarly reported that a total of 25,437 Jews were deported from Belgium, of whom 1,276 returned after the war. “More than half of the Jewish population of Belgium survived the war,” noted Bauer, and Reitlinger remarked that Belgium “lost virtually none” of its “native Jewish population.”¹⁹

Historians Hilberg, Bauer and Reitlinger thus agree that far more Belgian Jews survived than per-

ished, and that the total number of Belgian Jews who perished (of all causes) during the war years is less than half the number of Belgian Jews supposedly gassed at Auschwitz-Birkenau, according to the US government’s authoritative WRB Report.

Notes

1. M. Baudot, et al, ed., *The Historical Encyclopedia of World War II* (New York: Facts on File, 1989), pp. 53-54; I. C. B. Dear, genl. ed., *The Oxford Companion to World War II* (Oxford Univ. Press, 1995), pp. 118-122; Jacob Robinson, *And the Crooked Shall Be Made Straight* (New York: Macmillan, 1965), pp. 238-240, 354.
2. Lucy S. Dawidowicz, *The War Against the Jews, 1933-1945* (New York: Bantam, pb. ed., 1976), pp. 491-494; Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 3 vols., 1985), pp. 600-602; Gerald Reitlinger, *The Final Solution: The Attempt to Exterminate the Jews of Europe* (London: Sphere Books, 2nd edition, pb., 1971), pp. 367, 368 (In the 1st US edition, New York: Beechhurst Press, 1953, these are pages 342-345); Yehuda Bauer, *A History of the Holocaust* (New York: F. Watts, 1982), pp. 238-240; Eric J. Epstein & P. Rosen, *Dictionary of the*

- Holocaust* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1997), pp. 26-27; Michael R. Marrus, Robert O. Paxton, "The Nazis and the Jews in Occupied Western Europe, 1940-1944," *The Journal of Modern History*, Dec. 1982 (Vol. 54, No. 4; Univ. of Chicago Press), pp. 706-707.
3. Peter Longerich, ed., *Die Ermordung der europäischen Juden: Eine umfassende Dokumentation des Holocaust, 1941-1945* (Munich and Zurich: Piper, 1990), p. 265; Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (1985), p. 601 (doc. NG-5219).
 4. Abusz Werber, "Jewish Resistance in Belgium," *Yad Vashem Bulletin* (Jerusalem), No. 22, May 1968, pp. 60-61; More than a thousand Jews in Belgium "fought with the Belgian partisans," reports Jewish historian Martin Gilbert in his *Atlas of the Holocaust* (New York: William Morrow, 1993), p. 110.
 5. J. Gutfreind, "The Jewish Resistance Movement in Belgium," in: Yuri Suhl, ed., *They Fought Back: The Story of Jewish Resistance in Nazi Europe* (New York: Crown, 1967, and, Schocken, 1975), pp. 304, 308. See also p. 182, which mentions another Jewish member of the anti-German Belgian underground, Giza Weisblum, who was arrested in 1943 and deported to Auschwitz. Weisblum moved to Israel after the war.
 6. Raul Hilberg, *Destruction* (1985), p. 1059.
 7. Lucy S. Dawidowicz, *The War Against the Jews* (Bantam, pb. ed., 1976), p. 494; R. Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (1985), pp. 606-608; G. Reitlinger, *The Final Solution* (London: Sphere, 1971), pp. 368, 369; Martin Gilbert, *Atlas of the Holocaust* (New York: William Morrow, 1993), p. 110 (and map 134).
 8. Nuremberg documents NG-5209 (or NG-022) and NG-5219. P. Longerich, ed., *Die Ermordung der europäischen Juden* (Piper, 1990), pp. 263, 265.
 9. For example, in June 1943 the London-based Belgian government-in-exile reported (inaccurately) that "the Germans had removed nearly all 52,000 Belgian Jews to concentration camps in Germany, Poland and occupied Russia." Source: *The New York Times*, June 15, 1943, p. 8. Quoted in: Arthur Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (IHR, 1997), p. 82; *American Jewish Year Book*, 5705, Vol. 46, Copyright 1944 (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America), p. 220.
 10. "Deportation and Death: Eyewitness Testimony," *Congress Weekly* (New York: Am. Jewish Congress), Dec. 4, 1942, pp. 6-7. The source given for this "eyewitness" report is "Geneva, October 8, 1942." Possibly it was provided by the Geneva office of the World Jewish Congress. This "testimony" was supposedly provided by a Polish Jew who was arrested in Brussels, and was then included in the transport from Belgium to Russia. After working in Russia, he supposedly hid in a train that went to Paris.
 11. *Israelitisches Wochenblatt für die Schweiz*, No. 42, Oct. 16, 1942, pp. 10-11.
 12. Jacob Robinson, *And the Crooked Shall be Made Straight* (New York: Macmillan, 1965), pp. 22-23, 287, n. 59. (NG-183)
 13. L. S. Dawidowicz, *The War Against the Jews* (Bantam, 1976), p. 494; G. Reitlinger, *The Final Solution* (London: 1971), pp. 367, 369, 538 (In the 1st US edition, New York: 1953, these are pages 342-345, 494); Nuremberg doc. NG-5219 (cited above); Norman Rich, *Hitler's War Aims*, Vol. 2 (New York: Norton, 1974), pp. 187-188.
 14. Jewish Black Book Committee (World Jewish Congress, etc.), *The Black Book: The Nazi Crime Against the Jewish People* (New York: 1946), p. 270. A facsimile of this page is in: Carlos W. Porter, ed., *Made in Russia: The Holocaust* (England: HRP, 1988), p. 384; During the war the *American Jewish Year Book* told readers that Jewish "children were reported gassed at Brasschaet, north of Antwerp." *American Jewish Year Book*, 5705, Vol. 46, Copyright 1944 (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America), p. 220.
 15. Nov. 1944 WRB report. Nuremberg document 022-L (USA-294). *Trial of the Major War Criminals Before the International Military Tribunal* (Nuremberg: IMT, 1947-1949 ["blue series"]), vol. 37, p. 433. (A facsimile of this page also appears in Arthur Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, p. 207.) See also IMT "blue series" vol. 3, p. 568.
 16. Nora Levin, *The Holocaust: The Destruction of European Jewry 1933-1945* (New York: Crowell, 1968), p. 715; L. S. Dawidowicz, *The War Against the Jews* (Bantam, 1976), p. 544; Gerald Fleming, *Hitler and the Final Solution* (Berkeley: Univ. of Calif., 1984), p. 193.
 17. A. de Cocatrix, *Die Zahl der Nationalsozialistischen Verfolgung* (Arolsen: International Tracing Service, April 1977).
 18. R. Hilberg, *Destruction* (1985), pp. 608, 1220, 1048.
 19. G. Reitlinger, *The Final Solution* (London: Sphere, 1971), pp. 367, 369, 538; Yehuda Bauer, *A History of the Holocaust* (New York: 1982), p. 240; Similarly, Martin Gilbert contended that a total of 25,631 Jews were deported from Belgium during the war years, of whom 24,387 were "murdered," and that 1,244 of the deportees survived. Overall, he added, 40,000 of Belgium's Jews survived the war years. See: M. Gilbert, *Atlas of the Holocaust* (William Morrow, 1993), pp. 110, 242 (map 315), 244 (map 316).

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Clash of Forces in North Africa

Bagnold's Bluff

The Little-Known Figure Behind Britain's Daring Long Range Desert Patrols

TREVOR J. CONSTABLE

Specialist military units of the commando type enjoyed wide vogue during the Second World War, and what little military glamor shone through the conflict was confined almost exclusively to these private armies. They were the stuff of which legends are made. Bold leaders harassing armies with mosquito forces naturally became headline heroes in a war of otherwise inhuman mass effects. Ord Wingate and his Chindits in Burma; Evans Carlson and his Marine Raiders in the Pacific; Mountbatten's commandos; "Phantom Major" David Stirling and his Special Air Services force in North Africa; and on the other side the unforgettable Otto Skorzeny. The list of famous names is lengthy, and even today they evoke memories of high adventure and piracy. Missing from among them is the brilliant progenitor of all these private armies of modern times, the soldier-scientist who conceived and built the first and most successful of them all — Ralph Bagnold.

This tough-minded yet visionary Englishman played a decisive part in bringing the Allies through the serious crisis precipitated by Italy's entry into the war. The loss of the entire Middle East was an imminent possibility. The dramatic, unexpected flanking diversion provided by Bagnold's long range patrols — operating across the mountainous, scorching dunes in the interior of Egypt and Libya — tipped the strategic balance against the Axis. Military units had never penetrated these vast, unmapped wastes before, and First World War patrols had gone no farther than their fringe, where they recoiled from the impassable barrier of the giant dunes. Formal military thinking on North African topography routinely took its cue from this experience. The dunes were deemed to be impassable. The success Bagnold achieved in the teeth of these and other orthodox military conceptions

Trevor J. Constable, born in New Zealand in 1925, has an international reputation as an aviation historian. With Colonel Raymond F. Toliver, he has authored a number of successful works on fighter aviation and ace fighter pilots. He has lived in the United States since 1952. He now makes him home in southern California.



Trevor J. Constable

opened many minds in the Allied high command, paving the way for numerous specialist units that followed.

The successful ones were built upon the foundation that Bagnold laid. He established the fundamentals of all small force success — planning, organization, the right equipment and communications, and a human element of exceptional quality. Adherence to these fundamentals could produce results out of all proportion to the size of the force, and with minimum casualties.

Today the ability of a small, highly-trained unit to penetrate to the heart of any country on earth has to be taken into account in protecting key leaders in the event of war. The Assassins of the twelfth century may have been the originators of this concept, but it was Ralph Bagnold who first showed in modern times what an élite and resolute small force could achieve in upsetting the strategy of armies. His achievement had its origin in a seemingly useless peacetime hobby that the English adventurer shared with a few friends. How he turned this hobby into a superior instrument of war, and was then hidden by the sheer bulk of the commando heroes who came later, is an example of historical caprice hardly rivalled in our time.

A professional soldier who entered the British Army as an engineer officer through the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, Ralph Bagnold served in the trenches in the First World War. Posted to Egypt in 1925 as a signals officer, he found himself among a group of kindred spirits sharing a combined officers' mess with the Royal Tank Corps. He began experimenting with the cross-country potentialities and endurance of the Model T Ford, taking these rugged early cars over rough ground and sand drifts where no car had previously ventured. While other officers spent their time at Gezira Sporting Club or enjoying the fleshpots of Cairo and Alexandria, Bagnold and his friends used their weekends and periods of local leave to make adventurous journeys in the desert. They probed eastwards to Sinai, Palestine and Jordan before made-up roads existed. Their leader by free acknowledgment, Bagnold's enterprise, ingenuity and intelligence were the driving force behind these pioneering expeditions.

Unshaven in their informal desert garb hundreds of miles from civilization, Bagnold and his friends might have been considered highly unconventional by those who were content with more mundane recreations. They were intelligent, educated men indulging a common passion for the desert. Their numbers regularly included two young officers of the Royal Tank Corps, Guy Prendergast and Rupert Harding-Newman. Both were expert drivers, and Prendergast was also an enthusiastic airman at a time when flying was still a rare skill. Later they were destined to turn their journeys with Bagnold to good military account, although at the time the far-ranging journeys were merely a hobby.

Growing experience and confidence in his own logistics and specially-designed equipment turned Bagnold's mind inevitably westwards to the frightening immensity of the Libyan Desert — the most arid region on earth. Roughly the size and shape of the whole Indian peninsula, its strange, wind-sculptured wastes, as rainless and dead as the moon, were largely unmapped and untrodden by man or beast since prehistoric times. Scorching, vast and silent, it presented an irresistible challenge. Intrigued by the prospect of conquering this desert of deserts, the English explorer began planning a new adventure.

Could a small, self-financed party of six men, in three of the new Model A Ford cars penetrate the Libyan Desert as far or perhaps even farther than previous expeditions? The most recent exploration effort had been made by the millionaire Prince Kemal el Din, with a fleet of caterpillar trucks supported by supply trains of camels. Three Model A Fords seemed a puny expedition by comparison, but Bagnold felt that perhaps sheer size and resources were not the key to success. Might not a small party

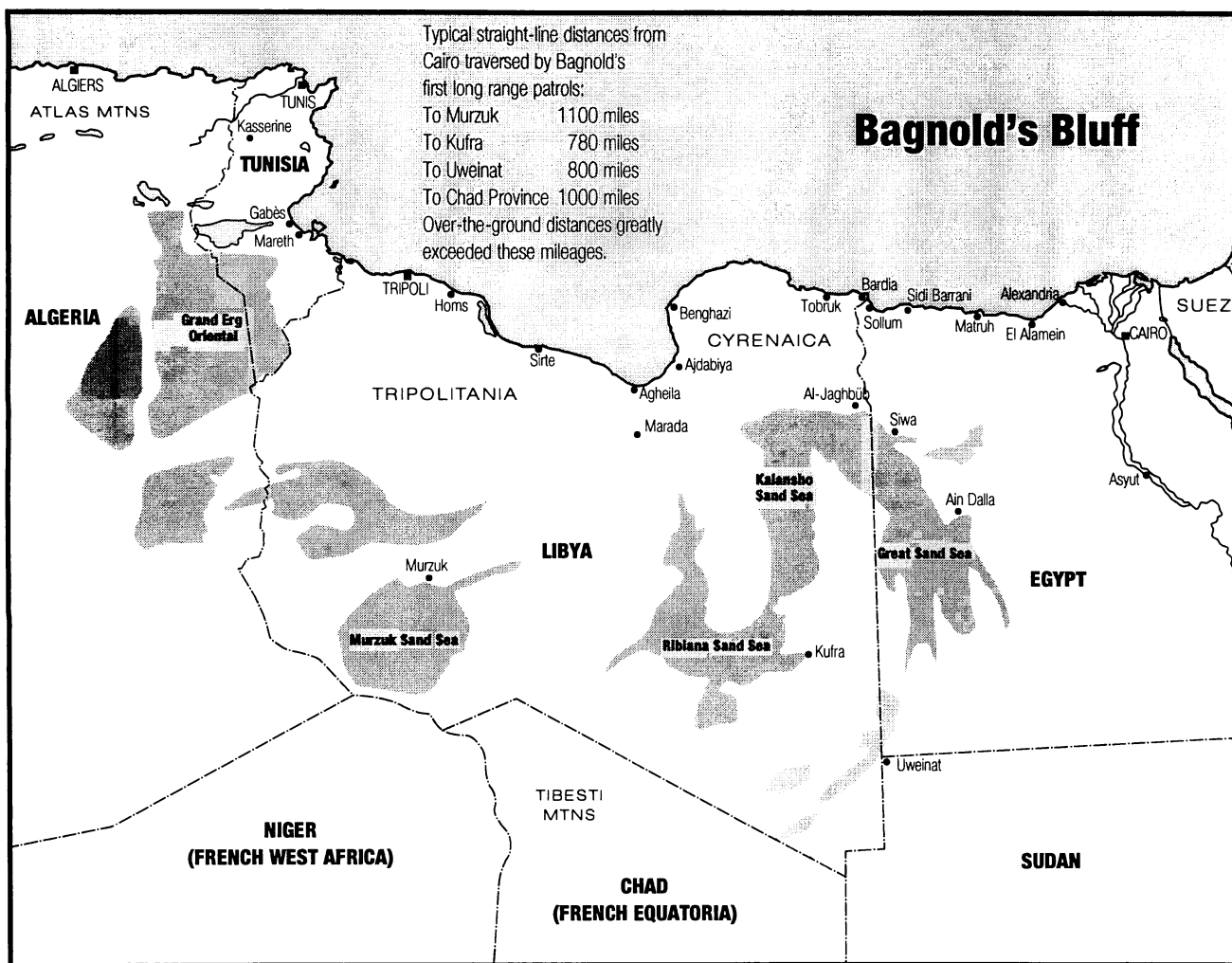


Ralph Bagnold in a rare photograph taken by his friend Bill Kennedy Shaw during a 1932 exploration trip in Libya's Great Sand Sea. During his private pioneering expeditions in the 1930s he learned the techniques of driving motor vehicles over the immense dunes of northern Africa, and of surviving in the pitiless desert — experience that proved invaluable in organizing desert patrols in 1940. With General Wavell's backing, Bagnold's daring patrols bluffed Italy's Marshal Graziani into halting his drive to the Suez Canal. Wartime security suppressed the story of Bagnold's history-changing achievement.

even succeed in crossing the enormous dune field of the Great Sand Sea? The width of that barrier was unknown, but it separated Egypt and Libya for five hundred miles from north to south. Prince Kemal el Din had judged the Great Sand Sea to be utterly impassable.

Despite this first-hand judgment by a contemporary explorer, Bagnold resolved in 1930 to try to conquer the dune barrier. His party included two British officials on leave from the Sudan civil service: Douglas Newbold, permanent head of the government, and Bill Kennedy Shaw, archaeologist and botanist. Both were Arabic scholars and experienced camel travellers, and both were burning with enthusiasm to explore the mysteries of the Libyan desert, legends of which abounded in ancient Egyptian records and in Arabic literature.

Bagnold's planning and intuitive pathfinding



succeeded. The bold little group discovered a single practicable route for light cars over range upon range of towering sand dunes. In their Model A Fords they covered some four thousand miles of unknown country before returning to Cairo in triumph. The Sand Sea route was retraced and mapped in detail shortly afterwards by Patrick Clayton, a tough, restless Irishman and expert cartographer employed by the Egyptian Desert Survey. Clayton's grey hairs belied his drive, versatility and skill, qualities which earned him Bagnold's respect and friendship.

After this successful penetration of Inner Libya, the Royal Geographical Society supported additional and still longer journeys. The primary exploration of the region was under way, but Bagnold's interest had meanwhile been seized by the sands in a manner quite different from that of a conventional explorer. Fascinated by the extraordinary symmetry and geometrical regularity of the great dunes, he found that little was known to scientists about the formation and movement of these vast natural barriers. Retiring from the army, Bagnold turned scien-

tist and embarked on laboratory research into sand movement. He wrote a treatise entitled "The Physics of Blown Sand," which earned him election to the élite Royal Society of London — an almost unique distinction for a service officer with no academic qualifications beyond a Cambridge BA. He occupied himself with his scientific work in communications, hydraulics and fields connected with sand such as beach formation, until the outbreak of war in September 1939.

Major Bagnold was immediately recalled to the army. Ignoring his unique talents and specialized experience, the British Army bundled him aboard a troopship bound for Kenya — a country of which he knew nothing. The prospect of his years of desert experience going to waste was discouraging, but he could do no more than obey orders.

Fate intervened in the form of a mid-Mediterranean collision involving his troop ship. The vessel was so badly damaged that its passengers were disembarked at Port Said, where they would be required to wait at least a week for another ship. Seizing the chance to visit his many friends in the

capital, Bagnold caught the first train to Cairo. A sharp-eyed reporter for the *Egyptian Gazette* spotted the greying major in Shepherd's Hotel, the famous social mecca of British Army officers in those days. The reporter knew all about Bagnold's prewar desert journeys and began putting two and two together. In his column "Day In, Day Out" he briefly reviewed Bagnold's past achievements for his readers, and ended his column with the following observation:

Major Bagnold's presence in Egypt at this time seems a reassuring indication that one of the cardinal errors of 1914-18 is not to be repeated. During that war, if a man had made a name for himself as an explorer of Egyptian deserts, he would almost certainly have been sent to Jamaica to report on the possibilities of increasing rum production, or else have been employed digging tunnels under the Messines Ridge. Nowadays, of course, everything is done much better.

Square peg Bagnold was, "of course," on his way to a round hole in Kenya, true to the British Army tradition that the newspaperman had criticized. The course of the North African war was nevertheless to turn on what the reporter had written about Bagnold in the *Egyptian Gazette*. General Sir Archibald Wavell read the thumbnail sketch of Bagnold's desert career in "Day In, Day Out," and thus learned of the explorer's presence in Egypt.

Although Wavell had no official status in the Middle East at that time, he was working behind the scenes on preparations for the inevitable expansion of the war in that theatre. The so-called "Phony War" was in progress in Europe after Germany's conquest of Poland. The Battle of France still lay in the future. Italy was not yet in the war, and the open appointment of an eminent soldier like Wavell to command the Middle East might have been seized on by Mussolini as a provocation. General Wavell had therefore been sent out from England *sub rosa*, to plan for Italy's entry into the war, or for a German thrust through the Balkans, or for both together. As if to emphasize his unofficial status, Wavell occupied a small office in the attic of the bulky HQ building of British Troops Egypt (BTE), the peacetime garrison force commanded by General Sir Henry Maitland "Jumbo" Wilson. Bagnold was completely unaware of all these arrangements when he began visiting old army friends.

The major's first call was at the office in the same building of his old friend and contemporary, Colonel Micky Miller, then chief signal officer BTE. Miller's face lit up as Bagnold appeared. "Just the man," he said. "Wavell wants to see you. 'Wavell?'" said Bag-



Archibald Wavell (1883-1950), seen here as Commander-in-Chief Middle East. In the summer of 1940 he faced an Italian army in North Africa of more than 200,000 men that was poised to invade Egypt and seize the Suez Canal. Although he commanded much weaker forces, Wavell understood the power of strategic deception. Desert explorer Ralph Bagnold convinced him to pull an immense bluff, using long range patrols to attack remote Italian bases on the far southern flank. Italian commander Graziani "bought" the bluff and stalled his drive for the vital Canal. In the precious weeks of time won by Bagnold, Wavell built up his forces enough to smash the Italian army in eastern Libya, December 1940-February 1941.

nold, "what's he doing here? I thought Jumbo Wilson was in command." Miller put his fingers to his lips in a gesture of silence. "Hush," he said, "Wavell isn't supposed to be here. Jumbo's our boss. Wavell has no authority to interfere. But he knows everything that goes on and remembers everything and everybody. He's planning something big and he's collecting people — people who *know* things. You'll certainly be transferred here, Ralph. Come on. I'll take you upstairs."

As they climbed up to the attic Bagnold's puzzlement grew at the modest quarters assigned to such a senior general. From Micky Miller came a quick aside as they reached Wavell's office: "He's got a glass eye, you know. So be careful to look at the good one."

The interview was brief. The one very bright eye, set in a wrinkled, weather-beaten face, looked Bagnold over. The general spoke quietly.

"Good morning Bagnold. I know about you. Been



One of Bagnold's early Long Range Patrols is inspected in Cairo in 1940 before departure on operations across the desert and dunes of eastern Libya. At first made up largely of New Zealand volunteers, the patrols' main tasks were to reconnoiter far west of the main fighting lines to report on enemy movements and dispositions. Later known as the Long Range Desert Group (LRDG), and greatly expanded, the patrols were active throughout the North African war. The LRDG was organized in a dozen truck-borne patrols, with ten trucks to a patrol and some six men per truck. Its tactics and administration were fluid. More than 50 of its members were decorated for gallantry, and only 16 were killed. "Considering its size," concluded *The Historical Encyclopedia of World War II* (1989), "it [the LRDG] exercised a wholly disproportionate influence on the desert war."

posted to Kenya. Know anything about that country?"

"No sir."

"Be more useful here wouldn't you?"

"Yes sir."

"Right. That's all for now."

As Bagnold walked out he pondered on the inscrutability of that remarkable face. Was it grim, or smiling at the prospect of some half-formed plan? Even in those brief moments there was an impression of quiet power about Wavell.

Two days later a cable from London transferred Bagnold to Egypt, and was followed by a local posting to a signal unit of Major General Hobart's Armored Division at Matruh, on Egypt's Mediterranean coast. He was back in the desert again. Cancellation of his Kenyan assignment was like a redemption, but in later years he would marvel at

the delicate pinions of maritime collision and newspaperman's acumen on which his destiny had turned.

Within a few weeks, his geographically broader outlook grasped the alarming weaknesses of the defense situation should the huge Italian armies in Libya and Ethiopia attack the Nile states of Egypt and the Sudan. The one British armored division in North Africa, newly formed and crucially short of transport, would be put to its limit to defend the 60 mile-wide "Western Desert" — the maneuverable coastal strip between the Mediterranean and the northern edge of the great sands. A major Italian thrust to seize the Nile Delta was certain to come from Italian Libya eastwards in the event of hostilities. Five hundred miles to the south, the Italians were known to maintain a garrison at 'Uweinat on the Sudan border, well beyond the southern limit of the Sand Sea. Bagnold knew this country well. From 'Uweinat it was only 500 miles eastward to the Nile over a sand sheet of billiard-table smoothness. A strong mobile column could cover this distance in two easy days, seize the Aswan Dam, isolate the Sudan and hold Egypt to ransom. Bagnold knew that this situation would be readily

apparent to at least one man on the Italian side.

The major's mind turned to his Italian counterpart, Colonel Lorenzini, a man of vision, leadership and daring. Bagnold had met Lorenzini in the remote desert eight years previously and had been deeply impressed by his quality. Lorenzini would instantly grasp the situation in the same way as Bagnold, with all its potential for conquest. If the Italian high command had kept Lorenzini in Libya, surely they would be listening to him now. Complicating the situation and heightening its menace was the lack of aircraft for reconnaissance. The British had no machines available of sufficient range to fly south and investigate Italian intentions.

Summarizing the situation on paper, the analytical Bagnold outlined a suitable establishment for such patrols. He added a note suggesting that since no suitable army vehicles existed, it was high time

to begin experimenting on a modest scale with half a dozen selected modern commercial vehicles. He made three copies of his proposal, and gave the original to Major General Percy Hobart to read. The hawk-faced "Hobo," leading practical pioneer of modern armored warfare, who, as we have seen [in the Jan.-Feb. 1999 *Journal*], had risked his career in the cause of strategic mobility, was in no doubt as to the validity of Bagnold's proposal: "I entirely agree," said Hobo, "and I'll send this on to Cairo. But I know what will happen. They will turn it down."

Hobart was right. General Wavell had not yet come out of his attic. The Cairo brass lived in the peacetime routine of an internal security force stationed in Egypt since 1870 — an atmosphere lethal to any innovations such as Bagnold was now proposing. The formal Cairo view was that the desperate lack of defense troops and equipment made it essential not to provoke Italy in any way. Mussolini had a quarter of a million troops in Libya and a quarter of a million more in the south. He was still sitting on the fence. Roving patrols like Bagnold's — even if they were feasible — might tip Mussolini into war. But this was only the formal view.

The real reason for the rejection of Bagnold's proposal lay in the ignorance of the Cairo brass about the desert on whose edge their own HQ was located. Fear was the inevitable concomitant of this ignorance. One senior staff officer warned Bagnold that if he took troops into the desert where there were no roads "you'll get lost." On the officer's wall hung a map of Egypt's western frontier that was dated 1916. Detail in this faded out with the words, "limit of sand dunes unknown." Comments on Bagnold's suggestion of taking patrols across the 150-mile wide Sand Sea ranged from "ridiculous" to "madness."

Physically a wiry man, without an ounce of spare flesh on him, Bagnold had the moral and mental fibre to match his physical resilience. He decided to try again. He showed the second copy of his patrol force proposal to General Hobart's successor, after "Hobo" had been kicked out of the army to become a Home Guard corporal. The new armored division commander also approved of the plan and recommended it to Cairo. Again it was rejected. There were mutterings among offended brass-hats about this second attempt, and the "bloody nerve" of that major out at Matruh.

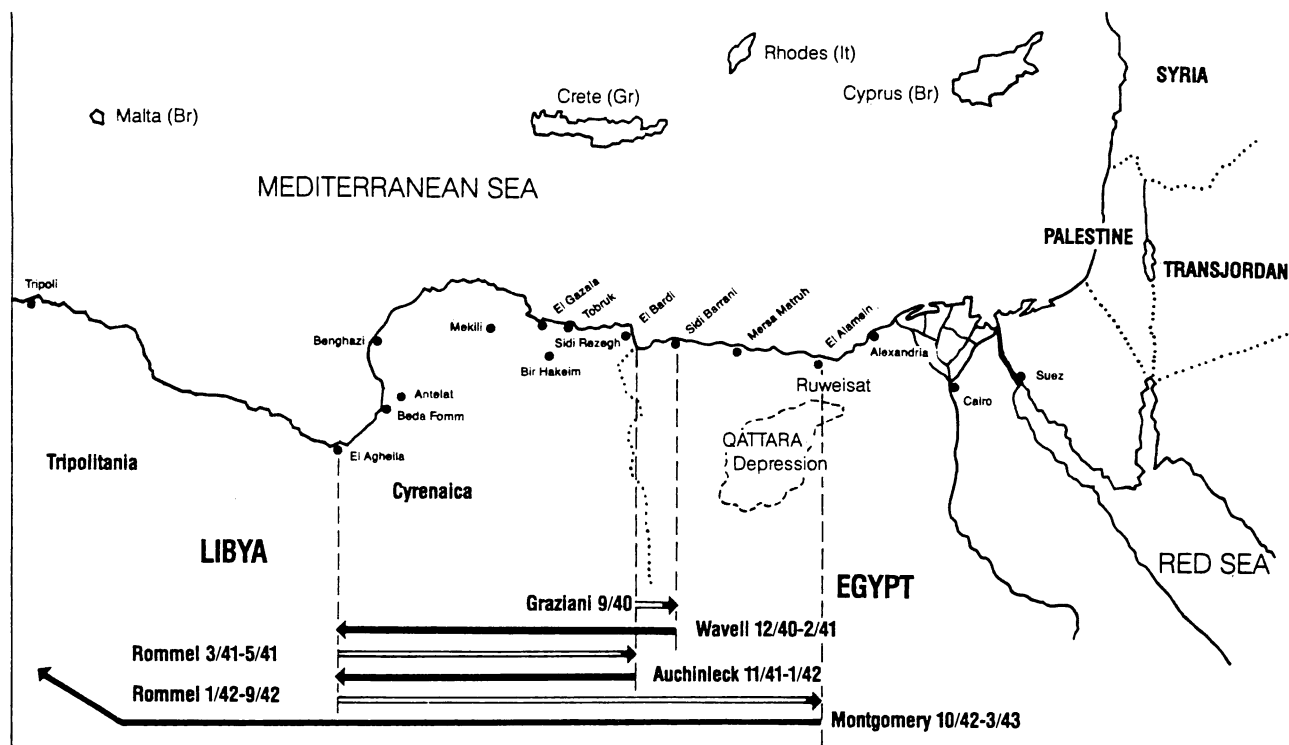
Shortly afterwards Bagnold went to Turkey in civilian clothes as the signals member of a small reconnaissance mission, sent at the invitation of that nervous and neutral government. When he returned to Cairo he found the scene transformed. Wavell had come out of his attic. He was now Commander-in-Chief Middle East, a military overlord with responsibility stretching from the Burmese



Major-General Sir Bernard "Tiny" Freyberg, commander of the New Zealand Division in Egypt in 1940, was asked by Major Ralph Bagnold to provide personnel for his first Long Range Patrols. The mobility-minded commander agreed to lend some of his best men to assist Bagnold's bold undertaking. Freyberg's assent was repaid at the end of the North African war when he led his division in the famous "Left Hook" operation at Mareth that finished the Axis in North Africa. This "Left Hook" went through country marked "impassable" on military maps because a New Zealand Long Range patrol had found a route.

border to West Africa, and from the Balkans to South Africa. A new headquarters, GHQ Middle East, was being set up in a different and cleaner part of Cairo, and an all-new staff consisting largely of officers fresh out from England was being assembled. The atmosphere was refreshingly alive.

Bagnold was appointed an aide to General Barker, the new Signal-Officer-in-Chief. Involved in the urgent improvisation of communications for



Back and forth across North Africa, 1940-1943.

Wavell's gigantic and complex command, Bagnold forgot the desert until June 1940 brought crisis. France collapsed. Italy declared war. Both the Mediterranean and the Gulf of Suez were closed to shipping, virtually isolating the Middle East from a Britain itself set upon by a fleet of U-boats and the Luftwaffe. The threat Bagnold had foreseen with Italian entry into the war was now a stark reality.

Marshal Graziani's 15 divisions — a quarter of a million fighting men — would soon start rolling eastwards along the coast road towards Egypt and the Suez Canal. The Duke of Aosta's similarly massive army in Ethiopia posed a similar threat, pincer-ing in on the Sudan and Egypt from the south. Wavell's immediately available defense forces were outnumbered ten to one. Reinforcements were coming, but with the Mediterranean closed, their arrival and deployment might be delayed for months. There were no war reserves of weapons or equipment. The situation seemed desperate.

The hour was late and Bagnold acted. He dug out the last copy of his earlier patrol force proposal and persuaded the head of the Operations Staff to place it personally on the commander-in-chief's own table. Reaction was immediate. Within an hour, Bagnold was again alone with Wavell.

This time there was no oppressive attic office, lack of authority, or doubt about the crisis that was being confronted. The great man on whom so much now depended sat calm and relaxed in his chair, the

one eye bright as before. His greeting set Bagnold at ease, for Wavell acted like a shy man welcoming a friend for a quiet chat. He indicated the crumpled paper lying on his desk. "Tell me about this, Bagnold. How would you get into Libya?" Bagnold walked over to a modern map of Western Egypt hanging on the wall, and his finger stabbed and then moved laterally. "Straight through the middle of the Sand Sea, sir. It's the most unlikely place. The passage is here, due west of Ain Dallah. I've been along it, and I'm sure it will go all right, sir. And the going is good on the other side, what Clayton saw of it."

The C.-in-C.'s weatherbeaten face was impassive. "What would you do on the other side?" he asked. "We would go far enough west to cross both the southerly routes to Kufra Oasis and 'Uweinat. By reading the tracks, we could tell what recent traffic had been along them — the direction of travel and type of vehicle."

Wavell's expression remained unchanged. "What are the risks?" "Two, sir. First the weather. No Europeans have been into the sands in summer. If a south wind gets up, it'll be pretty hot. How hot no one knows. Second, this map of yours, sir. You see the passage across the Sand Sea is printed on it, and it's been on sale in Cairo for years."

Wavell gave a comprehending nod. "You mean they might be waiting for you at Clayton's cairn on the other side?" "Yes, sir. But it's a bleak place for

Italians to live at — no water, no life, no shelter and far from anywhere. It's a reasonable risk to assume they won't be there." "What about *your* wheel tracks, Bagnold? They last for years." "Over gravel country, yes sir, but it's very difficult to follow wheel tracks from the air. The aircraft goes too fast. If you fly low enough to see the tracks, they suddenly jink sideways under the fuselage and are lost. Our tracks over the dunes, of course, would disappear with the first bit of wind."

The C.-in-C. leaned forward a little in his chair, still inscrutable, but obviously interested. "And if you find there has been no activity along the southerly routes, what then Bagnold?" "How about some piracy on the high desert?"

Wavell's face changed sharply. For an instant Bagnold feared he had gone too far. He had been too flippant with the C.-in-C. But the wrinkled face had creased now into a broad grin, the eye was very bright indeed and the whole head could have belonged to a pirate captain.

"Can you be ready in six weeks?"

"Yes sir."

"Any questions?"

"Volunteers and equipment, sir."

"Volunteers are a job for British Troops Egypt. I'll see that General Wilson gives you every help. Equipment? Hmmm, yes. You'll meet opposition."

Wavell reached out and pressed a button. Expecting a clerk or orderly to enter, Bagnold was astonished when the bell was answered immediately by a lieutenant-general. He was Sir Arthur Smith, Wavell's chief of staff. "Arthur," said Wavell. "Bagnold seeks a talisman. Get this typed out for me to sign, now." The C.-in-C. then dictated the most amazing order that Bagnold had heard in his military career: "Most Secret. To all Heads of Branches and Directorates. I wish any demand made personally by Major Bagnold to be met urgently and without question."

Wavell turned now to Bagnold. "Not a word of this must get out. There are some sixty thousand enemy subjects of all classes loose in Egypt. Get a good cover story from my DMI [Director of Military Intelligence]. When you're ready to start, write out your own operation orders and bring them direct to me."

This was absolute *carte blanche* — regardless of desperate equipment shortages.

Leaving the C.-in-C.'s office still hardly believing his ears, Bagnold pondered the sudden reaction and quick decision at the suggestion of piracy. Why had that word precipitated action? He reviewed what he knew of Wavell in search of an answer. A brilliant, mobility-minded strategist, Wavell was a student of foreign armies and the mentality of their leaders. He was also a poet and author. A member of



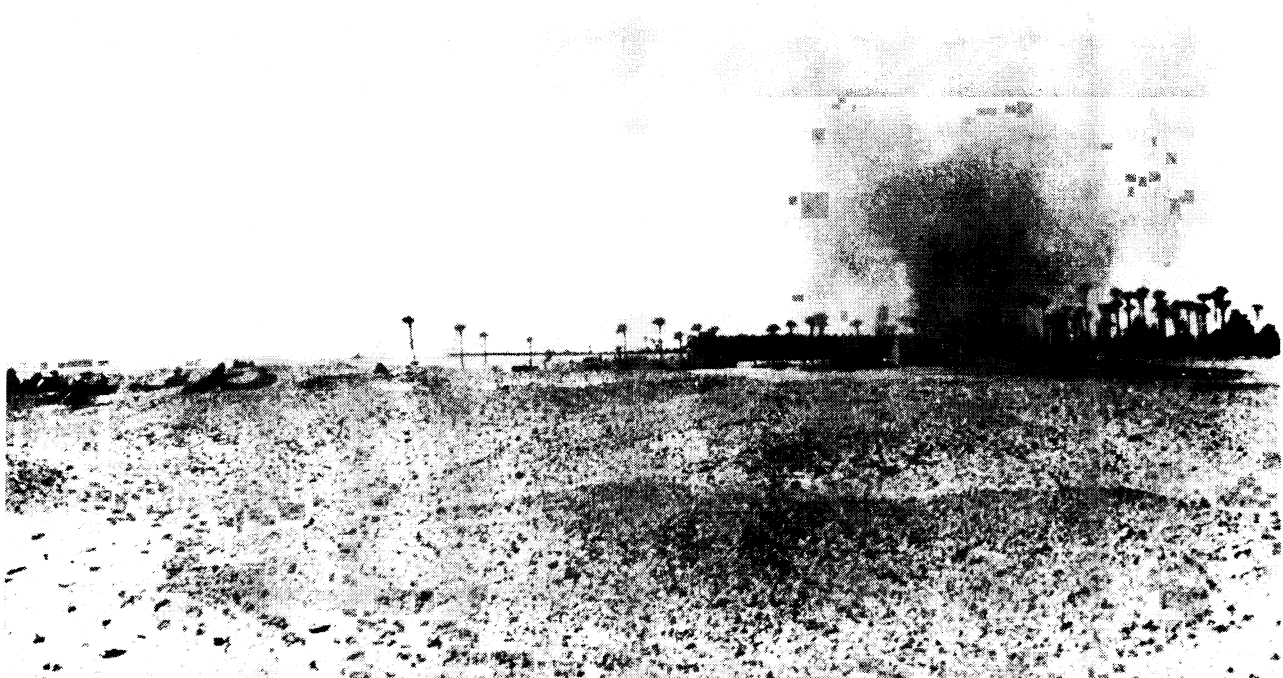
Erwin Rommel, legendary commander of the German Afrika Korps, repeatedly scored victories against larger British forces. Of the Long Range Desert Group patrols, the "Desert Fox" once remarked: "They caused us more damage than any other enemy unit of comparable strength."

Allenby's staff in the masterly Palestine campaign of the First World War, he was even now finishing a biography of the former chief. There was something else about Wavell — his grasp of strategic deception. He had made it a science. That must be it. The old man was planning an immense bluff to play for time!

The next six weeks were the most demanding and challenging of Bagnold's life. A new and untried type of armed force had to be created from nothing, trained for operations never previously attempted and introduced to a hard and novel way of life — all in a few short weeks. Success would depend on combining Wavell's talisman with a clear-cut plan and a knowledge of which button to push in the giant HQ machine. Bagnold threw all his energy into the task.

He would need the help of his prewar companions. Rupert Harding-Newman was the only one locally available in Cairo, serving as a liaison officer with the non-belligerent Egyptian Army. Guy Prendergast could not be brought from Britain. The archaeologist Bill Kennedy Shaw was curator of the Jerusalem Museum. Pat Clayton was on a surveying job in the wilds of Tanganyika. Shaw's release by the Palestine government was arranged, and Clayton was located by the Tanganyika government and bundled aboard a special aircraft for Cairo. Shaw and Clayton were both in Cairo within three days of Bagnold's request for their services, and both were put into uniform and commissioned as army captains immediately.

Bagnold and Harding-Newman meanwhile went shopping round the Cairo truck dealers. After trying out several types and makes, they settled on a one-and-a-half ton commercial Chevrolet with two-



Flank Attack on Murzuk. On January 11, 1941, eight days after General Wavell's advancing forces had taken Bardia (800 miles to the northeast), two of Bagnold's patrols attacked the Italian base and airfield at Murzuk, deep in southeastern Libya. Such actions on a remote southern flank, at a staggering distance from Cairo, unnerved the Italian commanders and caused them to doubt their own intelligence reports. By mid-February 1941, Wavell had trounced the greatly superior Italian forces, and occupied all of eastern Libya.

predictable according to a schedule varying with season and latitude. The No. 11. thus was less than ideal, but nothing else was available. When Bagnold's patrols were equipped, the last No. 11 radio set in the Middle East war reserve went to his third patrol. When he drew his machine guns, three more remained as the reserve for the entire Middle East. Clearly Wavell was dependent on the success of this bluff.

With his unique knowledge and enormous personal drive, Bagnold conquered each problem as it arose. His friend Bill Kennedy Shaw says of this period: "Bagnold's secret weapon was that he knew the desert and he knew the army — and all the quirks of both." The son of a colonel, his second home was the army and the desert his first love. This proved a winning combination, especially when the time came to turn from equipment to personnel. The imaginative major with unorthodox ideas knew enough about the army not to seek volunteers from among the regular troops. He was a realist. There was no time to unlearn such men of their routine ways. Resourceful, responsible men were needed, with the initiative that formal soldiering all too often extinguishes. His patrol personnel would have to absorb in weeks a mass of desert lore that Bagnold had acquired over two decades. They had to be fighting men, and yet skilled tradesmen,

fitters, navigators and radio operators — as well as truck drivers and gunners. Keeping their small self-contained force operating for long periods in remote enemy territory would make heavy demands on their vital powers. They should be men accustomed to the outdoors.

General Sir Henry Maitland "Jumbo" Wilson, GOC [General Officer Commanding] of British Troops Egypt, suggested to Bagnold that he would find the men he wanted in the New Zealand Division. "The commander-in-chief has told me about this job of yours," said Wilson. "Sheep farmers should suit you, I think. I'll sound out General Freyberg. These people aren't very keen on serving with 'pommies,' as they call us, but his division has arrived without its weapons, which were sunk at sea." Wilson set up a meeting.

Armed with a detailed list of his requirements, Bagnold went to the New Zealand camp near Cairo. The bulky, battle-scarred "Tiny" Freyberg, with his unsurpassed fighting record in the First World War, was an almost-legendary hero to his own men, and he guarded their fortunes in turn with vigilance. His initial reaction was hostile. He was reluctant to lose his battalion commanders their best men, for this was in effect what Bagnold was asking. Fate, however, had made him the friend and confidant of Percy Hobart during the latter's bitter struggle for

strategic mobility. Hobart's ideas had rubbed off on Freyberg, who was also mobility-minded, and Bagnold's proposal was for mobility on a previously unimagined scale. Freyberg gave in. "All right," he said, "You can have them, but only temporarily mind you." As Bagnold left, Freyberg shot after him, "I shall expect them back."

Freyberg's circular to his division calling for "volunteers for an undisclosed but dangerous mission" produced more than a thousand applicants. Freyberg selected two officers from these, Captain Bruce Ballantine and Lieutenant Steele, and told them to pick their own team. When the little army arrived in Cairo, the modified trucks were just beginning to emerge from the workshops. The New Zealanders' initial suspicion of English officers increased when they were received by a major and two captains who seemed to them to be somewhat elderly, greying gentlemen. Qualms were quickly supplanted by enthusiasm as they learned what they were to do, saw the equipment they were to do it with, and how everything had been thought out in meticulous detail.

Under Bill Kennedy Shaw's instruction, the six navigators-to-be quickly learned how to use the sun compass on the move, to plot dead-reckoning courses and to fix their nightly position by the stars. Unexpected help came from one of the volunteers, Private Dick Croucher, who admitted to being an ex-Merchant Navy officer with a first mate's ticket. Like many other New Zealand soldiers he had concealed his qualifications for fear of having to spend the war on a busman's holiday.

Within the six weeks' time-limit set by Wavell, Major Bagnold was ready with three patrols. Dumps of supplies had been made at Ain Dalla near the Sand Sea crossing as part of their cross-country driving instruction. Another dump had been made at Siwa Oasis to the north of the Sand Sea, whence Pat Clayton had already reconnoitered a second route into inner Libya. With two trucks and five picked New Zealanders, he had penetrated southwards over the hundred-mile-wide north-western arm of the sands. Clayton also discovered and crossed another vast dune field, little realizing that twenty years later a rich oil field would be located beneath this barrier.

Wavell came personally to say goodbye to the patrols. The great general obviously loved adventurous enterprises, and his weathered face wore a subtle grin as he looked over his "mosquito columns" as he called them. "The old man looks as if he's dying to come with us himself," said a New Zealand trooper.

On September 5, 1940, the patrols slipped out of Cairo in secret. Lest the delicate sand structure of the passes over the dunes might not stand the dis-



General Sir Archibald Wavell (right), Commander in Chief of British forces in the Middle East, talking with General "Dick" O'Connor, near Bardia, Libya, January 1941. Wavell's later military setbacks against Rommel, April-June 1941, were not his fault, but Churchill lost confidence in him. Wavell was nevertheless later promoted to Field Marshal, appointed viceroy of India, and created a viscount and then an earl.

turbance of so many wheel tracks, two patrols commanded by Clayton and Steele drove to Siwa Oasis. They made a double journey south over Clayton's new intra-dune route to make a dump on the enemy side at Clayton's Cairn, the marker built by the surveyor ten years previously. The third patrol, commanded by Captain Mifford, with Bagnold, Intelligence Officer Bill Shaw and Adjutant Ballantine drove to Ain Dalla, to cross the Sand Sea directly from east to west. Graziani's huge Italian army was already advancing along the coast road to invade Egypt. Siwa Oasis and its dump would prob-

ground route into Libya was still a secret from the enemy. While waiting for Clayton's two patrols from the north to rendezvous, Bagnold mounted a return journey to Dalla for supplies. The men's newly acquired skill showed in the scant seven hours they needed for the trip each way. When Clayton arrived, they had a substantial supply dump at Clayton's Cairn, and the complete mosquito army stood ready for action. Bagnold's bold concept had been vindicated in its most critical phase.

A military force could cross the Great Sand Sea, and in this brand-new fact lay considerable strategic possibilities. The inner desert no longer provided a defensive flank to an enemy attacking along the coast, but instead lay open before Bagnold's little force. The slender north-south lines of communication from the Mediterranean coast to Graziani's bases at Kufra and 'Uweinat in the far south could be harassed at will.

On September 13, 1940, Graziani's Libyan Army crossed the Egyptian frontier on its eastward advance towards Cairo and the Suez Canal. On that same day, Bagnold launched a two-pronged probe westwards into the heart of Libya. Mitford's patrol struck westwards across five degrees of longitude, burning the stocks of petrol found on the chain of landing grounds along the Kufra air route. They examined the motor tracks leading south, and kidnapped a small motor convoy complete with vehicles, supplies and official letters.

Pat Clayton meanwhile struck south-westwards, passing between Kufra and 'Uweinat mountain, right across southeast Libya to make contact with an astonished French outpost of Chad Province in French Equatorial Africa. Skirting the enemy garrison at 'Uweinat, the patrols rendezvoused in the desert and returned via Ain Dalla to Cairo. The prisoners and captured letters were handed over to Intelligence, and proved to be a mine of information for General Wavell. From Clayton's Cairn to Dalla, the patrols had travelled 1,300 miles completely self-contained. 150,000 truck miles had been covered without a single serious breakdown. This was only the beginning.

Other more aggressive raids quickly followed. Enemy desert outposts in the north were bombarded and destroyed, their garrisons routed or taken prisoner. Simultaneously the garrison at 'Uweinat was attacked 500 miles to the south. A collection of aircraft was destroyed on the ground, and a large dump of bombs and ammunition blown up. The attackers seemed to emerge from the fourth dimension to strike and vanish like lethal ghosts. They appeared, struck and disappeared at widely separated points seemingly within hours of each other. British radio monitors in Cairo and elsewhere intercepted enemy messages of alarm and cries for

help pouring into Graziani's headquarters from all over eastern Libya.

All Graziani's plans for the conquest of Egypt were based on the assumption, backed by his intelligence reports, that he faced only weak forces. Quick victory and occupation of the Nile Delta were anticipated within a few weeks. Yet within a few days of his first battalions crossing the Egyptian frontier he began getting these disturbing reports of attack — from a direction he believed to be completely secure. The British seemed to be everywhere, operating at incredible distances from their base. These assaults gave the war situation a new dimension. These far-ranging forces might attack his vital rearward lines of communication. Graziani ceased believing his intelligence reports and their central theme of British weakness. In overwhelming strength, the massive Italian army halted its advance. Wavell's bluff was beginning to succeed.

Exploiting the situation to the full, Wavell ordered the number of patrols to be doubled. Twice as much piracy would spring from the additional patrols. From Long Range Patrols, the force was given a new designation, Long Range Desert Group (LRDG). The new distinguishing badge, showing a scarab riding a wheel, made its wearers among the most respected soldiers in the Middle East. Volunteers from the Brigade of Guards, Yeomanry regiments, the Rhodesian Army and the Indian Army joined the pioneer New Zealanders.

With the doubling of the patrols came a second carte blanche from Wavell: stir up trouble anywhere in Libya where the enemy can be harassed, attacked, shaken. Bagnold promptly obliged. He mounted an attack on Murzuk and its landing strip 1,100 miles as the crow flies from Cairo and 1,400 miles over the ground. Murzuk and back was far beyond the maximum range even of Bagnold's patrols, but supply dumping by the Free French in Chad under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel d'Ornano, provided the necessary extension of range. (Colonel d'Ornano's "price" for supply assistance was to be permitted to participate in the Murzuk raid. He was killed in action there.)

The brilliant Free French military commander Leclerc, stimulated by what he had heard of the capabilities of the British patrols, soon afterward resolved to capture the Italian stronghold at Kufra Oasis. Kufra was too tough a nut for Bagnold's small force to tackle alone. By a miracle of improvisation, Leclerc overhauled and equipped sufficient local transport to carry a battalion of native Chad troops and two 75-millimeter field guns, together with supplies for the double journey of a thousand miles. The attack on Kufra, backed by Bagnold's patrols, finally cleared the enemy from the whole interior of eastern Libya. The Murzuk and Kufra strikes were

timed to coincide with Wavell's counter offensive in the Western Desert. With the time Bagnold's force had won, Wavell had built up his strength, and by February 5, 1941, he had smashed the Italian Army.

From this time until the end of the North African war, at least one patrol of the Long Range Desert Group was always behind enemy lines. The unit doubled in size yet again. An LRDG "private air force" was added, in the form of two WACO monoplanes purchased from an Egyptian pasha, which aided communication with HQ and evacuation of the wounded. The LRDG guided and carried commando units far behind the front to carry out daring raids. With its unrivalled travelling and navigating abilities, the LRDG could place espionage agents at the very gates of Axis-held strong-points almost anywhere in North Africa.

LRDG patrols themselves razed airfields in daring nocturnal raids, destroying hundreds of aircraft on the ground between 1940 and 1943. Beating up Axis supply convoys and mining roads hundreds of miles behind the front was their steady war routine. The LRDG set up "road watch" patrols, often lying within earshot of the enemy and reporting every vehicle, weapon and tank that passed by. This precise intelligence of Rommel's supply position was one of Montgomery's vital tools in the ultimate defeat of the Desert Fox. When Ritter von Thoma, Rommel's deputy, was captured in the Battle of Alam Halfa just before El Alamein, the German general was shocked to learn that Monty knew more about the supply status of the Afrika Korps than he did. Most of this information reached Monty via LRDG road watch patrols.

The patrols continued to penetrate Axis territory pretty well as they chose. In the immensity of the desert their vehicles were rarely spotted. Bagnold's original concept, his detailed development of it, and his far-seeing organization had transformed the inner desert from a text-book "defensive flank" into a serious liability to the enemy.

In action against the Axis forces in North Africa from first to last, the LRDG proved to be the most original, boldly conceived and brilliantly organized "private army" of the war. The success of Bagnold's patrols helped break down official opposition to those commando-type formations, specialist units and "private armies" that fulfil novel and essential roles for which orthodox forces are neither trained nor equipped. The commando idea had been current for half a century or more, but its modern potentialities under special conditions had never been seriously considered. Those at the top seldom possess the special knowledge and experience to judge the probability of success. Luckily for the Allies, and perhaps for the world, Wavell was a commander willing to take risks. Without the stunning success

Bagnold achieved, it is doubtful if some of the later private armies would have been authorized.

Unfortunately for Ralph Bagnold, the modernizer of this kind of auxiliary warfare, the *modus operandi* of his unique force had to be concealed in wartime from the enemy. Security blocked all details of its size and capabilities. Writing about the LRDG was initially forbidden and later heavily censored. For this reason, the LRDG was far less well-known in wartime than other auxiliary forces such as Carlson's Raiders, Wingate's Chindits, Stirling's Parashots or even German Colonel Otto Skorzeny's glider and parachute commandos. All these leaders became world famous.

Bagnold shared the anonymity of the LRDG in wartime. He left the unit in the summer of 1941 to become Inspector of Desert Troops,¹ and shortly afterwards deputy signal-officer-in-chief, with the rank of brigadier. He was decorated for his achievement in forming the LRDG with the Order of the British Empire — an exceedingly modest award for his unique contribution to the security of the Middle East and the defeat of the Axis. As he left the LRDG in 1941, his name ceased to be associated with it thereafter, except by those who knew the whole story and the true story. Later writers tended to assume that the colorful LRDG had come into existence as though grown on a bush. Bagnold's personal indifference to publicity helped hide him to history, and he was already half-forgotten when his LRDG brought off the classic climax to its career.

From his vantage point on the staff, Bagnold saw the LRDG trigger the end of the North African war, just as it had opened the Allied account in 1940. At Mareth in Tunisia, where Rommel made his final stand, a "left hook" was smashed home against the German forces that ended Axis hopes in Africa forever. This devastating knock-out blow was delivered through country marked "impassable" on military maps. Leading the pulverizing stroke was Major-General Sir Bernard "Tiny" Freyberg, who had given Bagnold the first troops for his patrols — back when Bagnold was known in Cairo for his "wild ideas." Freyberg had followed a route through "impassable" country found for him by, a patrol of the LRDG.

After the war, Brigadier Ralph Bagnold retired from the army for good, the green tranquillity of the Kentish countryside substituting for the golden wastes on which he found high adventure and fulfillment such as comes the way of few men. A busy and respected member of the British scientific community for decades, his fascination with the mysteries of natural physical processes was endless. He was a longtime consultant in the movement of sediments, beach formation and the like. In the words of Bill Kennedy Shaw: "Dry sand being difficult of

A Critical Response

For a Balanced History of the American Indian

ZOLTÁN BRUCKNER

As a *Journal* subscriber of ten years, a supporter of the Institute, and an attendee of the Tenth IHR Conference (1990), I share views similar to yours in most historical issues. But I must protest sharply against two articles about American Indians in the May-June 1998 *Journal* issue: "The Noble Red Man" by Mark Twain, and "Life Styles: Native and Imposed" by Kevin Beary.

I don't defend a false or romanticized image of the Indians, as propagated, for example, by Hollywood in such films as "Pocahontas" and the others mentioned in the *Journal*. But just as inaccurate as the currently fashionable media image of the "Noble Red Man" is the disgraceful picture drawn by Mark Twain (Samuel Clemens) in the article reprinted from a 1870 issue of *The Galaxy*, apparently a fashionable magazine of the day.

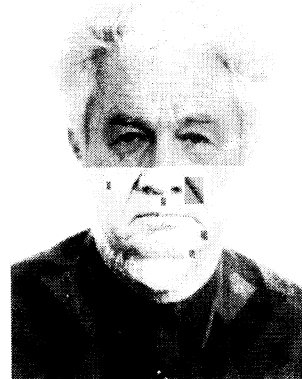
He mocks the Indian for his external appearance and poverty — by any standard the cheapest way of vilifying someone. The one he describes — wearing a stove-pipe hat and a necklace of sardine boxes and oyster-cans — is certainly not an "original" Indian. He is obviously a pathetic victim of alcohol and other "blessings" of an alien, imposed way of life.

Twain's description of the Indian's character is no more fair or objective. He denies him any wisdom whatsoever. The Indian's heart, Twain finds, is a "cesspool of falsehood and treachery." If so, such guile did not keep him from being cheated of his continent-wide living space. As is well known, the (White) American government honored virtually none of the treaties it signed with the Indians. Anyway, the Indian had lived in harmony with Nature for centuries, and would have continued doing so "until the end of time" if Whites had not intervened. By contrast, it is the "civilized" White man who has created conditions that now threaten the future of

life itself on our planet.

Twain's description of the Indian's style of combat is despicably misleading. Actually, it more fittingly describes how Whites decimated and subdued the continent's native inhabitants, at least in what is now known as the United States: mass killing of helpless women, children and infants.

Certainly Indians sometimes acted atrociously, but such incidents were often preceded by atrocities committed by White settlers or US army troops. And anyway, it was the Indians' land. They realized that not just the American troops, but even more the White settlers they protected, represented a mortal danger to their land and life as a people. The proof of this is the final outcome: the peoples who once ruled the entire continent were nearly entirely exterminated (as Twain recommended), with the wretched survivors, robbed of their lands, driven into small, mostly barren reservations



Zoltán Bruckner

where, dependent on outside support, they eked out a miserable, forlorn existence.

While the motivation for Twain's one-sided polemic may simply have been money, Kevin Beary merely seems eager to defend, at any price, the rapacious imperialistic campaigns of White men (and the Catholic church) that have devastated numerous cultures and cost countless lives. Beary asks whether "Mexican-Americans," "Native Americans" and "African-Americans" lost or gained more as a result of their confrontation with the "West" (that is, their subjugation by the Whites). Even to pose such a question is an expression of incredible arrogance.

With regard to the "Mexican-Americans" and the "Native Americans," the White conquerors have eradicated not only the original cultures, but also, to a considerable extent, the peoples themselves. In North America, many Indian tribes no longer exist

Zoltán Bruckner was born in 1930 in Hungary, where he also grew up and studied theology and engineering. He left Hungary in the wake of the 1956 uprising. He holds a Master's degree in civil engineering, and has worked in Austria, the United States and Sweden (where he currently resides). He has long had a keen interest in Indian cultures, which he has developed through extensive reading and study, and in journeys to Mexico and South America.

Worldwide Struggle for Free Speech

Over several decades a tremendous worldwide media and socio-political campaign has made “the Holocaust” a mighty icon of our culture. As a result, in the United States and in much of Europe, anyone who publicly questions the familiar “Six Million” extermination story can expect public scorn and social ostracism.

In the US, for example, Jewish pressure (1990-93) destroyed the career of execution hardware specialist Fred Leuchter because he had concluded, on the basis of a detailed forensic examination of the alleged gas chambers of Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek, that these facilities were never used to kill people as claimed. (See the Winter 1992-93 *Journal*, pp. 421-444, 485-492.) And in Japan, Jewish pressure in 1995 forced one of the country’s largest publishing companies to shut down the large-circulation *Marco Polo* magazine because it had carried an article disputing claims of mass killings in gas chambers at Auschwitz. (See “No Gas Chambers’ Says Influential Japanese Magazine,” March-April 1995 *Journal*, pp. 2-9.)

Not content with that, Jewish-Zionist groups have waged a international campaign to criminalize public expressions of doubt about Holocaust claims. In 1982 the Institute for Jewish Affairs in London, an agency of the World Jewish Congress, announced an effort to persuade governments to outlaw “Holocaust denial” (*Jewish Chronicle* [London], April 23, 1982). The anti-revisionist “thought crime” laws that were subsequently introduced in several countries reflect the success of this initiative. Today it is illegal in Israel and in about half the countries of Europe, including Germany, France, Spain, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Poland, and Austria, to dispute Holocaust claims.

But this campaign has not always been successful. A plan by the British Labour Party to introduce “Holocaust denial” legislation in the UK was quietly abandoned — for the time being anyway — after it came under considerable public criticism.

In most of the world, including such major countries as the United States, Russia, China, India, Indonesia, Brazil, Japan, and Argentina, people are still free publicly to express doubts about the “Six Million” story. Even in Europe, Holocaust skepticism remains legal in Italy, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Ukraine, Britain, Ireland, and Croatia.

Pedro Varela has won an important victory in the on-going worldwide struggle for free thought and expression. Together with his attorneys and supporters, he has persuaded a high court in Spain publicly to acknowledge the obvious: “Holocaust denial” laws violate traditional Western standards of free speech.

— M.W.



In their assault on the Europa bookstore on Barcelona’s Séneca street, the “anti-fascist” thugs broke through the roll-down steel covering that protected the front door. This photo was taken in the aftermath of the January 16 attack.

Seed of War

“Is there any man or woman — let me say, is there any child — who does not know that the seed of war in the modern world is industrial and commercial rivalry?”

— President Woodrow Wilson, Sept. 5, 1919.

Collective Will

“The power of a great man lies neither in the physical nor moral qualities of he who possesses it. It must be looked for elsewhere. The power is the collective will of the people transferred by expressed or tacit consent to their chosen leader.”

— Tolstoy, *War and Peace*

Were Biological Weapons Used Against Germans at Stalingrad?

Secrets of the Soviet Disease Warfare Program

Of humanity's many noteworthy achievements and inventions, few are as evil and as horrifying as biological warfare: deliberate, government-ordered mass killing of people with lethal diseases. During the Second World War, the Japanese army maintained a secret biological warfare testing program, as did the United States during the 1950s and 1960s. In 1969 President Nixon renounced the use of such weapons, and the US dismantled its extensive biological warfare operation, thereafter restricting research to defensive measures such as immunization.

But as a remarkable new book lays out in grim detail, no regime made greater "progress" in biological warfare than did the Soviet Union. From a unique insider's perspective, a former high-level scientist in the Soviet biological warfare program tells the story in *Biohazard: The Chilling Story of the Largest Covert Biological Weapons Program in the World* (Random House, 1999). Ken Alibek (born Kanatjan Alibekov) joined the Soviet "Biopreparat" program in 1975, and was its first deputy chief from 1988 to 1992, when he defected to the United States.

During the terrible Russian civil war of 1917-1921, in which the fledgling Soviet regime defeated the dispersed and divided anti-Communist "White" forces, as many as ten million people lost their lives. Most of these deaths came not in combat, but instead were caused by famine and disease — especially typhus.

Conscious of this, the revolutionary Soviet government early on put a high priority on diseases as a method of warfare. In 1928 it issued a secret decree ordering the development of typhus as a battlefield weapon. In the decades that followed, the USSR built and maintained a wide-ranging biological warfare program. For example, Alibek relates, Soviet scientists developed a sophisticated plague warfare capability, and an arsenal in Kirov (now Vyatka) stored 20 tons of plague aerosol weaponry (p. 166).

Wartime Use Against Germans

While he was a graduate student at the Tomsk Medical Institute (1973-75), Alibek studied Soviet wartime medical records that strongly suggested that the Red Army had used tularemia as a weapon against German troops outside Stalingrad in 1942 (pages 29-31). Tularemia is a highly infectious disease that produces debilitating headaches, nausea

and high fevers. If untreated, it can be lethal. It is also hard to extinguish, which makes it attractive to anyone trying to produce biological weapons.

Alibek discovered that the "first victims of tularemia were German panzer troops, who fell ill in such large numbers during the late summer of 1942 that the Nazi campaign in southern Russia ground to a temporary halt." In addition, he relates, thousands of Russian soldiers and civilians living in the Volga region came down with the disease within a week of the initial German outbreak. Never before had there been such a widespread outbreak of the disease in Russia.

Why had so many men first fallen sick with tularemia on the German side only? Furthermore, 70 percent of the Germans infected came down with a pneumonic form of the disease, which (Alibek reports) "could only have been caused by purposeful dissemination."

Whereas there were ten thousand cases of tularemia reported in the Soviet Union in 1941, in the year 1942 — when the battle of Stalingrad was at its height — the number of cases soared to more than one hundred thousand. Then, in 1943, the incidence of the disease returned to ten thousand. The battle for Stalingrad raged from September 1942 until February 2, 1943, when Friedrich von Paulus, commander of the German Sixth Army, surrendered along with 91,000 officers and men (of whom only 6,000 survived Soviet captivity).

Alibek became convinced that "Soviet troops must have sprayed tularemia at the Germans. A sudden change in the direction of the wind, or contaminated rodents passing through the lines, had infected our soldiers and the disease had then spread through the region."

To his professor, a Soviet colonel named Aksyonenko, he explained that the evidence he had found "suggests that this epidemic was caused intentionally." Aksyonenko responded with a stern warning: "Please. I want you to do me a favor and forget you ever said what you just said. I will forget it, too ... Never mention to anyone else what you just told me."

Some years later, an elderly Soviet lieutenant colonel who had worked during the war in the secret bacteriological weapons facility in Kirov told Alibek that a tularemia weapon had been developed there in 1941. He also left him "with no doubt that the weapon had been used." This same officer further suggested that an "outbreak of Q fever among German troops on leave in Crimea in 1943 was the result of another one of the [Soviet] biological warfare agents" (p. 36).

— M.W.

General Montgomery's 'Racist Masterplan'

The reputation of Britain's most famous Second World War military commander has suffered a major blow with recent disclosures about his "racist master plan" for postwar Africa.

Sir Bernard Law Montgomery (1887-1976) is perhaps best known for his victory as commander of the British Eighth Army over Afrika Korps leader Erwin Rommel at El Alamein (Egypt) in October-November 1942, and as commander in 1943-45 of British forces in Sicily, France, the Netherlands and Germany. He was promoted to Field Marshal in 1944, and named a viscount in 1946.

In a confidential postwar report to Prime Minister Clement Attlee, "Monty" was scathingly critical of London's policy of encouraging self-government in black Africa. The African, he concluded, "is a complete savage and is quite incapable of developing the country himself."

Montgomery's report, based on a two-month fact-finding tour of eleven African countries in late 1947, was written in his capacity as Chief of the Imperial Defence Staff, a post he held 1946-1948. He recommended a sweeping plan to turn much of sub-Saharan Africa into a British-controlled bulwark against Communism that would be aligned with white-ruled South Africa, which at that time was still dominated by Britain.

Contrary to British policy of the period, Montgomery urged the government to counter popular anti-colonial strivings in Africa: "There is an increasing social and political consciousness developing in the African peoples; this is a very great potential danger and must be watched." His basic attitude toward African autonomy movements is summed up in a recommendation: "We should have no nonsense with the United Nations Organization about Tanganyika; it should be absorbed into the British bosom." He also expressed contempt for black African leaders such as Haile Selassie of Ethiopia, whom he called a pathetic figure.

These revelations were made public in a front-page story, headlined "Secret Papers Reveal Monty's Racist Masterplan," in the prestigious British daily *The Guardian*, January 7, 1999, which was based on recently released papers from Britain's main government archives, the Public Records Office.

Prime Minister Attlee was so alarmed by "Monty's" plan that he called a special meeting of senior ministers to discuss how to handle it. As a result, Montgomery's African fact-finding tour and his embarrassing report were both kept secret, and agents were assigned to watch his lectures to make sure he made no public criticism of government policy.



General Bernard Montgomery (right), chats with American generals George Patton (left) and Omar Bradley, on July 7, 1944, four weeks after the Normandy landings.

Colonial Secretary Arthur Creech Jones replied to Montgomery in a secret memo: "We cannot, of course, have anything like a uniform policy in native administration with the Union of South Africa. They aim at maintaining white supremacy; we aim at building up self-government for the Africans."

In a January 1948 letter, "Monty" responded to the government's rebuttal of his proposal by reaffirming his report's conclusions. He added: "It is obvious we disagree fundamentally ... Time will show which of us is right."

Historians, relatives and former associates of Montgomery have been concerned about the long-term impact of the new revelations. (*Guardian*, Jan. 7, 1999, p. 3). "His reputation is irredeemably damaged," commented historian Lord Chalfont, author of *Montgomery of Alamein*. Nigel Hamilton, Montgomery's official biographer, remarked "... There's no doubt he was a racist. He did believe in fairly Aryan views."

How Dangerous is the Swastika?

Since 1945 the swastika has been banned in Germany, where symbols, songs, pictures, slogans and even greetings associated with the Hitler era can earn the offender a stiff fine or even a prison term.

Of course the swastika was hardly unique to Third Reich Germany. Centuries before Hitler adopted it as the symbol of his political movement and, later, of the state, it was familiar around the globe. It was used by the ancient Hellenes and Celts, and displayed by North American Indians, while in India it was revered as a sign of good fortune and prosperity. The word itself comes from the Sanskrit for "well-being."

The German government isn't alone in banning the symbol. For some years now, model enthusiasts have noted its conspicuous absence from plastic model airplanes and other Second World War military equipment models made by some of the leading kit model makers.

During the Second World War, the swastika emblem appeared on the tail fins of German aircraft as well as on the battle flag used by German land and naval forces. In northern Africa, vehicles of the famed Afrika Korps bore a special emblem with a palm tree and a swastika.

Often, though, the symbol is missing from models of these items. Some leading kit model manufacturers, including Revell and Lindberg in the US, and Heller in France, apparently banned the swastika from their products as early as the 1950s.¹ But until just a few years ago, one could purchase a Hasegawa model of the Messerschmitt Me-109 fighter, or of an Afrika Korps half-track, with a swastika appearing as a matter of course in the decal markings.

In recent years, the symbol seems to have disappeared from more and more model kits, both foreign and domestic, and even from the kit box covers. In the case of Academy Minicraft's Korean-made 1:72 scale model of the Me Bf-109E fighter plane, the tail swastika has been replaced with the black cross (*crux quadrata*) that routinely appeared on the wings and sides of German war planes.

A model Me-109 fighter plane made by Heller-Airfix-Humbrol (a French-British amalgamation) simply leaves out the swastika symbol altogether. The Airfix company produces a 1:72 scale model German patrol torpedo boat (or "E-boat") with a battle flag in which a First World War Maltese cross replaces the swastika. Certain older model kits produced by the Heller company of France and the

Hasegawa company of Japan have been reissued with the swastika marked out. For example, a Hasegawa model kit of a German Afrika Korps vehicle includes a decal emblem with the characteristic palm tree, but with a diamond replacing the swastika.

What's behind this censorship? The Senior Manager of Product Planning for Revell-Monogram, one of the largest US model kit manufacturers has explained that's because "in Germany it is a national law that this insignia can not [sic] be used, for any reason." However, in 1997 Revell-Monogram revised its policy. In response to "many complaints," the company restored the swastika on all model kits destined for the non-German market.²

These days one can find model kits available with and without the emblem. Thus, during a visit in early 1998 to a large hobby shop in Ohio, one model enthusiast found the following German Second World War aircraft kits:³

With Swastika

1:48 Me Bf 109 - Revell
1:72 Fw 190A-8 - Revell
1:72 Me 262A - Revell
1:72 Me Bf 109G-10 - Revell
1:72 Me Bf 110G-4 — Revell
1:72 He-111 & P-47B - Lindberg
1:72 Me 109G - Hasegawa
1:72 Fw 190A - Hasegawa
1:72 Fw 190D - Hasegawa
1:72 Ar 234 - Rovex
1:48 Me 410B-1 - Revell

Without Swastika

1:72 Ar 240C-02 - Revell
1:48 Me Bf 109E-3 - Hasegawa
1:48 Me 262A-1a - DML
1:48 Bf-109G-6 - Fujimi
1:72 Do 335 B-6 — DML
1:48 Me 262A-2a/U2 - Trimaster
1:48 He 111H-22 - Revell
1:48 He 111 - Revell
1:72 Ju 88C-4/C-6 - AMT/Ertl
1:72 Me Bf-109E - Academy
1:72 Me 262B - Hasegawa

If censoring the swastika emblem from model kits inhibits the resurrection of National Socialism or "fascism," why hasn't a similar ban on authentic markings been imposed on model kits of Second World War Soviet or Japanese aircraft, warships and military vehicles? Perhaps no one believes there's any danger of a resurrection of Soviet Communism or Japanese imperialism.

As a matter of course, models of war-era Soviet "Stormovik" or "Yak" war planes or Soviet naval craft have unabashedly displayed the Communist red star or hammer and sickle emblems, while models of war-era Japanese war planes or naval craft have similarly displayed the battle flag bearing the Imperial rising sun emblem.

Only models of German aircraft, flags and vehicles have been affected by the ban on authentic Second World War markings.

Even more absurd, the double standard censorship isn't confined to swastikas. Recently a Wal-Mart store in Porter, Texas, hastily removed toy German soldiers from its shelves after receiving a complaint from the Anti-Defamation League. The manager of the store abjectly apologized to the powerful Jewish-Zionist organization for having offered the Elite Toy Command Series Field Marshal Erwin Rommel German Soldiers.⁴

Amazingly, the passage of time has brought not a lessening but, in general, an increase in such silly suppression. There was less fear and suppression during the first three decades after the end of the Second World War than there is today.

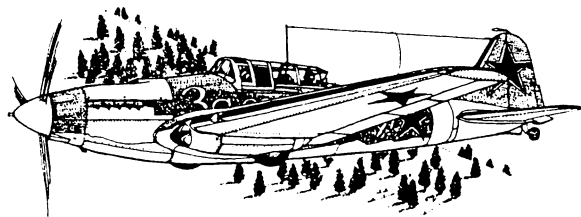
Even in the case of toys, fidelity to historical accuracy is sacrificed on the altar of "political correctness." In these final years of the Twentieth Century, devotion to "democracy" requires such petty distortions of historical authenticity.

Notes

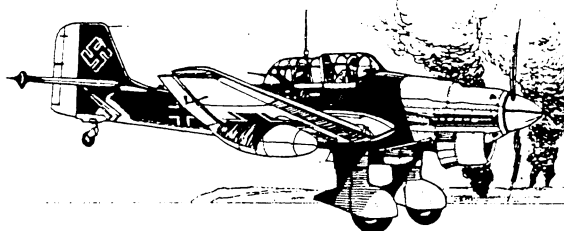
1. During a telephone conversation on Nov. 23, 1998, Mr. Jim Sniffen, a buyer for Orange Blossom Hobbies in Miami, Florida, spoke of marketing of kit models going back to 1956. He told Daniel D. Desjardins (of Waynesville, North Carolina) that Revell and Lindberg in the US, and Heller in France, have apparently not used the swastika in their model kits for several decades.

An exception is the Revell-Monogram's "Pro Modeler" series. Also, a Heller kit (No. 229) of unknown date owned by Desjardins shows that the company did employ the swastika at one time, but at some later point released this kit with the offending symbol crudely marked out.

2. Letter of April 9, 1998, to Daniel D. Desjardins (Waynesville, N.C.) from Edward F. Sexton, Senior Manager of Product Planning, Revell-Monogram, Inc., Morton Grove, Illinois. Desjardins received no



Soviet Red Star: Politically Correct. World War II Soviet Russian "Shturmovik" Ilyushin 2 fighter-bomber.



German Swastika: Politically Incorrect. World War II German "Stuka" Junkers 87 dive-bomber.

reply to similar letters about the company policy regarding use of the swastika on model kits sent to Hasegawa Seisakusho Company, Ltd. of Japan, to Lindberg Model Company of Toledo, Ohio, and to Heller, S.A., of France.

One buyer for a major hobby shop in South Florida suggested to Desjardins that the German government implemented its ban to suppress Nazism, further expressing the view that such a ban was probably both rational and necessary.

3. Lovely Treasures Hobby Shop, Fairborn, Ohio, in early 1998.

Note: DML is a Hong Kong company. Fujimi Europa, of Brussels, Belgium, is headquartered in Toro Shizuoka City, Japan. Trimaster company is in Fujieda-City, Sizuoka 426, Japan. AMT/Ertl company is based in Dyersville, Iowa. Rovex is a United Kingdom company. Academy Minicraft is a Korean company. Lindberg is copyrighted by Craft House Corp. of Toledo, Ohio, but is associated with CE Dexim Hobby-Artikel GmbH of Kirchlingern, Germany.

4. "Nazi Toys Removed," JTA item, *Forward* (New York), Jan. 8, 1999, p. 3.

Moving?

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"maintained by swords and bayonets." President Lincoln's best argument would seem to have been that South Carolina committed an act of war by firing on Fort Sumter. But the Confederacy did not thereby open general hostilities, and the bombardment warranted at most a limited response, not a full-scale invasion. In fact, Lincoln the politician invited conflict with his decision to resupply the US garrison in Charleston and probably expected, correctly, the incident to unite the Northern public behind him. In short, Fort Sumter did not cause civil war. Rather, it enabled President Lincoln to successfully wage civil war.

Much of the enthusiasm reflected the fact that both sides underestimated the conflict's consequences. Senator James Chestnut of South Carolina, for one, offered to drink all the blood that would be shed as a result of secession. Until the first battle of Bull Run, many thought one battle would decide the war. But then came years of unprecedented carnage. Observed Senator Henry Wilson of Massachusetts after the hideous Wilderness campaign in May 1864: "If that scene could have been presented to me before the war, anxious as I was for the preservation of the Union, I should have said: 'The cost is too great; erring sisters, go in peace'."

And the cost was too great. Over 600,000 dead; hundreds of thousands of hungry refugees; mass destruction of agriculture, community, and property in the South; extensive violations of civil liberties in the North; and centralization of national power that has steadily intensified over the succeeding century. The sole genuine benefit of the war, the destruction of slavery, was partially overturned after Reconstruction when Southern states reimposed white supremacist rule. Thirty years ago, blacks still couldn't vote in many states. Thus, the Civil War did not actually free African-Americans in all respects. Peaceful separation in 1861 might have resulted in justice for blacks sooner than did coercive union.

Abraham Lincoln's role in history may be memorable, but it is not praiseworthy. His most important decision, to plunge the nation into civil war, was wrong. In the end, he bears primary blame for mass death and destruction then and for the oppressive Leviathan state with which we must contend today.

"I must study politics and war, that my sons may have liberty to study mathematics and philosophy. My sons ought to study mathematics and philosophy, geography, natural history and naval architecture, in order to give their children a right to study painting, poetry, music, architectures, statuary tapestry and porcelain."

— John Adams

Could You Survive a Nuclear Attack?

Why I Survived The A-Bomb

By Akira Kohchi (Albert Kawachi)

Until now, the *real* story of the first nuclear holocaust had not been told. Previous books on the atomic bombings of Hiroshima approached it only obliquely: technical works hailed it as a marvel of nuclear science, and books written from the military perspective honored the men who gave and carried out a difficult order. Even the eyewitness accounts, numbering some two thousand — and almost all yet to be translated from the Japanese — are overwhelmingly stories of *personal* misery. The total picture — the background, scope, and consequences of the catastrophe — has, until now, never been presented.

Why I Survived the A-Bomb tells a unique and fascinating story as seen from inside Japan 48 years ago and today. The author is eminently qualified — he lived through the experience of a nuclear attack and walked through the flaming, radioactive city of Hiroshima!

Albert Kawachi, a longtime United Nations finance officer, explores the attempts at political and economic justifications for the atom-bombing as he describes the day-to-day living experiences of his family in its wake. His story is dramatic, informative, and historically revisionist.

What was it really like to survive the massive devastation, then deal with the suffering and humiliation wrought by this American doomsday weapon? Who was behind the use of the bomb in the first place? And what did it really accomplish? We need real answers to these hard questions before we speak glibly of defense and disarmament, and before we argue over trade imbalances and deficits, for what happened at Hiroshima and Nagasaki could be our tomorrow.

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

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Holocaust survivor
and author
Albert Kawachi

Gun Control in the Third Reich

A group called "Jews for the Preservation of Firearms Ownership" (JPFO) says that Third Reich Germany banned private ownership of firearms, and that American laws restricting guns are copied from Hitler's. This organization also quotes Hitler as having said: "This year will go down in history. For the first time a civilized nation will have full gun registration. Our streets will be safer, our police more efficient and the world will follow our lead into the future."

Did Hitler say this? What's the truth about gun control in the Third Reich?

J. R.
Bakersfield, Calif.

This quotation, like so many attributed to Hitler, is phony. The JPFO grossly distorts the reality of firearms ownership during the Third Reich. A good source of information on this subject is *Gun Control in Germany, 1928-1945*, a 45-page booklet by William L. Pierce, available from the IHR for \$12, plus \$2 for shipping.

During the Third Reich, private citizens could and did own guns. Millions of Germans owned firearms of every kind. It is true that most had to have a permit, but this was required by a firearms ownership law that had been enacted by the Weimar Republic government in 1928, five years before Hitler came to power. A revised firearms law promulgated in 1938, and signed by Hitler, actually loosened the restrictions imposed by the 1928 law.

Throughout the Third Reich era, Hitler and the National Socialist government retained popular trust and support. Even during the final months of the war, with devastating defeat looming ever greater, under conditions of tremendous privation, and as enemy bombers were pummeling her cities, and as foreign armies invaded the homeland, the government responded by trustingly arming all those who could still handle weapons.

In late 1944, just months before the end, Hitler created the *Volks-*

sturm, a national militia (similar to Britain's "Home Guard") to defend the homeland. All able-bodied men between the ages of 16 and 60 who had not already been called to active military service were enrolled, and even some housewives were hastily trained to use *Panzerfaust* anti-tank weapons.

The most sweeping "gun control" ever imposed in Germany was in 1945, when the Allied occupation authorities ordered Germans to turn in all weapons. Millions of handguns, rifles and other firearms, and even fencing swords, were seized.

— The Editor

Kudos

Kudos for your excellent article, "Michael Eisner and the Disney Empire" [Sept.-Oct. 1998 issue]. We can resonate with your point about the profound impact of Eisner, and those like him, on "the public's barely conscious basic assumptions about life and society." As always, the *Journal* is a revelation of facts.

I. H.
East Bridgewater, Mass.

A 'Detail' of History

For daring to say that gas chambers in wartime German concentration camps are "a detail in the history of the Second World War," Jean Marie Le Pen has twice — in 1987 and again in 1997 — been found guilty and punished with heavy fines. [See "French Courts Punish Holocaust Apostasy," March-April 1998 *Journal*].

Also, authorities in Germany are threatening the French political leader with punishment for having made a similar statement in that country. A public prosecutor in Munich said that Le Pen's remark allegedly "belittling" the Holocaust story violates a German statute prohibiting "incitement to public disorder or racial discrimination." If convicted, Le Pen could be fined or imprisoned

for up to as five years. (*New York Times*, Oct. 7, 1998)

For those of us who regard freedom of expression as the linchpin of a free society, such prosecutions are nothing less than an outrage.

What punishments, one wonders, would these modern-day Torquemadas threaten had Le Pen been suspected of the far greater heresy of "Holocaust denial"?

One can only speculate whether Winston Churchill would have been accused of similar thought crimes had such laws been in effect when he published his monumental six-volume history, *The Second World War* (1948-1954). As a major player in that conflict, he was privy to far more information than Le Pen. Yet, in spite of that, or perhaps because of it, he went much further than Le Pen in "belittling" the Holocaust.

Churchill *ignored* it. Except for a single reference to the deportation of Hungarian Jews in mid-1944, he devotes not a single line in this work of more than three thousand pages to what is purported to be the most heinous crime in the entire history of mankind.

Churchill was doubtless aware of the claims made during and just after the war about mass killings of Jews, and certainly he knew of the grisly details of the alleged slaughter that were "proven" before the Nuremberg Tribunal: six million Jewish deaths, homicidal gas chambers, bars of human soap, and so forth. Yet he was silent about all that.

Similarly, as Robert Faurisson has pointed out ["The Detail," March-April 1998 *Journal*, pp. 19-20], both Eisenhower and DeGaulle, as well as scores of lesser wartime figures, made no

mention at all of gas chambers in their memoirs, or otherwise supported claims of a massive program of state-sponsored genocide that utilized homicidal gas chambers as the main instrument of death. Such a lack of contemporary corroboration by the important players is analogous to finding no reference to the crucifixion in the New Testament.

M. J.
Great Neck, New York

Had No Idea

For some time I had known that some of Russia's big magnates were Jews. But it wasn't until I read Eduard Topol's open letter to Boris Berezovsky [in the Nov.-Dec. 1998 *Journal*] that I realized just how total Jewish political and economic power had become there. Also, I had no idea of just how catastrophic had been the fall in living standards suffered by ordinary Russians.

Even though I am Jewish myself, I'm not at all sure I would blame the ordinary people of Russia if they ever take it into their heads to rid their country of Jews (and I mean completely).

R. P.
Derry, New Hampshire

John Birch Society Fear

I was angered but not surprised by the John Birch Society attack against the IHR and Holocaust revisionism [reported in the Nov.-Dec. 1998 *Journal*, pp. 26-28].

During the ten years or so that I was a JBS member, I found that the Society was always very afraid to touch the Jewish issue or Zionism. While I reject "hate," I also don't believe in being silent about historical issues or current affairs to placate Jews or, for that matter, any ethnic or religious group.

Given the limited impact of the JBS these days, I wouldn't worry much about its pathetic attack. So marginal has it become that most people don't even realize that the

JBS still exists. Actually, most rank and file Birchers would probably support revisionism and the IHR's work if they understood it. For decades, though, the JBS leadership has pumped them with so much kooky "conspiracy" paranoia that many reflexively reject any view that doesn't conform with the JBS dogma of "insiders" plotting. These misguided people have been prone to believe, for example, that the Soviets told 1960s bands such as the Rolling Stones, the Grateful Dead and the Jefferson Airplane what songs to write and play.

Again, keep up the good work. Enclosed is another small donation to the case of truth.

M. R.
West Milford, N.J.

Missed Points

John Weir's review of *Scapegoats: A Defense of Kimmel and Short at Pearl Harbor* [Nov.-Dec. 1997 *Journal*] was competent, but of course it did not bring up a number of points. It didn't mention, for example, that *Scapegoats* author Edward Beach, although an establishment figure, devoted almost a page to praising George Morgenstern's work, *Pearl Harbor: The Story of the Secret War*, without one qualifying evasive word — the first time I have ever seen such a display. Capt. Beach obviously shares Morgenstern's interpretation of the Pearl Harbor story, but at the same time wants to eulogize Franklin Roosevelt and Winston Churchill for their subsequent war to "save civilization." In my view, these two hearties went very far toward destroying civilization.

In the last volume of his mighty post-World War I opus, *The World Crisis*, Churchill credited the Kaiser's Germany with taking on the manpower and resources of "five continents." The Germans did it again, 1939-1945, but this time around Churchill was not so generous. His adversary this time were simply "Narzie gangsters." World War II

has never really ended. Maybe German self-respect will return some day to the point where they will do some "revising" of their own about this matter.

These days I define "genocide" as something done by someone I don't like who lives a long ways away. One's neighbors are never accused of genocide.

James J. Martin
Colorado Springs, Col.

Interesting

I have only occasionally read your magazine, but find it extremely interesting. I also admire your courage in posting the material you do on your web site. Keep up the good work.

L. D. W.
[by Internet]

May Freedom Ring

I'm glad to have found you in the web. Thanks for the information you guys have been putting out for years. Every country, and every people, has a right to its own destiny — including the United States. May freedom ring — the true freedom the ancestors of this country created: freedom in keeping with our nature as human beings.

D. D.
Texas
[by Internet]

A Salute

Just a few lines to let you know how much I value the courage and integrity of your publication — honesty seldom seen in a "holocaustized" world. To everybody at the *Journal*, a salute of honor.

E. B.
Cincinnati, Ohio

We welcome letters from readers. We reserve the right to edit for style and space. Write: Editor, P.O. Box 2739, Newport Beach, CA 92659, USA, or e-mail us at editor@ihr.org

A Stirring Narrative of Combat

An Inside Account of the Triumph and Tragedy of the Third Reich's Air Force

The Life and Death of the Luftwaffe tells the riveting story of the meteoritic rise and calamitous fall of one of history's great air forces, as told by one of its most decorated and honored officers, Colonel Werner Baumbach.

A combat pilot who braved enemy fighters and anti-aircraft fire to strike at targets in virtually every European theater of the Second World War, Baumbach was also such a superb organizer and keen strategist that he was appointed, at the age of 28, chief of the Luftwaffe's bomber command.

All of the Luftwaffe's celebrated campaigns are here: the blitzkriegs

against Poland, France and the Low Countries; the Battle of Britain; the massive invasion of Soviet Russia and the hard-fought retreat; the air wars over the Atlantic, the Arctic, and the Mediterranean; and the desperate defense of the Reich against merciless attack by British and American bombers.

Baumbach was one of the most successful fighter pilots of the Second World War, and the first to earn the coveted Knight's Cross of the Iron Cross with Oak Leaves and Swords. He was also a major figure in the fateful decision-making that shaped Germany's desperate struggle against the combined Allied forces. He played a key role in reorganizing the Luftwaffe's bomber arm.

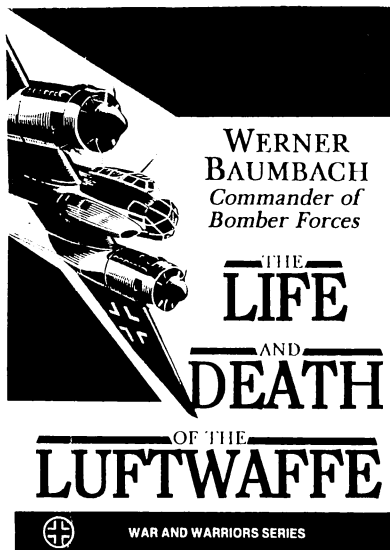
In addition to memorable descriptions of dangerous combat missions, in this memoir he gives a frank and often critical inside account of Germany's air war. He provides an inside look at the heated disputes among the Reich's top military figures over strategy and tactics, with first-hand assessments of Hitler, Göring, Goebbels, Speer and other high-ranking Third Reich officials.

Baumbach played an important role in the development of Germany's "wonder weapons," some of which he tested himself. Here he tells of German jet fighters, guided missiles, the V-1 "buzz bomb," the V-2 rocket, and other path-breaking armaments that laid the basis for and modern air war and space exploration.

He provides fascinating details of German plans for amazing new weapons and tactics, including trans-Atlantic air raids against New York City and the Panama Canal, the training of Kamikaze-style suicide pilots, and a plan for piggy-backing fighters and unmanned bombers to strike at distant targets.

After the war Baumbach barely escaped trial as a "war criminal," even as British newspapers were calling him "the German Lawrence of the Second World War."

Essential reading for anyone interested in the German Luftwaffe and World War II.



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by Werner Baumbach

Translated by Frederick Holt

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A Concealed Holocaust!

Crimes and Mercies

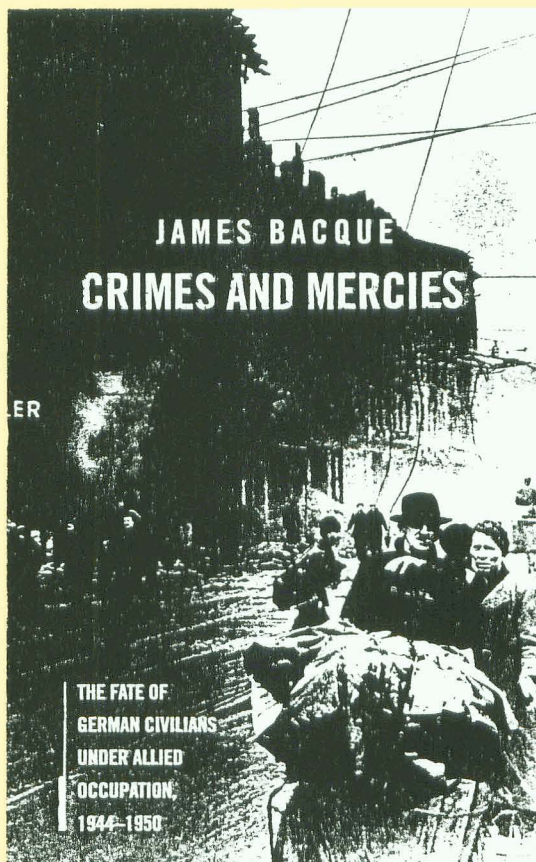
In this powerful new book, Canadian historian James Bacque presents detailed evidence, much of it newly uncovered, to show that some nine million Germans died as a result of Allied starvation and expulsion policies in the first five years after the Second World War — a total far greater than the long-accepted figures.

These deaths are still being concealed and denied, writes Bacque, especially by American and British authorities.

Crimes and Mercies — a handsome work, illustrated and well-referenced — is a devastating indictment of Allied, and especially American, occupation policy in defeated postwar Germany.

Some 15 million Germans fled or were brutally expelled in the greatest act of "ethnic cleansing" in history, a human catastrophe in which some two million were killed or otherwise perished. Then, under the notorious "Morgenthau Plan" and its successor policies, the Allies carried out a massive looting of Germany, and even prevented German civilians from growing sufficient food to feed themselves.

Bacque shows, for example, that General Eisenhower, in violation of the Geneva Convention, in May 1945 forbade German civilians to take food to prisoners starving to death in American camps. He threatened the death penalty for anyone feeding prisoners.



Bacque also describes the terrors of the postwar camps in Poland where children and other German civilians lost their lives.

Written with fervor, compassion and humanity, and making use of never-before cited records in Moscow archives, James Bacque exposes a little-known but important chapter of 20th century history. He builds upon the revelations of his startling 1989 study, *Other Losses*, which presented evidence to show that hundreds of thousands of German prisoners of war died as a result of cruel and illegal mistreatment by

American, British and French authorities.

American historian Alfred M. de Zayas, author of *Nemesis at Potsdam* and *The German Expellees* (now titled *The Terrible Secret*), provides a valuable foreword.

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**Pat Buchanan and the
Struggle for Truth in History**

**'Microwave' Delousing
Facilities at Auschwitz**

The Boer War Remembered
Mark Weber

Elie Wiesel: One More Lie
Robert Faurisson

**John Kennedy's 1945 Visit
to War-Ravished Germany**

Bad News and the Good War

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— Review —

'Stalin's Trap'
Daniel W. Michaels

— And More —

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Crimes and Mercies

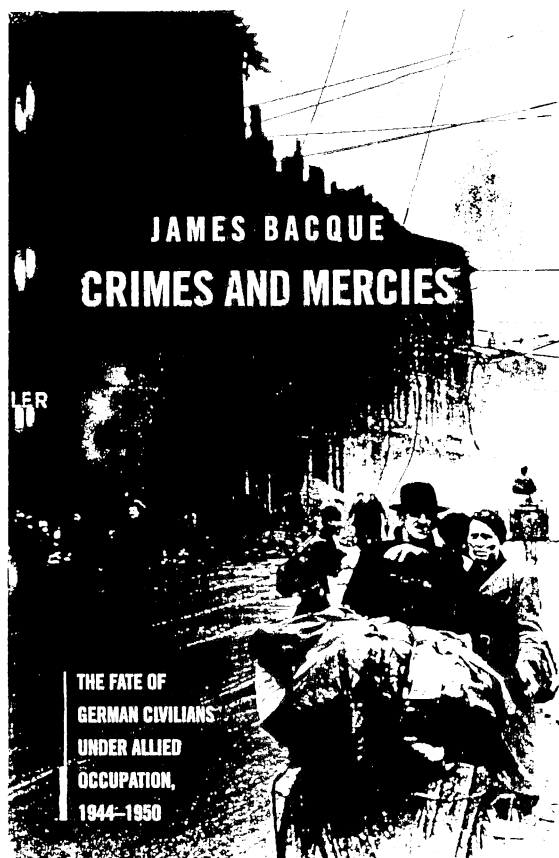
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German 'Microwave' Technology to Combat Typhus High Frequency Delousing Facilities at Auschwitz

MARK WEBER

According to popular legend, Auschwitz was an extermination center organized to kill as many Jewish prisoners as possible with the greatest possible dispatch. In fact, though, the authorities responsible for Germany's wartime concentration camp network carried out extensive measures at Auschwitz, and other camps, to save inmates' lives. Though for decades widely known among specialized historians,¹ this remarkable story has been unknown to the wider public, and one extraordinary aspect of it has remained secret for decades.

In 1944, during the final year of the war in Europe, the Germans installed and operated state-of-the-art high frequency facilities at Auschwitz to kill disease-bearing lice and other pests. These expensive installations, installed in response to the high death rate wrought by disease, worked on the same principle as the familiar microwave appliances widely used today in households around the world. These Auschwitz facilities, designed to help save lives, proved very effective.

French researcher Jean-Claude Pressac briefly mentioned this remarkable disinfection facility in his 1994 book about the crematories of Auschwitz.² Also, French revisionist scholar Robert Faurisson, in an essay published in 1995, cited the testimony of former Auschwitz inmate Marc Klein, first published in 1946, about "short wave delousing" at Auschwitz.³

But the first qualified and detailed look at this subject appeared in two lengthy articles published in 1998 issues of the German-language revisionist quarterly, *Vierteljahreshefte für freie Geschichtsforschung*, edited by Germar Rudolf. These articles were based primarily on documents buried in the voluminous collection of wartime German records that were seized by Soviet forces in 1945. For more than half a century these important historical records lay forgotten in Moscow's central archives. (The present article is based in large part on information in these two *Vierteljahreshefte* articles.)⁴

Typhus Danger

Before dealing directly with the high frequency delousing facilities, it is important to understand the general problem of disease, especially typhus, during the war, and the measures taken by the Ger-

man authorities — particularly at Auschwitz — to combat the deadly scourges.

Typhus or "spotted fever" (German: *Fleckfieber*) is transmitted from one diseased person to another by lice infected with a micro-organism (*Rickettsia prowazeki*). Epidemic typhus flourishes among people in crowded living quarters, including ships, prisons, camps and ghettos, where poor sanitary conditions and bad hygiene prevail.

During the First World War (1914-1918), and even more in the years immediately following, some 25-30 million people in Poland, Ukraine, Russia and the Baltic suffered from typhus, or about 20-23 percent of the total population, of whom several million perished. "At the close of World War I," the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* has noted, "the disease was prevalent in Poland, Russia and Rumania, where estimates of cases and deaths between 1919 and 1923 ran into millions. In World War II from these areas it spread again into western Europe and caused devastating epidemics among refugees and displaced persons, particularly in the German concentration camps."⁵ So terrible was the scourge in Poland that the United States dispatched a US Army team to the country, where it carried out extensive efforts to combat typhus among the civilian population, 1919-1921.⁶

When war broke out in Europe in 1939, German medical and military leaders were mindful of the terrible impact of typhus during the earlier conflict, and acted accordingly. At the outset of the Second World War, the most advanced method used to kill typhus-carrying lice was "Zyklon B." This was the trade name of a pest control agent manufactured from the 1920s to the 1950s by the Degesch company of Frankfurt am Main. "Zyklon" is hydrocyanic or "Prussic" acid (HCN) absorbed in a porous material such as gypsum or diatomaceous earth, which is kept in tightly sealed cans until it is deployed by trained personnel. HCN's boiling point is 26 degrees C (79 F).

This commercially available pesticide was widely used before, during and after the Second World War by private companies, governmental agencies and military forces throughout Europe. It was frequently used by the German armed forces, including the SS, to delouse clothing and other effects, and to kill insects and rodents in buildings.

It is commonly believed that SS men used Zyklon to kill millions of Jews in gas chambers at Auschwitz and other German camps. But in fact SS men used Zyklon to help *prevent* camp inmates' deaths. They deployed it in very large quantities at Auschwitz and other wartime concentration camps by fumigating barracks, by delousing clothing in special gas chambers, and so forth, to destroy disease-bearing vermin.⁷

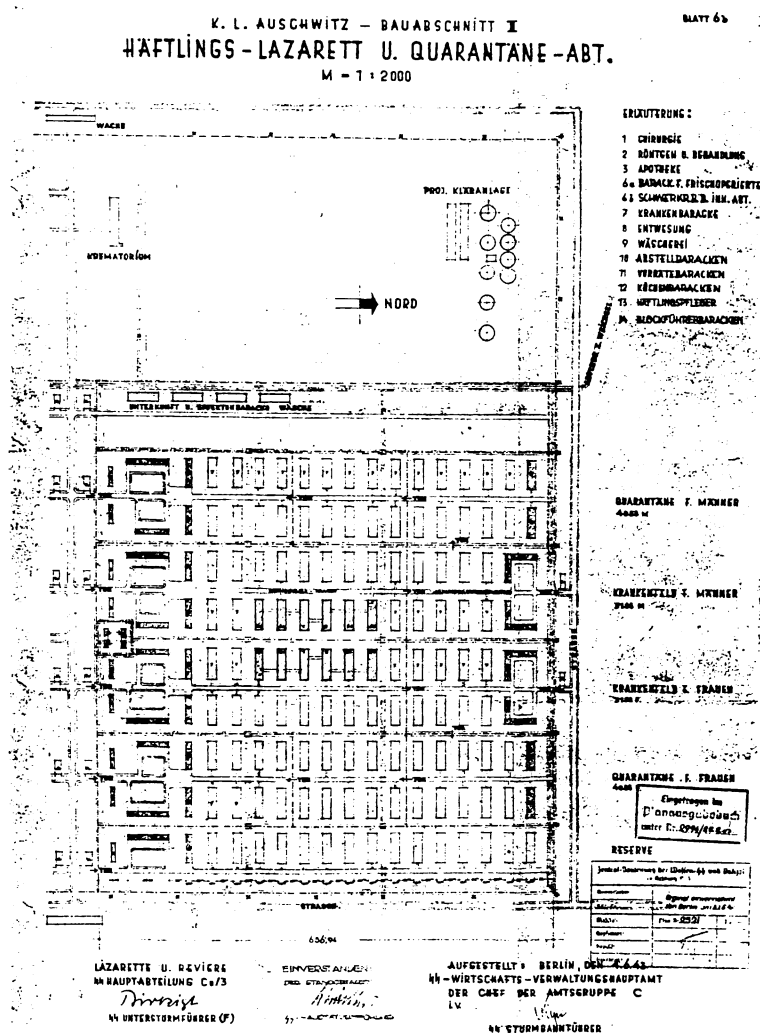
Combating Typhus at Auschwitz

In each German concentration camp, including Auschwitz, a "garrison physician" (*Standortarzt*) was responsible, together with the other medical personnel, for implementing, coordinating and supervising hygiene and sanitary measures. At Auschwitz during this period, the "garrison physician," or chief medical officer, was SS *Hauptsturmführer* (captain) Dr. Eduard Wirths. By all accounts, including the surviving wartime documents, he was a dedicated, kindly, and good-natured man who capably and conscientiously carried out his demanding duties in the large camp.⁸

When typhus broke out in the Auschwitz camp for the first time in the summer of 1942, the German authorities there responded resolutely. In an effort to halt the disease, Commandant Rudolf Höss ordered a full-scale quarantine (*vollständige Lagersperre*) of the camp in July 1942. SS men and their families were not allowed to leave the camp area. As the epidemic continued to spread, Höss ordered further measures, including delousing actions with Zyklon, a prohibition against SS men and their families eating uncooked fruits and vegetables, disinfections of living quarters, obligatory vaccinations, and further restrictions on movement. Special "louse inspection" units were organized, and those who failed to observe the anti-lice measures were punished.⁹

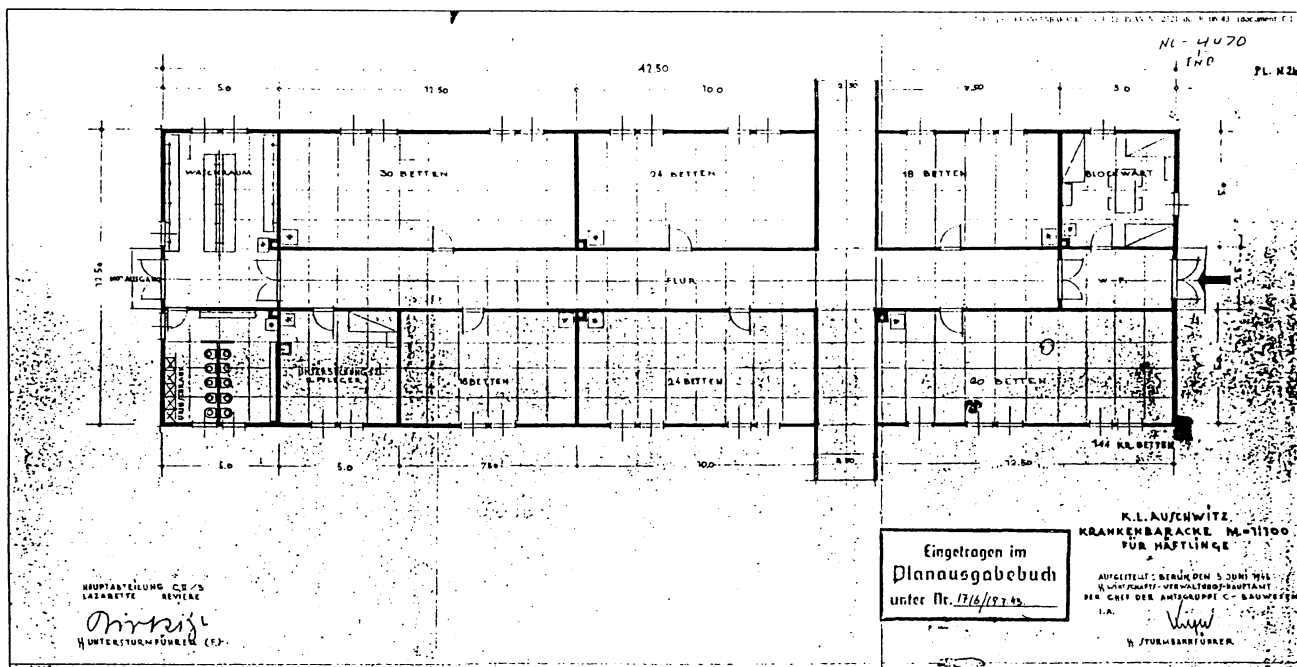
On July 22, 1942, an official in the central Berlin office responsible for concentration camp administration (WVHA) radioed Auschwitz: "I hereby give permission for a five ton truck to go from Auschwitz to Dessau and back, in order to pick up gas [Zyklon] for gassing of the camp, to fight the epidemic that has broken out." This was just one of several such deliveries.¹⁰

But these measures proved inadequate. Even as the camp's hospital blocks were overcrowded with typhus victims, the disease continued to claim many



Auschwitz-Birkenau was greatly enlarged in 1943 and 1944 to accommodate the arrival of ever more Jews. Accordingly, plans were made for more extensive hospital and quarantine facilities. This plan for a new "Prisoner hospital and quarantine section" 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. (Facsimile in: Jean-Claude Pressac, *Auschwitz* [1989], p. 512, and in *Auschwitz: 1270 to the Present*, by Debórah Dwork & Robert Jan van Pelt [New York: 1996], plate 19.)

lives. In early December 1942, SS camp physician Dr. Wirths spoke at a meeting that had been called to address the typhus crisis. Reflecting the seriousness of the occasion, the attendees included local and regional government officials, military officers, and important civilian figures.¹¹ Wirths reported optimistically that



Architectural diagram, June 1943, of an “Auschwitz camp barracks for sick inmates.” The barracks has 144 beds, large wash and toilet rooms, and a room for medical staff. (Source: J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz*, 1989, p. 513.)

three large disinfestation, shower and sauna facilities can be put into operation right now, specifically two facilities for the inmates and one for SS troop members. The capacity of these facilities is some 3,000 to 4,000 persons per 24 hours.

The central WVHA office in Berlin-Oranienburg, which was responsible for the SS concentration camp system, sent a secret directive on December 28, 1942, to every concentration camp, including Auschwitz and Majdanek (Lublin). After sharply criticizing the high death rate, it ordered that

camp physicians must use all means at their disposal to significantly reduce the death rate in the various camps.... The camp doctors must supervise more often than in the past the nutrition of the prisoners and, in cooperation with the administration, submit improvement recommendations to the camp commandants.... The camp doctors are to see to it that the working conditions at the various labor places are improved as much as possible.

The directive concluded: “The Reichsführer SS [Himmler] has ordered that the death rate absolutely must be reduced.”¹²

Richard Glücks, head of the SS agency that supervised the concentration camps, informed the various camp commandants in January 1943: “As I

have already pointed out, every means must be used to lower the death rate in the camp.”¹³

In a letter of February 25, 1943, to the central WVHA office in Berlin-Oranienburg, which was responsible for the SS concentration camp system, Dr. Wirths summed up the situation:¹⁴

As already reported, after the typhus epidemic in the Auschwitz camp had practically been suppressed in November and December, there followed a new rise in typhus cases among the Auschwitz inmates as well as among troops, brought by the newly arriving transports from the East. In spite of the counter-measures that were immediately taken, a complete suppression of typhus cases has still not been achieved.

Accordingly, the SS camp physician reported that there would be a three-week quarantine of the Auschwitz camp complex, including the main camp and Birkenau. During this period, he continued, two thorough delousing and disinfection operations would be carried out to completely eradicate lice, and thus eliminate the danger of new outbreaks of typhus.

In an April 1943 communication to the camp commandant, Dr. Wirths expressed grave concern about the sewer system in Birkenau, and concluded with a warning that unless appropriate measures are taken, the “great danger of epidemics would be inevitable.”¹⁵

KURZWELLEN-ENTWESUNGS-ANLAGE

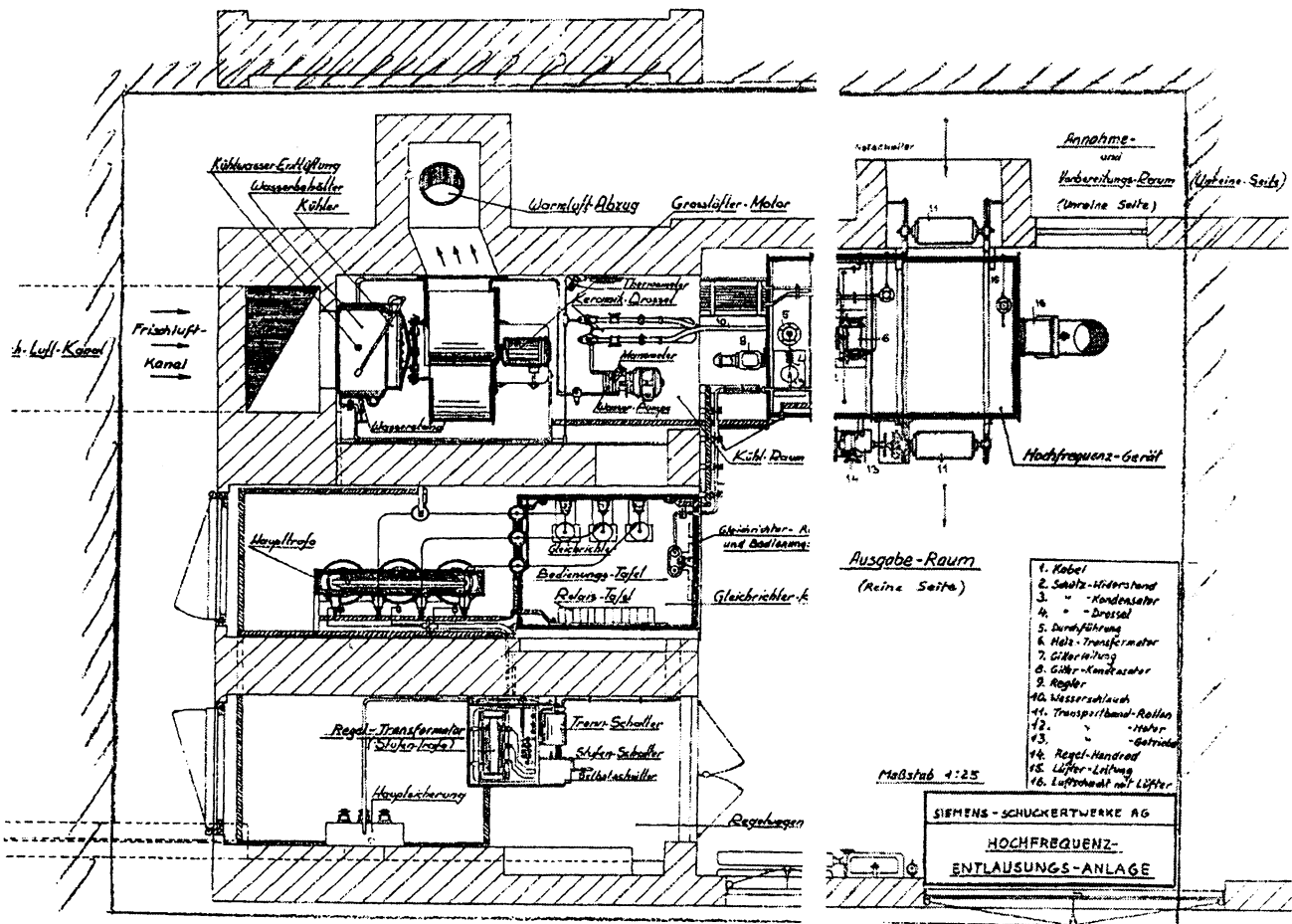


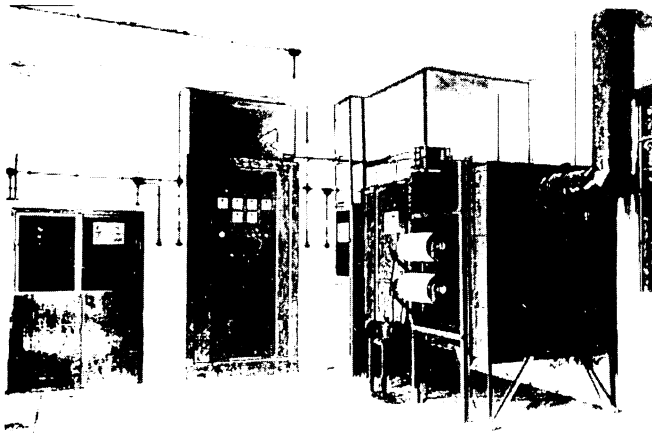
Diagram of a "high frequency disinfestation facility," developed and manufactured by the German firm of Siemens-Schuckert. One of these state-of-the-art facilities was installed at Auschwitz in 1944, where it helped save lives. (A portion of the diagram is missing from the middle of this reproduction.)

On May 7, 1943, the Auschwitz chief physician had a discussion with Dr. Heinz Kammler, head of the engineering and construction bureau of the central camp administration office (WVHA), and others, about inmate facilities at Auschwitz. Dr. Wirths warned that¹⁶

... maintaining the prisoners' health for the major tasks does not seem certain, due to the poor toilet conditions, an inadequate sewer system, a lack of hospital barracks and separate latrines for the sick, and the lack of washing, bathing and disinfestation facilities.

In his report on the meeting, Dr. Wirths noted that his superiors agreed with his assessment:

The *Brigadeführer* [SS general Kammler] acknowledges the foremost urgency of these matters, and promises to do everything possible to ensure rectification of the shortcomings. He is somewhat surprised, however, that on the one hand, he receives reports from the responsible medical personnel that give a very favorable account of the sanitary and hygienic conditions, and on the other he immediately afterwards receives exactly opposite reports. The director of the ZBL [Auschwitz central con-



The stationary high frequency delousing facility at the Auschwitz concentration camp, shown in a 1944 photograph.

struction office] is instructed to present proposals by May 15, 1943, for rectifying all problems under discussion.

This commitment by a high-level SS officer is all the more remarkable considering the growing shortages facing the German leadership due to the worsening military situation, which made it ever more difficult to procure supplies, manpower and money to insure minimal hygiene and sanitary standards.

In keeping with this, camp chief physician Dr. Wirths, in a May 28, 1943, letter to the Auschwitz central construction office (ZBL), asked for six circulating air delousing facilities, to be installed as quickly as possible. (These were in fact ordered the next day.) This request, Dr. Wirths explained, was being made "especially for the delousing and the disinfection of the sick prisoners and their clothing ..."¹⁷

Because typhus continued to plague the camp complex, even more rigorous measures were imposed in January 1944. Simultaneously, all inmates were subjected to baths and disinfection, all clothes and bedding were sent to disinfection chambers, and all barracks were treated with Zyklon. This unprecedented campaign worked, and thereafter only sporadic cases of typhus were reported.¹⁸

A Polish inmate-physician, Dr. Alfred Fiderkiewicz, confirmed after the war that the camp administration and the dedicated SS physicians imposed strenuous and sometimes even radical measures to combat typhus in Birkenau, including large-scale Zyklon delousing of barracks and all clothing, improved diets for sick-bay inmates, and action by a special team to combat lice. As a result, the typhus plague was finally brought under control

in January 1944, although tuberculosis was never completely eradicated and continued to claim many lives.¹⁹

High Frequency Delousing Facilities

In 1936, German technicians had noticed that high frequency radio waves produced by a large transmitter tube used to broadcast the Olympic Games from Berlin that year incidentally killed all nearby insects. Spurred by this, the Siemens-Schuckertwerke (Siemens-Schuckert works), together with the Reich Biology Institute in Dahlem, conducted tests on pest eradication using the high-frequency field of an electron tube.

After the problem of pest extermination once again became pointedly relevant following the outbreak of war in 1939, the Siemens-Schuckert company worked on developing a practical high frequency or "shortwave" (*Kurzwellen*) disinfection facility. Collaborating with the firm on this project was a related company, the Siemens-Reiniger works in Erlangen, which produced medical instruments.

When this new technology was demonstrated to civilian and military authorities, the SS saw its applicability for large camps and quickly ordered several of the new facilities. (In contrast, the regular German army ordered one such installation, which apparently was never completed or made operational.)

The new high frequency facility was produced in both a mobile and a stationary model. The mobile version was designed to fit on a truck trailer. Operating it required access to a 380-volt electrical outlet or to a portable electrical generator.

At the end of June 1943, Dr. Willing of the construction-engineering bureau of the central WVHA agency reported with satisfaction on the efficiency of the new facility:²⁰

... After a pass through the ultra-shortwave field, which takes eleven to twelve seconds, all vermin as well as bacteria, germs, brood and nits are killed, and, given non-stop operation, 13,000 to 15,000 pieces of clothing can be sterilized per day.

Auschwitz Installation and Operation

Although the first high frequency disinfection facility was supposed to arrive at Auschwitz on May 15, 1943, actual delivery was delayed. In mid-June 1943 the Reich Ministry for Munitions and Armaments assigned top priority to the new high frequency facilities.

At a meeting on July 1, 1943, Dr. Wirths assured colleagues that the stationary high frequency delousing facility would be ready to begin operation

at Auschwitz in about eight weeks, and that a mobile facility was to arrive at the camp within the next three weeks. Installation of the mobile high frequency disinfestation unit — each step of which is thoroughly documented — was carried out between July 16, 1943 (commission) and October 21, 1943 (last requisition of materials).

The “*Osten III*” model stationary high frequency disinfestation facility — a modification of the “*Osten II*” mobile model — was set up in 1944 at the Auschwitz I main camp, in a building (BW 160) that originally was to house 19 Zyklon delousing chambers. It finally went into operation on June 30, 1944, and on July 29, 1944, the director of the SS Hygiene Institute tested its bacteria-killing ability.

Greater Efficiency

Before being treated in the new high frequency facility, the louse-infested clothing was first dampened slightly with a water spray-gun. Then the clothing was bagged into bundles of 12x40 centimeters each and placed on conveyor belts that carried them through the high-frequency generator’s capacitor field. Operating on the same principle as the modern microwave oven, the facility quickly killed all lice and other pests, as well as any typhus-bearing bacteria. The facility could treat 400 kilograms of clothing per hour.

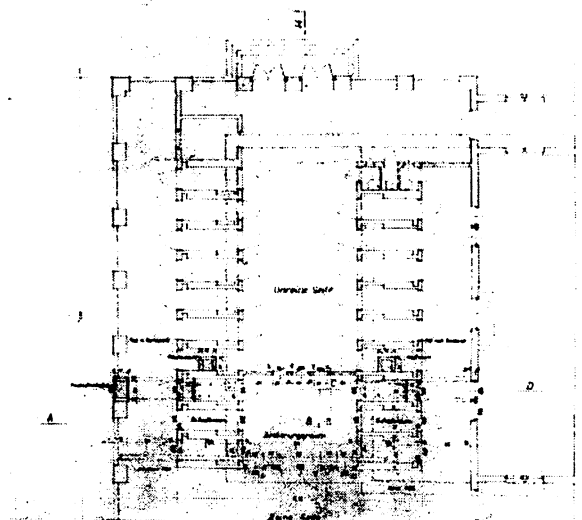
Auschwitz’s new high-frequency delousing facilities immediately proved to be far superior to all other delousing methods of the period, including the widely used method of hydrocyanic gassing with Zyklon B. Treatment of infected clothing with Zyklon required 70 to 75 minutes, and Topf delousing ovens required 60 to 80 minutes per treatment. Disinfestation in gassing autoclaves required a similarly lengthy amount of time. By contrast, the high frequency delousing facility required just seconds to treat infected clothing.

Furthermore, the new technique was much more thorough. It killed not only lice and their eggs (nits), but even the typhus micro-organisms. The new high frequency facility also took much less space, and was markedly less expensive. The cost of installing the “standard” disinfestation facilities in Auschwitz was 153,000 Reich marks, whereas the cost of installing the high frequency facilities there was 75,000 Reich marks or, according to another source, 98,000 Reich marks.

On August 10, 1944, the Auschwitz camp physician reported to the central WVHA office in Berlin-Oranienburg “on the effectiveness of the stationary shortwave delousing facility.”²¹ After taking time to train the required personnel, wrote Dr. Wirths, full operation of the facility began on July 5, 1944. The new facility functioned promptly and reliably, and was in nearly daily use. However, it was not operat-

Häftlings-Entlausungsgebäude

Einbau der Kurzwellen-Entlausungsanlagen



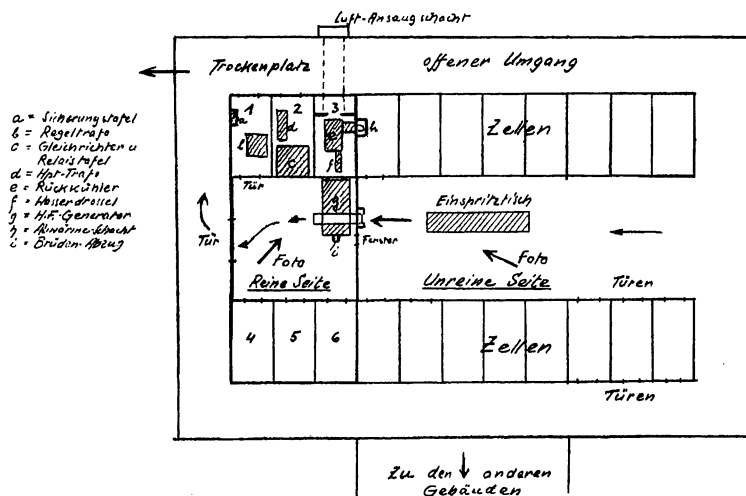
Diagram, titled “Prisoners’ Delousing Building: Installation of the high frequency delousing facility,” of the building at the Auschwitz main camp where the high frequency delousing facility was installed. This diagram was one of numerous German wartime documents that were only recently found in Moscow archives. As the diagram shows, the facility retained the division into “clean” and “unclean” sides that was also a feature of Zyklon B delousing facilities.

ing at peak efficiency, in part because of power outages.

On daily average, he continued, the new facility processed 1,441 sets of underwear and matching garments, and 449 wool or quilt blankets. In other words, he went on, every 32 working days the facility processed the clothing of 46,122 persons, including their underwear and bedding. Under ideal conditions (with no power outages, for example), Wirths stressed, the facility’s performance would be three times greater. Tests carried out in Auschwitz by the SS Hygiene Institute, Wirths continued, showed that treatment in the facility of three minutes per sack of clothing — that is, about 45 seconds for each individual item — completely destroyed all traces of staphylococcus, typhus and diphtheria.

In November 1944 the Auschwitz central construction office (ZBL) reported that “at the present time there is a stationary high microwave delousing facility in concentration camp I [Auschwitz] and a mobile one in concentration camp II [Birkenau].”

The efficiency of these “high tech” Auschwitz facilities, designed to help save prisoners’ lives, contrasts sharply with the absurdly primitive technol-



17.9.45

H.F. Entlausungs-Anlage in Auschwitz

Skiz

Postwar diagram of a "High frequency facility in Auschwitz."

ogy of the camp's alleged homicidal gas chambers, supposedly meant to kill prisoners. As Holocaust historian Jean-Claude Pressac has written, the (supposed) homicidal gassing procedure at Auschwitz-Birkenau crematory facilities IV and V, for example, was cumbersome, "irrational and ridiculous."²²

Auschwitz was not the only German concentration camp to receive one of the new "high tech" delousing facilities. In the fall of 1944, a stationary high frequency facility similar to the one at Auschwitz was installed at the Mauthausen camp (near Linz). At that same time, a mobile high frequency delousing facility arrived at Gusen, a satellite camp of Mauthausen, in response to an outbreak of typhus there. Efforts were also made to install a similar stationary facility in the Dachau concentration camp (near Munich), but apparently it was never put into operation.

Development of high frequency facilities continued even as Soviet and American troops were advancing into Germany. A certificate issued by the Reich Ministry for Armaments and War Production on February 22, 1945 — just eleven weeks before the end — noted that although the Siemens-Schuckert works had been evacuated from Breslau (because of the Soviet advance), a new testing and production facility was to be set up in central Germany. The document also stressed that development and production of high frequency devices by Siemens-Schuckert had the highest national priority, and deserved all possible assistance from Party, military and civil authorities.²³

Summary

Records documenting the Auschwitz high fre-

quency delousing facilities are only a small portion of the mass of German wartime files — 83,000 documents, according to one estimate — that have been uncovered from Russian archives after decades of neglect.

It is highly significant that among this enormous collection of secret German records, not a single one provides any evidence of mass killing, or even refers to a German wartime policy or program of "extermination." To the contrary, many of these documents — such as those cited in this article — further demonstrate the seriousness of the efforts by high-level government and SS authorities to maintain the health of inmates by combat-

ting disease in the camps.

Deployment of "microwave" delousing facilities was just one of many conscientious measures taken by the SS authorities to *save* inmates' lives. Confirming this is a report on the high frequency installations, written in September 1945 (four months after the end of the conflict), apparently by a Siemens technician named Bay. The report points out:²⁴

We regretted that these facilities could not be used for their original application purpose, namely for delousing military equipment for the front, because they seemed more urgently needed by the camp personnel who requested them, because cases of typhus were constantly being observed among the camp inmates.

The discovery of long-hidden records on Germany's wartime high frequency delousing facilities suggests that other significant documents of the period may still await discovery, and that further important historical revelations about Auschwitz and the "Holocaust" issue are quite likely.

The revealing documents cited in this article, and many others like them, are routinely suppressed by those who uphold what Jewish educator Rabbi Michael Goldberg (in his 1996 book, *Why Should Jews Survive?*) aptly calls "the Holocaust cult." It is noteworthy that such documents have been found and brought to light not by "mainstream" historians, but rather by skeptical dissident (revisionist) scholars — an implicit indictment of the dereliction, if not corruption, of the historical "establishment."



1. For example, in his 1989 book, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers*, French anti-revisionist researcher Jean-Claude Pressac acknowledged the difficulty of reconciling actual German policies at Auschwitz with the camp's alleged function as an extermination facility. He wrote (p. 512):

2. Jean-Claude Pressac, *Die Krematorien von Auschwitz* (Munich: Piper, 1994), pp. 105-106, 113. Also cited in: R. Faurisson, "Antwort an Jean-Claude Pressac," in *Auschwitz: Nackte Fakten* (Berchem, Belgium: VHO, 1995), p. 63.
3. Robert Faurisson, "Antwort an Jean-Claude Pressac," in *Auschwitz: Nackte Fakten* (Berchem, Belgium: VHO, 1995), p. 63. Source cited by Faurisson: Marc

4. The present essay is based on two articles about short wave (high frequency) delousing facilities at Auschwitz published in 1998 issues of the *Vierteljahreshefte für freie Geschichtsforschung* (VffG), Castle Hill Publisher, P.O. Box 118, Hastings, E. Sussex TN34 3ZQ, England — U.K.

For more further information and complete source references, see the original articles.

For more about Rudolf and his *VffG* quarterly, see "Important New German-Language Revisionist Quarterly," in the May-June 1998 *Journal*, pp. 26-27.

5. "Typhus," *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Chicago), 1957 edition, vol. 22, p. 648.
6. Alfred E. Cornebise, *Typhus and Doughboys: The American Polish Typhus Relief Expedition, 1919-1921*

- (Univ. of Delaware Press, 1982). See also: Friedrich P. Berg, "Typhus and the Jews," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1988-89 (Vol. 8, No. 4), pp. 433-481.
7. J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers* (New York: B. Klarsfeld, 1989), pp. 15-21.
 8. See also the information about Dr. Wirths, especially chapter 18, in: Robert Jay Lifton, *The Nazi Doctors* (New York: Basic Books, 1986).
 9. Essay by Danuta Czech in: K. Smolen, ed., *From the History of KL Auschwitz* (Oswiecim State Museum: 1979), Vol. 2, pp. 28-36, 96-97. See also: Danuta Czech, comp., *Auschwitz Chronicle: 1939-1945* (London/New York: I.B. Tauris, 1990), p. 202.
 10. Eugen Kogon, and others, *Nazi Mass Murder* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale Univ. Press, 1994), p. 160; E. Kogon, and others, *Nationalsozialistische Massentötungen durch Giftgas* (Frankfurt: S. Fischer, 1986), p. 223. Also quoted in J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989), p. 188. Note similar documents in Raul Hilberg, ed., *Documents of Destruction* (1971), pp. 220-221, and in J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989), pp. 188, 557.
 11. Document, dated December 4, 1942, cited in *Vierteljahreshefte für freie Geschichtsforschung* (VffG), June 1998, pp. 91 and 105, n. 29. Source cited: Moscow central archives, document No. 502-1-332-117/119. Also cited in: Y. Gutman & M. Berenbaum, eds., *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp* (1994), p. 226.
 12. A. de Cocatrix, *Die Zahl der Opfer der nationalsozialistischen Verfolgung* (Arolsen: International Tracing Service/ICRC, 1977), pp. 4-5; D. Czech, comp. *Auschwitz Chronicle: 1939-1945* (1990), p. 291; Nuremberg document PS-2171, Annex 2. *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression* (NC&A "red series," 1946-1948), Vol. 4, pp. 833-834. (This directive was quoted, as document E-168, at the main Nuremberg trial by SS defense attorney Dr. Horst Pelckmann on August 7, 1946: *Trial of the Major War Criminals Before the International Military Tribunal* (IMT "blue series"), Vol. 20, pp. 434-435. It was also cited by Pelckmann on August 26, 1946: IMT, vol. 21, p. 605.)
 13. Nuremberg document NO-1523 (*Trials of War Criminals Before the Nuernberg Military Tribunals* [NMT "green series"], Vol. 5, pp. 372-373.)
 14. Quoted by Carlo Mattogno in his essay, "Die 'Gasprüfer' von Auschwitz," *Vierteljahreshefte für freie Geschichtsforschung* (VHO, Belgium), March 1998 (2. Jg., Heft 1), p. 16 (and fn. 26). Source cited: Document 502-1-68, pp. 115-116, from the archives of the Center for the Custody of Historical Document Collection, Moscow.
 15. Actually, the camp sewer system was, relatively speaking, an exemplary one for that period, and especially in that part of Europe.
 16. Source cited (VffG, June 1998, pp. 92 and 105, n. 32): Moscow central archives document No. 502-1-332-219.
 17. A facsimile of this document is in VffG, June 1998 (2. Jg, Heft 2), p. 91. Source cited (p. 103, n. 40, and, p. 105, n. 37): Moscow central archives document No. 502-1-332-28.
 - French researcher Jean-Claude Pressac has written that in all there were 25 Zyklon disinfestation gas chambers at Auschwitz. J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers* (1989), p. 550.
 18. Essay by D. Czech in: K. Smolen, ed., *From the History of KL Auschwitz* (Oswiecim: 1979), Vol. 2, pp. 28-36, 96-97.
 19. A. Fiderkiewicz, "Typhus and delousing in the men's camp in Birkenau," in: K. Smolen, ed., *From the History of KL Auschwitz* (1979), Vol. 2, pp. 237-256.
 20. This was the same basic technology employed in a procedure for sterilizing foods that "utilizes microwave energy and steam," which was developed in 1996 by the Göttingen Institute for Agricultural Technology.
 21. A facsimile of this document is in VffG, June 1998 (2. Jg, Heft 2), p. 95. Also, the text is quoted in part on pp. 96-97. Source cited (p. 103, n. 9, and, p. 15, n. 58): Moscow central archives document No. 502-1-19-90.
 22. J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989), pp. 384, 386. Also quoted in a review by M. Weber of this book, in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1990, p. 235.
 - Of the (supposed) homicidal gassing procedure at Auschwitz-Birkenau crematory facilities (Kremas) IV and V, Pressac writes:
 "Although the operating sequence looks simple enough, it had become [?] irrational and ridiculous. It was irrational to have victims going from the central room to the gas chambers, [and] then being brought back, thus destroying the linear logic of the initial design. It was ridiculous to have an SS man in a gas mask balancing on his short ladder with a one kg can of Zyklon B in his left hand while he opened and then closed the 30 by 40 cm shutter through which he introduced the pellets with his right hand. This performance was to be repeated six times ... A few steps installed beneath each opening would have avoided all this performance."
 23. A facsimile of this document is in VffG, June 1998 (2. Jg, Heft 2), p. 97.
 24. VffG, December 1998 (2. Jg, Heft 4), pp. 269, 271.

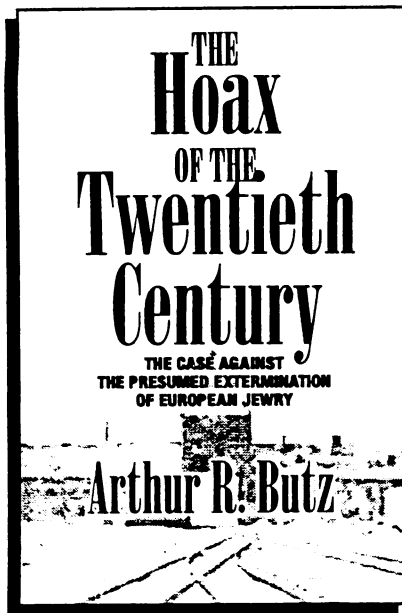
Correction

In the March-April 1999 *Journal*, two lines giving addresses at which Pedro Varela can be contacted were deleted by mistake from the bottom of page 30. Varela can be reached by mail at Librería Europa, Aptdo. de Correos 9169, Barcelona 08080, Spain, and by e-mail at lib.europa@mx3.redestb.es.

The Unsurpassed Standard Refutation

THE HOAX OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

The Case Against the Presumed Extermination of European Jewry



Yehuda Bauer and Prof. Moshe Davis agreed that there is a "recession in guilt feeling" over the Holocaust, encouraged by fresh arguments that the reported extermination of six million Jews during World War II never took place ... "You know, it's not difficult to fabricate history," Davis added.

— Chicago Sun-Times, Oct. 25, 1977

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

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

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Arthur R. Butz was born and raised in New York City.



He received his Bachelor of Science and Master of Science degrees in Electrical Engineering from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. In 1965 he received his doctorate in Control Sciences from the University of Minnesota. In 1966 he joined the faculty of Northwestern University (Evanston, Illinois), where he is now Associate Professor of Electrical and Computer

Engineering. Dr. Butz is the author of numerous technical papers. Since 1980 he has been a member of the Editorial Advisory Committee of *The Journal of Historical Review*, published by the Institute for Historical Review.

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A Century Ago

The Boer War Remembered

MARK WEBER

The Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902 was more than the first major military clash of the 20th century. Pitting as it did the might of the globe-girdling British Empire, backed by international finance, against a small pioneering nation of independent-minded farmers, ranchers and merchants in southern African who lived by the Bible and the rifle, its legacy continues to resonate today. The Boers' recourse to irregular warfare, and Britain's response in herding a hundred thousand women and children into concentration camps foreshadow the horrors of guerilla warfare and mass detention of innocents that have become emblematic of the 20th century.

The Dutch, Huguenot and German ancestors of the Boers first settled the Cape area of South Africa in 1652. After several attempts, Britain took control of it in 1814. Refusing to submit to foreign colonial rule, 10,000 Boers left the Cape area in the Great Trek of 1835-1842. The *trekkers* moved northwards, first to Natal and then to the interior highlands where they set up two independent republics, the Orange Free State and the South African (Transvaal) Republic. The Boers (Dutch: "farmers") worked hard to build a new life for themselves. But they also had to fight to keep their fledgling republics free of British encroachment and safe from native African attacks.

Their great leader was Paul Kruger, an imposing, passionate and deeply religious man. The bearded, patriarchal figure was beloved by his people, who affectionately referred to him as "Oom Paul" (Uncle Paul). Born into a relatively well-to-do Cape colony farming family in 1825, he took part as a boy in the Great Trek. He married at the age of 17, became a widower at 21, remarried twice, and fathered 16 children. With just a few months of schooling, his reading was confined almost entirely

to the Bible. He was an avid hunter, an expert horseman, and an able swimmer and diver.

Over his lifetime, Kruger repeatedly proved his courage and resourcefulness in numerous pitched military engagements. When he was 14 he fought in his first battle, a commando raid against Matabele regiments, and also shot his first lion. While in his twenties he took part in two major battles against native black forces.

Four times he was elected President of the Transvaal republic. His courage, honesty and devotion helped greatly to sustain the morale of his people during the hard years of conflict. A contemporary observer described Kruger as a "natural orator; rugged in speech, lacking in measured phrase and in logical balance; but passionate and convincing in the unaffected pleading of his earnestness."¹

Gold and Diamonds

The discovery of gold at Witwatersrand in the Transvaal in 1886 ended Boer seclusion, and brought a mortal threat to the young nation's dream of freedom from alien rule. Like a magnet, the land's rich gold deposits drew waves of foreign adventurers and speculators, whom the Boers called "*uitlanders*" ("outlanders"). By 1896 the population of Johannesburg had grown to more than a hundred thousand. Of the 50,000 white residents, only 6,205 were citizens.²

As often happens in history, important aspects of the Anglo-Boer conflict came to light only years after the fighting had ended. In a masterful 1979 study, *The Boer War*, British historian Thomas Pakenham revealed previously unknown details about the conspiracy of British colonial officials and Jewish financiers to plunge South Africa into war. The men who flocked to South Africa in search of wealth included Cecil Rhodes, the renowned English capitalist and imperial visionary, and a collection of ambitious Jews who, together with him, were to play a decisive role in fomenting the Boer war.

Barney Barnato, a dapper, vulgar fellow from London's East End (born Barnett Isaacs), was one of the first of many Jews who have played a major role in South African affairs. Through pluck and shrewd maneuvering, by 1887 he presided over an enor-

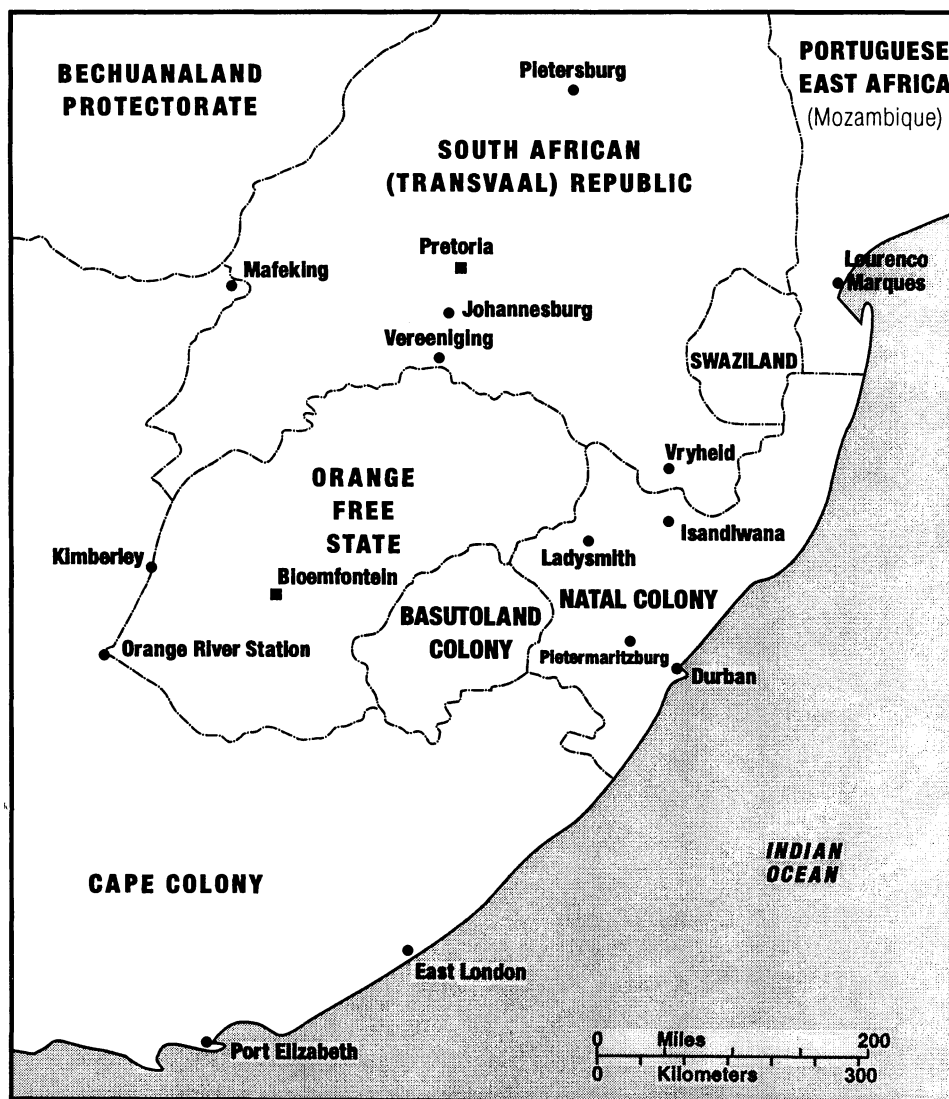
Mark Weber, director of the Institute for Historical Review, was born and raised in Portland, Oregon. He was educated at Portland State University, the University of Illinois (Chicago), the University of Munich, and Indiana University (Bloomington). He has been editor of *The Journal for Historical Review* since April 1992. This essay is a revision and expansion of an essay that was first published in the Fall 1980 *Journal*.

mous South African financial-business empire of diamonds and gold. In 1888 he joined with his chief rival, Cecil Rhodes, who was backed by the Rothschild family of European financiers, in running the De Beers empire, which controlled all South African diamond production, and thereby 90 percent of the world's diamond output, as well as a large share of the world's gold production.³ (In the 20th century, the De Beers diamond cartel came under the control of a German-Jewish dynasty, the Oppenheims, who also controlled its gold-mining twin, the Anglo-American Corporation. With its virtual world monopoly on diamond production and distribution, and grip on a large part of the world's gold production, the billionaire family has ruled a financial empire of unmatched global importance. It also controlled influential newspapers in South Africa. So great was the Oppenheims' power and influence in South Africa that it rivaled that of the formal government.)⁴

In the 1890s the most powerful South African financial house was Wernher, Beit & Co., which was controlled and run by a Jewish speculator from Germany named Alfred Beit. Rhodes relied heavily on support from Beit, whose close ties to the Rothschilds and the Dresdner Bank made it possible for the ambitious Englishman to acquire and consolidate his great financial-business empire.⁵

As historian Pakenham has noted, the "secret allies" of Alfred Milner, the British High Commissioner for South Africa, were "the London 'gold-bugs' — especially the financiers of the largest of all the Rand mining houses, Wernher-Beit." Pakenham continued: "Alfred Beit was the giant — a giant who bestrode the world's gold market like a gnome. He was short, plump and bald, with large, pale, luminous eyes and a nervous way of tugging at his grey moustache."⁶

Beit and Lionel Phillips, a Jewish millionaire



from England, together controlled H. Eckstein & Co., the largest South African mining syndicate. Of the six largest mining companies, four were controlled by Jews.⁷

By 1894, Beit and Phillips were conspiring behind the backs of Briton and Boer alike to "improve" the Transvaal *Volksraad* (parliament) with tens of thousands of pounds in bribe money. In one case, Beit and Phillips spent 25,000 pounds to arrange settlement of an important issue before the assembly.⁸

The Jameson Raid

On December 29, 1895, a band of 500 British adventurers forcibly tried to seize control of the Boer republics in an "unofficial" armed takeover. Rhodes, who was then also prime minister of the British-ruled Cape Colony, organized the venture, which Alfred Beit financed to the tune of 200,000 pounds. Phillips also joined the conspiracy. Accord-



Paul Kruger, Boer leader and President of the Transvaal Republic.

ing to their plan, raiders led by Sir Leander Starr Jameson, a close personal friend of Rhodes, would dash from neighboring British territory into Johannesburg to "defend" the British "outlanders" there who, by secret prior arrangement, would simultaneously seize control of the city in the name of the "oppressed" aliens, and proclaim themselves the new government of Transvaal. In a letter about the plan written four months before the raid, Rhodes confided to Beit: "Johannesburg is ready ... [this is] the big idea which makes England dominant in Africa, in fact gives England the African continent."⁹

Rhodes, Beit and Jameson counted on the secret backing in London of the new Colonial Secretary, Joseph Chamberlain (father of future Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain). Upon taking office in the administration of Prime Minister Salisbury, Chamberlain proudly proclaimed his arch-imperialist sentiments: "I believe in the British Empire, and I believe in the British race. I believe that the British race is the greatest of governing races that the world has ever seen." Clandestinely Chamberlain

provided the conspirators with rifles, and made available to them a tract of land as a staging area for the attack.¹⁰

After 21 men lost their lives in the takeover attempt, Jameson and his fellow raiders were captured and put on trial. In Johannesburg, Transvaal authorities arrested Phillips for his part in organizing the raid. They found incriminating secret correspondence between him and co-conspirators Beit and Rhodes, which encouraged Phillips to confess his guilt. A Transvaal court leniently sentenced Jameson to 15 months imprisonment. Phillips was sentenced to death, but this was quickly commuted to a fine of 25,000 pounds. (Later, after returning to Britain, the financier was knighted for his services to the Empire, and during the First World War was given a high post in the Ministry of Munitions.)

Although it proved a fiasco, the Jameson raid convinced the Boers that the British were determined, even at the cost of human lives, to rob them of their hard-won freedom. The blood of those who died in the abortive raid also figuratively baptized the alliance of Jewish finance and British imperialism.¹¹

Jan Christiann Smuts, the brilliant young Boer leader who would one day be Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, later reflected: "The Jameson Raid was the real declaration of war in the Great Anglo-Boer conflict ... And that is so in spite of the four years truce that followed ... [the] aggressors consolidated their alliance ... the defenders on the other hand silently and grimly prepared for the inevitable."¹²

Preparing for War

Undaunted by the Jameson Raid disaster, British High Commissioner Milner, with crucial "gold bug" backing, began secretly to foment a full-scale war to drag the Boer lands into the Empire. While publicly preparing to "negotiate" with President Kruger over the status of the "uitlanders," Milner was secretly confiding his intention to "screw" the Boers. At their May-June 1899 meeting, he demanded of Kruger an "immediate voice" for the flood of foreigners who had poured into the Transvaal republic in recent years. As the talks inevitably broke down, Kruger angrily declared: "It is our country you want!"

Even as the "negotiations" were underway, Wernher, Beit & Co. was secretly financing an "outlander" army of 1,500, which eventually grew to 10,000. As Thomas Pakenham has noted: "The gold-bugs, contrary to the accepted view of later historians, were thus active partners with Milner in the making of the war."¹³

Horatio Herbert Kitchener, the illustrious warlord who commanded British forces in South Africa,

1900-1902, later privately acknowledged that a major factor in the conflict was that the Boers were "afraid of getting into the hands of certain Jews who no doubt wield great influence in the country."¹⁴

For Britain's leaders, bringing the Boer republics under imperial rule seemed entirely logical and virtually pre-ordained. On the prevailing mind-set in London, historian Pakenham has written:¹⁵

The independence of a Boer republic, bursting with gold and bristling with imported rifles, threatened Britain's status as a "paramount" power. British paramountcy (alias supremacy) was not a concept in international law. But most of the British thought it made practical sense ... Boer independence seemed worse than absurd; it was dangerous for world peace ... The solution seemed to be to wrap the whole of South Africa in the Union Jack, to make the whole country a British dominion ...

Most of Britain's leading newspapers pushed for war. This was especially true of the Jewish-owned or Jewish-controlled press, which included the influential conservative organ, *The Daily Telegraph*, owned by Lord Burnham (born Edward Levy), Oppenheim's *Daily News*, Marks' *Evening News*, and Steinkopf's *St. James Gazette*.¹⁶

Reflecting the official consensus in London, on August 26, 1899, Chamberlain delivered an uncompromising speech directed against the Boers, and two days later sent a threatening dispatch to Kruger. The British Colonial Secretary was, in effect, asking the Boers to surrender their sovereignty. In preparation for war against the republics, the Salisbury government resolved on September 8 to send an additional 10,000 troops to South Africa. When the Boer leaders learned a short time later that London was preparing a force of 47,000 men to invade their lands, the two republics jointly began in earnest to ready their own troops and weapons for battle.

With war now imminent, and Boer patience now exhausted, Kruger and his government issued an ultimatum on October 9, 1899. Tantamount to a declaration of war, it demanded the withdrawal of British forces and the arbitration of all points of disagreement. Two days later, after Britain had let the ultimatum expire, the war was on.

A People's War

Boer men were citizen-soldiers. By law, all males in the two republics between the ages of 16 and 60 were eligible for war service. In the Transvaal, every male burgher was required to have a rifle and ammunition. At a military parade held in Pretoria, the Transvaal capital, on October 10, 1899, in honor



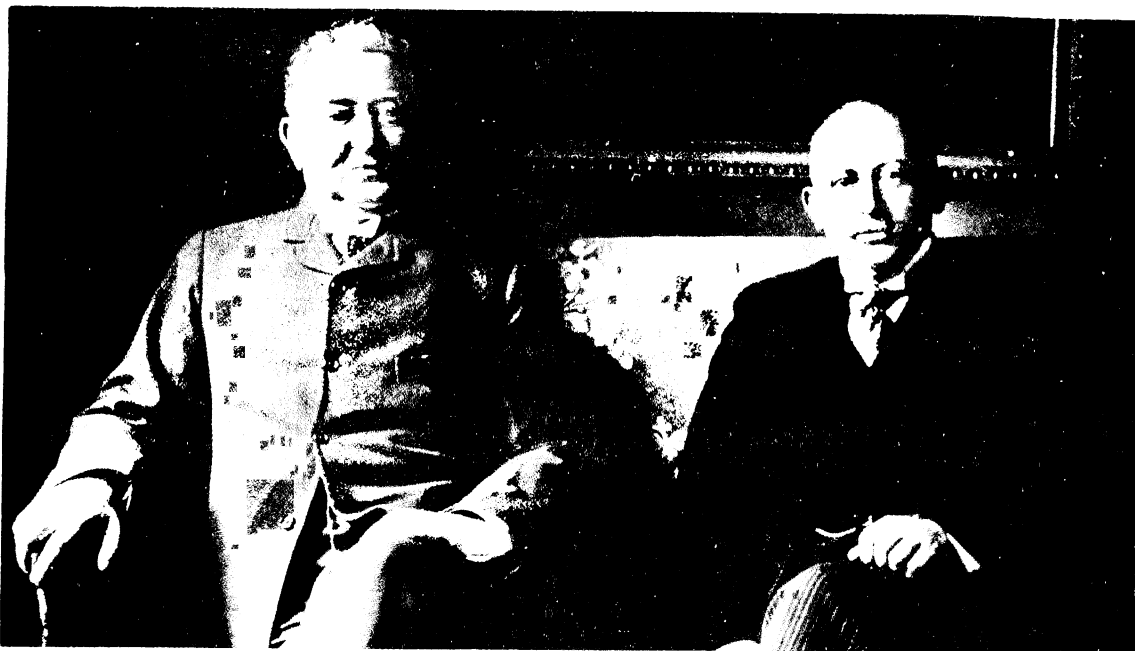
Barney Barnato

of Kruger's 74th birthday, ranchers from the *bushveld*, clerks and solicitors from the cities, and other battle-ready citizens rode or marched past their leader. Joining them were foreign volunteer fighters who had rallied to the Boer cause, including a thousand Dutchmen and Germans, and a contingent of a hundred Irishmen (including a youthful John MacBride, who was executed 17 years later for his role in the Dublin Easter Uprising).¹⁷

Even as they prepared to face the might of the world's foremost imperial power, the Boers were confident and determined. Although outnumbered, their morale was good. They were fighting for their land, their freedom and their way of life — and on familiar home territory. As British historian Phillip Knightley has written:¹⁸

The Boer, neither completely civilian nor completely a soldier, alternating between tending his farm and fighting the British, lightly armed with an accurate repeating rifle, mobile, able to live for long periods on strips of dried meat and a little water, drawing on the hidden support of his countrymen, unafraid to flee when the battle was not in his favor, choosing his ground and his time for attack, was more than a match for any regular army, no matter what his strength.

Boer fighters were also chivalrous in combat. A few years after the end of the war, when passions



Cecil Rhodes (left) and Alfred Beit: the "gold-bugs."

had cooled somewhat, the London *Times*' history of the war conceded:¹⁹

In the moment of their triumph the Boers behaved with the same unaffected kindheartedness ... which they displayed after most of their victories. Although exultant they were not insulting. They fetched water and blankets for the wounded and treated prisoners with every consideration.

Although the Boers scored some impressive initial battlefield victories, the numerically superior British forces soon gained the upper hand. But even the capture of their main towns and rail lines did not bring the Boers to capitulate. Boer "commandos," outnumbered about four to one but supported by the people, launched a guerilla campaign against the invaders. Striking without warning, they kept the enemy from totally subjugating the land and its people.

Mounted on horseback, the Boer "commando" fighter didn't look anything like a typical soldier. Usually with a long beard, he wore rough farming clothes and a wide-brimmed hat, and slung belts of bullets over both shoulders.

'Methods of Barbarism'

Lord Kitchener, the new British commander, adopted tactics to "clean up" a war that many in Britain had considered already won. In waging ruthless war against an entire people, he ordered his troops to destroy livestock and crops, burn down

farms, and herd women and children into "camps of refuge." Reports about these grim internment centers, which were soon called concentration camps, shocked the western world.

Britain's new style of waging war was summarized in a report made in January 1902 by Jan Smuts, the 31-year-old Boer general (and future South African prime minister):

Lord Kitchener has begun to carry out a policy in both [Boer] republics of unbelievable barbarism and gruesomeness which violates the most elementary principles of the international rules of war.

Almost all farmsteads and villages in both republics have been burned down and destroyed. All crops have been destroyed. All livestock which has fallen into the hands of the enemy has been killed or slaughtered.

The basic principle behind Lord Kitchener's tactics has been to win, not so much through direct operations against fighting commandos, but rather indirectly by bringing the pressure of war against defenseless women and children.

... This violation of every international law is really very characteristic of the nation which always plays the role of chosen judge over the customs and behavior of all other nations.

Shooting Prisoners

John Dillon, an Irish nationalist Member of Parliament, spoke out against the British policy of



Boer guerilla leader General Jan Smuts with his commando unit while operating against the British in the Cape Colony. Smuts later became prime minister of unified South Africa.

shooting Boer prisoners of war. On February 26, 1901, he made public a letter by a British officer in the field:

The orders in this district from Lord Kitchener are to burn and destroy all provisions, forage, etc., and seize cattle, horses, and stock of all sorts wherever found, and to leave no food in the houses of the inhabitants. And the word has been passed round privately that no prisoners are to be taken. That is, all the men found fighting are to be shot. This order was given to me personally by a general, one of the highest in rank in South Africa. So there is no mistake about it. The instructions given to the columns closing round De Wet north of the Orange River are that all men are to be shot so that no tales may be told. Also, the troops are told to loot freely from every house, whether the men belonging to the house are fighting or not.

Dillon read from another letter by a soldier that had been published in the *Liverpool Courier*: "Lord

Kitchener has issued orders that no man has to bring in any Boer prisoners. If he does, he has to give him half his rations for the prisoner's keep." Dillon quoted a third letter by a soldier serving with the Royal Welsh Regiment and published in the *Wolverhampton Express and Star*: "We take no prisoners now ... There happened to be a few wounded Boers left. We put them through the mill. Every one was killed."

On January 20, 1902, John Dillon once again expressed his outrage in the House of Commons against Britain's "wholesale violation of one of the best recognized usages of modern war, which forbids you to desolate or devastate the country of the enemy and destroy the food supply on such a scale as to reduce non-combatants to starvation." "What would have been said by civilized mankind," Dillon asked, "if Germany on her march on Paris [in 1870] had turned the whole country into a howling wilderness and concentrated the French women and children into camps where they died in thousands? All civilized Europe would have rushed in to the rescue."²⁰



British Commander-in-Chief Herbert Kitchener's "scorched earth" policies against the Boers included burning their farmsteads, destruction of their crops and livestock, and herding their women and children into concentration camps.

Arming the Natives

Defying the prevailing racial sensibilities of the period, General Kitchener supplied rifles to native black Africans to fight the white Boers. Eventually the British armed at least 10,000 blacks, although the policy was kept secret for fear of offending white public opinion, especially back home. As it happens, the blacks proved to be poor soldiers, and in many cases they murdered defenseless Boer women and children across the countryside. The fate of the Boer women and children who escaped the hell of the internment camps was therefore often more terrible than that of those who did not.

In his January 1902 report, General Smuts described how the British recruited black Africans:

In the Cape Colony the uncivilized Blacks have been told that if the Boers win, slavery will be brought back in the Cape Colony. They have been promised Boer property and farmsteads if they will join the English; that the Boers will have to work for the Blacks, and that they will be able to marry Boer women.

Arming the blacks, Smuts said, "represents the greatest crime which has ever been perpetrated against the White race in South Africa." Boer commando leader Jan Kemp similarly complained that the war was being fought "contrary to civilized warfare on account of it being carried on in a great measure with Kaffirs."²¹ The arming of native blacks was a major reason cited by the Boer leaders for finally giving up the struggle:²²

... The Kaffir tribes, within and without the frontiers of the territories of the two republics, are mostly armed and are taking part in the war against us, and through the committing of murders and all sorts of cruelties have caused and unbearable condition of affairs in many districts of both republics.

Concentration Camps

Britain's internment centers in South Africa soon became known as concentration camps, a term adapted from the *reconcentrado* camps that Spanish authorities in Cuba had set up to hold insurgents.²³

A crusading 41-year-old English spinster, Emily Hobhouse, visited the South Africa camps and, armed with this first-hand knowledge, alerted the world to their horrors. She told of internees "... deprived of clothes ... the semi-starvation in the camps ... the fever-stricken children lying... upon the bare earth ... the appalling mortality." She also reported seeing open trucks full of women and children, exposed to the icy rain of the plains, sometimes left on railroad siding for days at a time, without food or shelter. "In some camps," Hobhouse told lecture audiences and newspaper readers back in England, "two and sometimes three different families live in one tent. Ten and even twelve persons are forced into a single tent." Most had to sleep on the ground. "These people will never ever forget what has happened," She also declared. "The children have been the hardest hit. They wither in the terrible heat and as a result of insufficient and improper nourishment ... To maintain this kind of camp means nothing less than murdering children."²⁴

In a report to members of Parliament, Hobhouse described conditions in one camp she had visited:²⁵

... A six month old baby [is] gasping its life out on its mother's knee. Next [tent]: a child recovering from measles sent back from hospital before it could walk, stretched on the ground white and wan. Next a girl of 21 lay dying on a stretcher. The father ... kneeling beside her, while his wife was watching a child of six also dying and one of about five drooping. Already this couple had lost three children.

Hobhouse found that none of their hardships would shake the Boer women's determination, not even seeing their own hungry children die before their eyes. They "never express," she wrote, "a wish that their men must give way. It must be fought out now, they think, to the bitter end."

Deadly epidemics — typhoid, dysentery and (for children) measles — broke out in the camps and spread rapidly. During one three week period, an epidemic at the camp at Brandfort killed nearly a tenth of the entire inmate population. In the Mafeking camp, at one point there were 400 deaths a month, most of them caused by typhoid, which worked out to an annual death rate of 173 percent.

Altogether the British held 116,572 Boers in their South African internment camps — that is, about a fourth of the entire Boer population — nearly all of them women and children. After the war, an official government report concluded that 27,927 Boers had died in the camps — victims of disease, undernourishment and exposure. Of these, 26,251 were women and children, of whom 22,074 were children under the age of 16. Among the nearly 115,000 black Africans who were also interned in the British camps, nearly all of whom were tenant workers and servants of the better-off Boers, it is estimated that more than 12,000 died.²⁶

After meeting with Hobhouse, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, leader of the Liberal Party opposition (and future Prime Minister), publicly declared: "When is a war not a war? When it is waged by methods of barbarism in South Africa." This memorable phrase — "methods of barbarism" — quickly became widely quoted, provoking both warm praise and angry condemnation.²⁷

Most Englishmen, who supported their government's war policy, did not wish to hear such talk. Echoing the widespread sentiment in favor of the war, the London *Times* editorialized that Campbell-Bannerman's remarks were irresponsible, if not subversive. The influential paper's reasoning reflected the prevailing "my country, right or wrong" attitude. "When a nation is committed to a serious struggle in which its position in the world is at stake," the *Times* told its readers, "it is the duty of every citizen, no matter what his opinion about the



Courtroom scene from the 1980 Australian film "Breaker Morant," which highlighted the British policy of shooting Boer prisoners during the war in South Africa. The film dramatized the case of several Australians serving with the Bush Veldt Carbineers, a special "anti-commando" unit, who were tried and executed in February 1902 for having shot twelve Boer prisoners. In the award-winning film, Edward Woodward played the role of Lt. "Breaker" Morant.

political quarrel, to abstain at the very least from hampering and impeding the policy of his country, if he cannot lend his active support."²⁸

David Lloyd George, an MP who would later serve as his country's Prime Minister during the First World War, accused the British authorities of pursuing "a policy of extermination" against women and children. Granted, it was not a direct policy, he said, but it was one that was having that effect. "... The war is an outrage perpetrated in the name of human freedom," Lloyd George protested. He also expressed concern over the impact of these cruel policies on Britain's long-term interests:²⁹

When children are being treated in this way and dying, we are simply ranging the deepest passions of the human heart against British rule in Africa.... It will always be remembered that this is the way British rule started there [in the Boer republics], and this is the method by which it was brought about.

During a speech in Parliament on February 18, 1901, David Lloyd George quoted from a letter by a British officer: "We move from valley to valley, lifting cattle and sheep, burning and looting, and turning out women and children to weep in despair



Emily Hobhouse

beside the ruin of their once beautiful homesteads." Lloyd George commented: "It is a war not against men, but against women and children."³⁰

"The conscience of Britain," historian Thomas Pakenham later observed, "was stirred by the holocaust in the camps, just as the conscience of America was stirred by the holocaust in Vietnam." It was largely as a result of public outrage in Britain over conditions in the camps — for which Emily Hobhouse deserves much of the credit — that measures were eventually taken that sharply reduced the death rate.³¹

Propaganda

In this war, as in so many others, propagandists churned out a stream of malicious lies to generate popular backing for the aggression and killing. British newspapers, churchmen and war correspondents invented hundreds of fake atrocity stories that portrayed the Boers as treacherous and arrogant brutes. These included numerous shocking claims alleging that Boer soldiers massacred pro-British civilians, that Boer civilians murdered British soldiers, and that Boers executed fellow-Boers who wanted to surrender. "There was virtually no limit to such invention," historian Phillip Knightley has noted.

A widely shown newsreel film purported to show Boers attacking a Red Cross tent while British doctors and nurses treat the wounded. Actually this fake had been shot with actors on Hampstead Heath, a suburb of London.³²

Exposing the War-Makers

In the United States, as in most of Europe, public interest in the conflict was keen. Although public sentiment in these countries was largely pro-Boer and anti-British, the government leaders — fearful of the adverse consequences of defying Britain — were publicly pro-British, or at least studiously neutral.

William Jennings Bryan, Andrew Carnegie and many other Americans were embarrassed by the striking parallel between US and British policy of the day: just as Britain was forcibly subduing the Boers in southern Africa, American troops were brutally suppressing native fighters for independence in the newly-acquired Philippines. Echoing a widespread American sentiment of the day, Mark Twain declared: "I think that England sinned when she got herself into a war in South Africa which she could have avoided, just as we have sinned in getting into a similar war in the Philippines." In spite of such sentiment, the government of President McKinley and the jingoistic newspapers of William Randolph Hearst sided with Britain.³³

But even in Britain itself, there was considerable opposition to the war. In the House of Commons, Liberal MP Philip Stanhope (later Baron Weardale) introduced a resolution expressing disapproval of Britain's military campaign against the Boer republics. In tracing the war's origins, he said:³⁴

Accordingly, the [pro-British] South African League was formed, and Mr. Rhodes and his associates — generally of the German Jew extraction — found money in thousands for its propaganda. By this league in [British] South Africa and here [in Britain] they have poisoned the wells of public knowledge. Money has been lavished in the London world and in the press, and the result has been that little by little public opinion has been wrought up and inflamed, and now, instead of finding the English people dealing with this matter in a truly English spirit, we are dealing with it in a spirit which generations to come will condemn ...

Opposition in Britain to the war came especially from the political left. The Social Democratic Federation (SDF), led by Henry M. Hyndman, was especially outspoken. *Justice*, the SDF weekly, had already warned its readers in 1896 that "Beit, Barnato and their fellow-Jews" were aiming for "an Anglo-Hebraic Empire in Africa stretching from Egypt to Cape Colony," designed to swell their "overgrown fortunes." Since 1890, the SDF had repeatedly cautioned against the pernicious influence of "capitalist Jews on the London press." When war broke out in 1899, *Justice* declared that the "Semitic

lords of the press" had successfully propagandized Britain into a "criminal war of aggression."³⁵

Opposition to the war was similarly strong in the British labor movement. In September 1900, the Trades Union Congress passed a resolution condemning the Anglo-Boer war as one designed "to secure the gold fields of South Africa for cosmopolitan Jews, most of whom had no patriotism and no country."³⁶

No member of the House of Commons spoke out more vigorously against the war than John Burns, Labour MP for Battersea. The former SDF member had gained national prominence as a staunch defender of the British workingman during his leadership of the dockworkers' strike of 1889. "Wherever we examine, there is the financial Jew," Burns declared in the House on February 6, 1900, "operating, directing, inspiring the agencies that have led to this war."

"The trail of the financial serpent is over this war from beginning to end." The British army, Burns said, had traditionally been the "Sir Galahad of History." But in Africa it had become the "janissary of the Jews."³⁷

Burns was a legendary fighter for the rights of the British worker, a tireless champion of environmental reform, women's rights and improved municipal services. Even Cecil Rhodes had referred to him as "the most eloquent leader of the British democracy." It was not merely the Jewish role in Capitalism that alarmed Burns. To his diary he once confided that "the undoing of England is within the confines of our afternoon journey amongst the Jews" of East London.³⁸

Irish nationalist Members of Parliament had special reason to sympathize with the Boers, whom they regarded — like the people of Ireland — as fellow victims of British duplicity and oppression. One Irish MP, Michael Davitt, even resigned his seat in the House of Commons in "personal and political protest against a war which I believe to be the greatest infamy of the nineteenth century."³⁹

One of the most influential campaigners against the "Jew-imperialist design" in South Africa was John A. Hobson (1858-1940), a prominent journalist and economist.⁴⁰ In 1899 the *Manchester Guardian* sent him to South Africa to report first-hand for its readers on the situation there. During his three month investigation, Hobson became convinced that a small group of Jewish "Randlords" was essentially responsible for the strife and conflict.⁴¹

In a *Guardian* article dispatched from Johannesburg just a few weeks before the outbreak of the war, he told readers of the influential liberal daily:⁴²

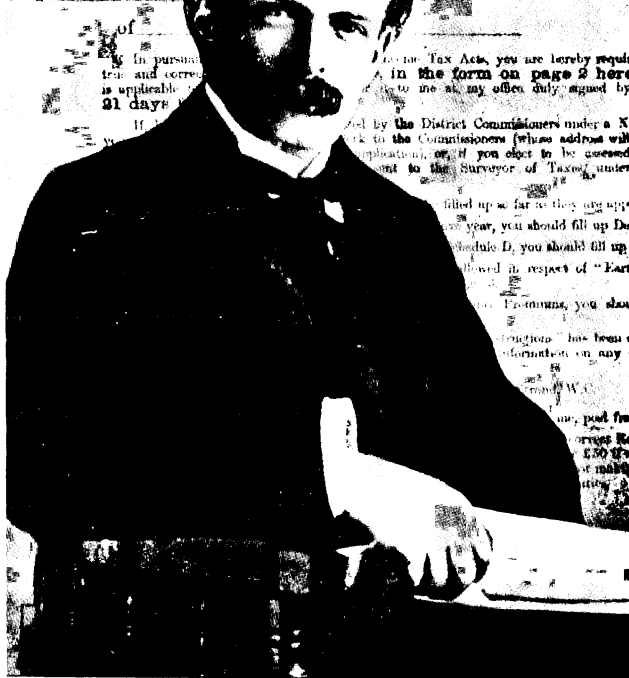
In Johannesburg the Boer population is a mere handful of officials and their families, some five

No 11

INCOME TAX
RETURN FOR ANNUAL INCOME UNDER SCHEDULE

April, 1909.

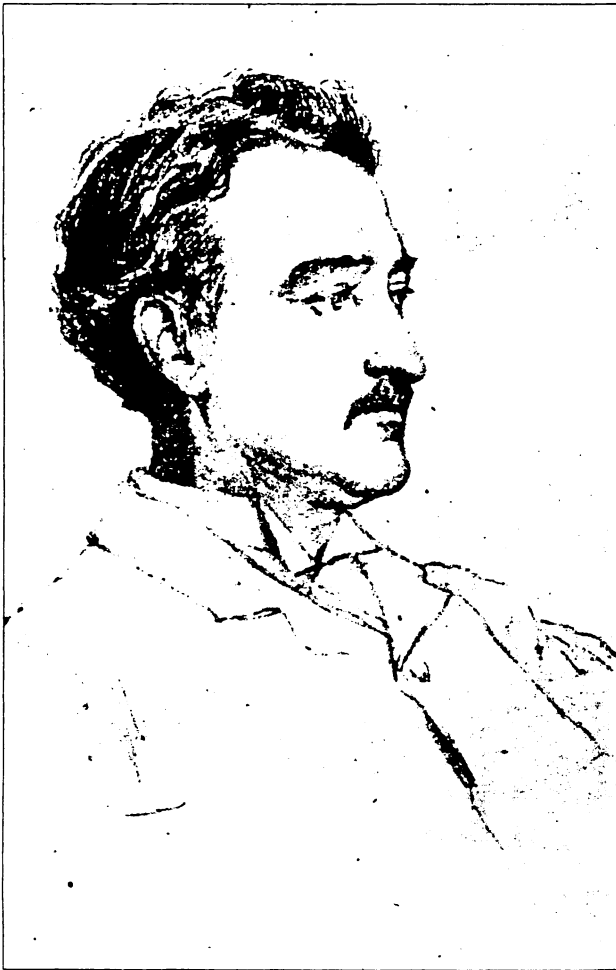
To



David Lloyd George, an influential Member of Parliament who would later serve as his country's Prime Minister during the First World War, accused Britain of waging a "war of extermination" against Boer women and children.

thousand of the population; the rest is about evenly divided between white settlers, mostly from Great Britain, and the [native black] Kaf-firs, who are everywhere in White Man's Africa the hewers of wood and the drawers of water.

The town is in some respects dominantly and even aggressively British, but British with a difference which it takes some little time to understand. That difference is due to the Jewish factor. If one takes the recent figures of the census, there appears to be less than seven thousand Jews in Johannesburg, but the experience of the street rapidly exposes this fallacy of figures. The shop fronts and business houses, the market place, the saloons, the "stoops" of the smart suburban houses and sufficient to convince one of the large presence of the chosen people. If any doubt remains, a walk outside the Exchange, where in the streets, "between the chains," the financial side of the gold business is transacted, will dispel it.



At the age of 23, Cecil Rhodes wrote of his great goal: "Why should we not form a secret society with but one object, the furtherance of the British Empire and the bringing of the whole uncivilized world under British rule, for the recovery of the United States, for the making the Anglo-Saxon race but one Empire? What a dream, but yet it is probable, it is possible." (Source: A. Thomas, *Rhodes*, 1997, p. 6.)

So far as wealth and power and even numbers are concerned Johannesburg is essentially a Jewish town. Most of these Jews figure as British subjects, though many are in fact German and Russian Jews who have come to Africa after a brief sojourn in England. The rich, rigorous, and energetic financial and commercial families are chiefly English Jews, not a few of whom here, as elsewhere, have Anglicised their names after true parasitic fashion. I lay stress on this fact because, though everyone knows the Jews are strong, their real strength here is much underestimated. Though figures are so misleading, it is worth while to mention that the directory of Johannesburg shows 68

Cohens against 21 Joneses and 53 Browns.

The Jews take little active part in the Outlander agitation; they let others do that sort of work. But since half of the land and nine-tenths of the wealth of the Transvaal claimed for the Outlander are chiefly theirs, they will be chief gainers by an settlement advantageous to the Outlander.

In an influential book published in 1900, *The War in South Africa*, Hobson warned and admonished his fellow countrymen:⁴³

We are fighting in order to place a small international oligarchy of mine-owners and speculators in power at Pretoria. Englishmen will surely do well to recognize that the economic and political destinies of South Africa are, and seem likely to remain, in the hands of men most of whom are foreigners by origin, whose trade is finance, and whose trade interests are not chiefly British.

Anti-imperialist and working-class circles acclaimed Hobson's widely read work. Commenting on it, the weekly *Labour Leader*, semi-official organ of the Independent Labour Party, noted: "Modern imperialism is really run by half a dozen financial houses, many of them Jewish, to whom politics is a counter in the game of buying and selling securities."⁴⁴ In a January 1900 essay, *Labour Leader* editor (and MP) J. Keir Hardie told readers:⁴⁵

The war is a capitalist war, begotten by capitalists' money, lied into being by a perjured mercenary capitalist press, and fathered by unscrupulous politicians, themselves the merest tools of the capitalists ... As Socialists, our sympathies are bound to be with the Boers. Their Republican form of Government bespeaks freedom, and is thus hateful to tyrants ...

Defeat

As the year 1900 drew to a close, British forces held the major Boer towns, including the capitals of the two republics, as well as the main Boer railway lines. Paul Kruger, the man who personified his people's resistance to alien rule, had been forced into exile. By the end of 1901, the Boers' military forces had been reduced to some 25,000 men in the field, deployed in scattered and largely un-coordinated commando units. The hard-pressed defenders had only a shadow of a central government.

In the spring of 1902, with their land almost entirely under enemy occupation, and their remaining fighters threatened with annihilation and mili-

tarily outnumbered six to one, the Boers sued for peace. On May 31, 1902, their leaders concluded 33 months of heroic struggle against greatly superior forces by signing a treaty that recognized King Edward VII as their sovereign. President Kruger learned of the surrender while living in European exile, far from his beloved homeland. After devoting his life to his cherished dream of a self-reliant white people's republic, he died in 1904 in Switzerland, a blind and broken man.

Conclusion

When the fighting began in October 1899, the British confidently expected their troops to victoriously conclude the conflict by Christmas. But this actually proved to be the longest, costliest, bloodiest and most humiliating war fought by Britain between 1815 and 1914. Even though the military forces mobilized in South Africa by the world's greatest imperial power outnumbered the Boer fighters by nearly five to one, they required almost three years to completely subdue the tough pioneer people of fewer than half a million.

Britain deployed some 336,000 imperial and 83,000 colonial troops — or 448,000 altogether. Of this force, 22,000 found a grave in South Africa, 14,000 of them succumbing to sickness. For their part, the two Boer republics were able to mobilize 87,360 fighters, a force that included 2,120 foreign volunteers and 13,300 Boer-related Afrikaners from the British-ruled Cape and Natal provinces. In addition to the more than 7,000 Boer fighters who lost their lives, some 28,000 Boers perished in the British concentration camps — nearly all of them women and children.⁴⁶

The war's non-human costs were similarly appalling. As part of Kitchener's "scorched-earth" campaign, British troops wrought terrible destruction throughout the rural Boer areas, especially in the Orange Free State. Outside of the largest towns, hardly a building was left intact. Perhaps a tenth of the prewar horses, cows and other farm stock remained. In much of the Boer lands, no crops had been sown for two years.⁴⁷

Even by the standards of the time (and certainly by those of today), British political and military leaders committed frightful war crimes and crimes against humanity against the Boers of South Africa — crimes for which no one was ever brought to account. General Kitchener, for one, was never punished for introducing measures that even a future prime minister called "methods of barbarism." To the contrary, after concluding his South African service he was named a viscount and a field marshal, and then, at the outbreak of the First World War, was appointed Secretary of War. Upon his death in 1916, he was remembered not as a criminal, but



Sir Alfred Milner, British High Commissioner for South Africa.

rather idolized as a personification of British virtue and rectitude.⁴⁸

In a sense, the Anglo-Boer conflict was less a war between combatants than a military campaign against civilians. The number of Boer women and children who perished in the concentration camps was four times as large as the number of Boer fighting men who died (of all causes) during the war. In fact, more children under the age of 16 perished in the British camps than men were killed in action on both sides.

The boundless greed of the Jewish "gold bugs" coincided with the imperialistic aims of British Colonial Secretary Joseph Chamberlain, the dreams of gold and diamond baron Cecil Rhodes, and the political ambitions of Alfred Milner. On the altar of their avarice and ambition, they sacrificed the lives of some 30,000 people who wanted only to live in freedom, as well as 22,000 young men of Britain and her dominions.

At its core, Britain's leaders were willing to sacrifice the lives of many of her own sons, and to kill

men, women and children in a far-away continent, to add to the wealth and power of an already immensely wealthy and powerful worldwide empire. Few wars during the past one hundred years were as avoidable, or as patently crass in motivation as was the South African War of 1899-1902.

Notes

1. M. Davitt, *The Boer Fight For Freedom*, p. 425. See also: A. Thomas, *Rhodes*, pp. 143-144; F. Welsh, *South Africa: A Narrative History*, p. 303; "Kruger, Stephanus Johannes Paulus," *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Chicago), 1957 edition, vol. 13, pp. 506-507.
2. F. Welsh, *South Africa: A Narrative History*, p. 302.
3. A. Thomas, *Rhodes*, pp. 172-181; Reader's Digest Association, *Illustrated History of South Africa*, p. 174; See also S. Kanfer, *The Last Empire*, esp. pp. 96, 101-111.
4. See S. Kanfer, *The Last Empire*.
5. J. Flint, *Cecil Rhodes*, pp. 86-93. See also: P. Emden, *Randlords* (1935).
6. T. Pakenham, *The Boer War*, pp. 86-87.
7. G. Saron and L. Hotz, eds., *The Jews in South Africa*, pp. 193-194.
8. *Report of the Select Committee of the Cape of Good Hope House of Assembly on the Jameson Raid* (1897), pp. 165, 167.
9. T. Pakenham, *The Boer War*, pp. xxv, 87, 121; A. Thomas, *Rhodes*, p. 284.
10. A. Thomas, *Rhodes*, pp. 284-304; S. Kanfer, *The Last Empire*, pp. 129-131; Chamberlain's speech of Nov. 11, 1895, is also quoted in: Robin W. Winks, ed., *British Imperialism* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967), p. 80.
11. G. Saron & L. Hotz, eds., *The Jews in South Africa* (1955), pp. 193-194; *Second Report from the Select Committee on British South Africa* (1897), p. vii.
12. T. Pakenham, *The Boer War*, p. 1. Also quoted in: A. Thomas, *Rhodes*, p. 337.
13. T. Pakenham, *The Boer War*, p. 88.
14. T. Pakenham, *The Boer War*, p. 518.
15. T. Pakenham, *Scramble*, p. 558.
16. Claire Hirshfield, "The Boer War and the Issue of Jewish Responsibility" (1978), p. 4.
17. T. Pakenham, *The Boer War*, pp. 90-92, 103, 104, 107.
18. P. Knightley, *The First Casualty* (1976), pp. 77-78.
19. Quoted in: Phillip Knightley, *The First Casualty*, p. 75.
20. W. Ziegler, ed., *Ein Dokumentenwerk Über die Englische Humanität* (1940), p. 199.
21. Reader's Digest Association, *Illustrated History of South Africa*, p. 246.
22. Reader's Digest Association, *Illustrated History of South Africa*, p. 246.
23. During the American Civil War, Union forces rounded up large numbers of civilians who were considered hostile to Federal authority and interned them in "posts." President Truman's grandmother, with six of her children, was held in one such "post," which Truman said was really a "concentration camp." Source: Merle Miller, *Plain Speaking: An Oral Biography of Harry S. Truman* (New York: 1974), pp. 78-79. See also: M. Weber "The Civil War Concentration Camps," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1981, p. 143. In September 1918, the fledgling Soviet government issued a decree that ordered: "It is essential to protect the Soviet Republic from class enemies by isolating them in concentration camps." Sources: D. Volkogonov, *Lenin: A New Biography* (New York: 1994), p. 234; M. Heller & A. Nekrich, *Utopia in Power* (New York: 1986), p. 66.
24. T. Pakenham, *The Boer War*, pp. 533-539; T. Pakenham, *Scramble*, pp. 578; A rather detailed report by Hobhouse about the camps is in: S. Koss, *The Pro-Boers*, pp. 198-207.
25. P. Knightley, *The First Casualty*, pp. 75-76. Source cited: UK Public Record Office, W.O. 32/8061.
26. T. Pakenham, *The Boer War*, pp. 607; T. Pakenham, *Scramble*, pp. 578-579; Reader's Digest Association, *Illustrated History of South Africa*, p. 256.
27. T. Pakenham, *The Boer War*, p. 534, 540-541; S. Koss, *The Pro-Boers*, pp. 216, 238.
28. S. Koss, *The Pro-Boers*, pp. 238-239 (note)
29. P. Knightley, *The First Casualty*, p. 72; T. Pakenham, *The Boer War*, pp. 539-540.
30. In a speech on Nov. 27, 1899, Lloyd George said that the *Uitlanders* on whose behalf Britain had presumably gone to war were German Jews. Right or wrong, the Boers were better than the people Britain was defending in South Africa. And in a speech on July 25, 1900, Lloyd George said: "... A war of annexation, however, against a proud people must be a war of extermination, and that is unfortunately what it seems we are committing ourselves to — burning homesteads and turning women and children out of their homes." Source: Bentley Brinkerhoff Gilbert, *David Lloyd George: A Political Life* (Ohio State Univ. Press, 1987), pp. 183, 191.
31. T. Pakenham, *The Boer War*, pp. 547-548.
32. P. Knightley, *The First Casualty*, pp. 72, 73, 75.
33. Byron Farwell, "Taking Sides in the Boer War," *American Heritage*, April 1976, pp. 22, 24, 25.
34. Speech of October 18, 1899. S. Koss, *The Pro-Boers*, p. 43.
35. C. Hirshfield, "The Boer War and the Issue of Jewish Responsibility" (1978), pp. 5, 15; Robert S. Wistrich, *Antisemitism* (1992), p. 105-106, p. 281 (n. 10, 11). Source cited: C. Hirshfield, "The British Left and the 'Jewish Conspiracy'," *Jewish Social Studies*, Spring 1981, pp. 105-107.
36. C. Hirshfield, "The Boer War and the Issue of Jewish Responsibility," pp. 11, 20; Also quoted in: Robert S. Wistrich, *Antisemitism* (1992), p. 281 (n. 11). Source cited: C. Hirshfield, "The British Left and the 'Jewish Conspiracy'," *Jewish Social Studies*, Spring 1981, pp.

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37. C. Hirshfield, "The Boer War and the Issue of Jewish Responsibility," pp. 10, 20. Burns' speech of Feb. 6, 1990, is also quoted in part in S. Koss, *The Pro-Boers*, pp. 94-95. It is also quoted (although not entirely accurately) in: R. S. Wistrich, *Antisemitism* (1992), p. 281 (n. 11). Source cited: C. Hirshfield, "The British Left and the 'Jewish Conspiracy'," *Jewish Social Studies*, Spring 1981, p. 105.
 38. C. Hirshfield, "The Boer War and the Issue of Jewish Responsibility," pp. 10, 20.
 39. An excerpt of Davitt's speech of October 17, 1899, is given in: S. Koss, *The Pro-Boers*, pp. 33-34. Davitt also wrote a book, *The Boer Fight For Freedom*, published in 1902.
 40. Hobson is perhaps best known as the author of *Imperialism: A Study*, a classic treatise on the subject first published in 1902.
 41. C. Hirshfield, "The Boer War and the Issue of Jewish Responsibility," pp. 13, 23; J. A. Hobson, *The War in South Africa: Its Causes and Effects* (1900 and 1969), p. 189.
 42. J. A. Hobson, "Johannesburg Today," *Manchester Guardian*, Sept. 28, 1899. Reprinted in: S. Koss, *The Pro-Boers*, pp. 26-27.
 43. J. A. Hobson, *The War in South Africa*, p. 197.
 44. C. Hirshfield, "The Boer War and the Issue of Jewish Responsibility," pp. 13, 23.
 45. S. Koss, *The Pro-Boers*, p. 54.
 46. T. Pakenham, *The Boer War*, pp. 607-608; T. Pakenham, *Scramble*, p. 581.
 47. F. Welsh, *South Africa: A Narrative History* (1999), p. 343.
 48. In his honor, the city of Berlin in Ontario province, Canada, was renamed Kitchener in 1916, a move that reflected the anti-German hysteria of the day.

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Defeating the Internationalists

"Despite the overwhelming domination of the internationalists over public policy, their defeat is not impossible. The movement is supported actively by only a microscopic fraction of the populace, though we all suffer from its depredations ... This represents what is probably the most extreme example of minority control in modern history, though its exponents pretend to be battling for world democracy. Their strength lies in their command over the agencies of communication and the support given them by powerful minority pressure groups, the worlds richest foundations, and powerful oil and other international financial interests. If the public could get access to the facts, the return to continentalism and to sanity in world affairs would be quickly accomplished, to the vast benefit of the national interest and security of the United States."

— Harry Elmer Barnes, *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace* (1953), p. 702.

Elie Wiesel: One More Lie

Robert Faurisson

On February 7, 1996, Elie Wiesel, Nobel Peace Prize laureate and professor at Boston University, was awarded an honorary doctorate by Jules Verne University at Picardy, France. Reporting on the speech delivered by Wiesel on that occasion, the local newspaper (*Le Courrier Picard*, Feb. 9, 1996) informed readers:

One question the public was anxious be answered: "And what do you make of the emergence of revisionist and Holocaust denying tendencies?" Wiesel responded: "Those are [the work of] virulent and vicious anti-Semites, organized and well-financed. On the day I received the Nobel Prize there were hundreds in the street demonstrating against me. Never will I afford them the dignity of a debate. These are morally sick individuals. While I am able to fight against injustice, I have no idea how to go about fighting against ugliness."

Here one can see Elie Wiesel's typical phraseology, but his statement that "on the day I received the Nobel Prize there were hundreds in the street demonstrating against me" is something new, and constitutes yet one more lie by this "prominent false witness," as I have called him, or "Shoah merchant" as Pierre Vidal-Naquet (in an interview with M. Folco, in *Zéro*, April 1987, p. 57) has called him.

As someone who was present in Oslo at the site of the award ceremony in December 1986, I am able to report that the number of protesters there was precisely zero. Three persons did show up to distribute a leaflet, printed in both Swedish and English, entitled "Elie Wiesel: A Prominent False Witness" [also available as an IHR leaflet]. All three of these persons were Frenchmen: Pierre Guillaume, Serge Thion and myself.

Robert Faurisson is Europe's foremost Holocaust revisionist scholar. Born in 1929, he was educated at the Paris Sorbonne, and served as a professor at the University of Lyon in France from 1974 until 1990. He was a specialist of text and document analysis. His writings on the Holocaust issue have appeared in several books and numerous scholarly articles, many of which have been published in this *Journal*. A four-volume collection of many of his revisionist writings, *Écrits Révisionnistes (1974-1998)*, was published in 1999.

The Elie Wiesel item is a translation and adaptation of a piece originally written in February 1996, and published in *Rivarol*, March 15, 1996, p. 2. The item about Rossel and Lanzmann is adapted from a text originally written on June 25, 1999.

No Light, No Smoke, No Stench, No Holes

Robert Faurisson

In addition to the phrase "No Holes, No Holocaust," one may now add: "And no light, no smoke, no stench." This is thanks to Dr. Maurice Rossel, an official of the International Committee of the Red Cross, who, in September 1944, visited the Auschwitz camp Commandant. (For more on this, see my 1980, essay, "Sur Auschwitz, un document capital de la Croix-Rouge Internationale," reprinted in the 1999 collection of my writings, *Écrits révisionnistes (1974-1998)*, pp. 219 ff.)

On the front page of the "Style" section of *The Washington Post* of June 25, 1999 (pp. C1, C8) appears a lengthy article by staff writer Marc Fisher that sympathetically reports on a new film by French-Jewish filmmaker Claude Lanzmann, "A Visitor from the Living." [See also: S. Thion, "Claude Lanzmann and 'Shoah': The Dictatorship of Imbecility," Nov.-Dec. 1997 *Journal*, pp. 8-10.]

An extract from the *Post* article about the film:

Lanzmann moves in, his short, calm questions presented like invitations to a dance, with all the proper flourishes and courtesies.

"Did you know you were in an extermination camp?"

"I didn't know the scale it had reached," Rossel says, and for the first time, he is looking off, just slightly away.

"Did you see a light glimmering?" It seems the Poles in nearby villages have told Lanzmann that they saw this light from Auschwitz, this reflection of horror.

"I saw none, no smoke," Rossel says.

"No stench?"

"No stench."

Suckered Into War

"After the guns fell silent on the Western Front in World War I, historians began burrowing into the archives. Books on how British propaganda had cleverly suckered America into a war that had left 116,000 Americans dead, and gained us nothing, were best-sellers. The court historians had been routed by the revisionists."

— Patrick J. Buchanan, *A Republic, Not an Empire* (1999), p. 253.

Library Removes Revisionist Work

A London library has removed a book from its collection because it questions Holocaust extermination claims. A report on the incident distributed by the World Jewish Congress relates that a copy of *Auschwitz: A Judge Looks at the Evidence* was removed "after a local politician discovered it in the history section and voiced his complaint to the library staff." (Source: WJC dispatch, headlined "Obscene," in *The Jewish Press* [Brooklyn], June 4, 1999.)

Auschwitz: A Judge Looks at the Evidence, published by the Institute for Historical Review, is a scholarly revisionist study of Auschwitz and the "Holocaust" issue. It was written by Wilhelm Stäglich, a retired German jurist who served in 1944 with an anti-aircraft unit stationed at Auschwitz, and after the war for 20 years as an administrative judge in Hamburg. (The hardcover edition is available from the IHR for \$14.95, plus shipping.)

Removal from public libraries of books presenting dissident historical views is a form of censorship, of course. In Britain, apparently, librarians will now remove any "politically incorrect" books that a "local politician" finds objectionable.

In the United States, libraries are inconsistent regarding "Holocaust denial" books. Some libraries will not accept such works, and others will quietly remove them after objections are voiced. But many American libraries, including the Library of Congress in Washington, DC, and prominent university libraries, include a range of "denial" books in their holdings, and even subscribe to the IHR's *Journal of Historical Review*.

In 1979 the German edition of Stäglich's Auschwitz book was "indexed," effectively prohibiting its open sale in Germany, and a while later authorities seized the remaining copies from the publisher. Because of his public skepticism of Holocaust claims, in 1983 the University of Göttingen revoked his 1951 doctorate in law — on the basis of a Third Reich law.

Stäglich has been member of this *Journal's* Editorial Advisory Committee since 1981. The text of his address at the Fifth IHR Conference in 1983 was published in the Spring 1984 *Journal* issue.

"All who have meditated on the art of governing mankind are convinced that the fate of empires depends on the education of youth."

— Aristotle

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

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

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Kennedy's 1945 Visit to Germany

In late July and early August 1945, just weeks after the end of the war in Europe, the 28-year-old John F. Kennedy visited war-devastated Germany. Accompanying him on this tour was US Navy Secretary James Forrestal (whom President Truman later appointed as the first Secretary of Defense).

Kennedy recorded his experiences and observations in a diary that was not made public until just a few years ago. (It was published under the title *Prelude to Leadership: The European Diary of John F. Kennedy, Summer 1945* [Washington, DC: Regnery, 1995].)

These diary entries show the youthful Kennedy's wide-ranging curiosity and eye for telling detail — attributes that were also manifest in his two best-selling books, *While England Slept* (1940) and *Profiles in Courage*. Earlier in 1945, he had attended the opening session of the United Nations organization in San Francisco, and had visited Britain to view the parliamentary election campaign, covering both events as a journalist for the Hearst newspaper chain.

In Berlin, Kennedy noted upon his arrival there on July 28, "The devastation is complete. Unter den Linden [boulevard] and the streets are relatively clear, but there is not a single building which is not gutted. On some of the streets the stench — sweet and sickish from dead bodies — is overwhelming." For the Berlin population, he reported, "The basic ration is 1 1/2 pounds a day — approximately 1,200 calories (2,000 considered by the health authorities for normal diet — the ration is only 900 calories in Vienna)."

Kennedy made several diary references to the ferocity of the Soviet Russian occupation of Germany. "The Russians moved in with such violence at the beginning — stripping factories and raping women — that they alienated the German members of the Communistic Party, which had some strength in the factories."

"Raping and looting" by Soviet troops "was general," Kennedy also reported. "What they didn't take, they destroyed." Elsewhere he wrote: "The Russians have pretty well plundered the country, have been living off it ... The Russians have been taking all the able-bodied men and women and shipping them away."

He also took note of the impact of the devastating British-American air attacks: "According to our naval experts, the bombing of Germany was not effective in stopping their production, and production increased three-fold during 1942-1944." Right until the end, Kennedy also reported, an adequate food distribution was maintained in the German



A youthful John F. Kennedy

capital: "The feeding in Berlin was extremely well organized, even in the most severe blitz."

Ordinary Germans, he reported at another point, "did not realize what was going on in the concentration camps."

Kennedy and Forrestal also visited Bremen, an important north German industrial and commercial center, and a major port city. As Kennedy reported, the Russians were not the only occupation forces to carry out wide-scale looting in Germany: "The British had gone into Bremen ahead of us — and everyone was unanimous in their description of British looting and destruction, which had been very heavy. They had taken everything which at all related to the sea — ships, small boats, lubricants, machinery, etc."

He also noted misdeeds of US troops. "Americans looted town [Bremen] heavily on arrival," he wrote. "People do not seem to realize," he added, "how fortunate they have been in escaping the Russians. As far as looting the homes and the towns, however, the British and Americans have been very guilty."

In Bremen, Kennedy wrote, the Germans' diet "is about 1,200 calories — ours being 4,000." In spite of everything, "none of the [American] officers and men here seem to have any particular hate for the Germans."

Kennedy met and spoke with US Navy officials in Bremen. Because he had been commander of an American torpedo boat in the Pacific — the famous PT-109 — he had a special interest in the German counterpart — the *Schnellboot* or "E boat." After looking into the matter in some detail, Kennedy concluded that the German version was "far superior to our PT boat."

Hitler's Place in History

After Bremen and Bremerhaven, Kennedy and Forrestal flew to Bavaria, where they visited the town of Berchtesgaden and then drove up to Hitler's mountain retreat, which was "completely gutted, the result of an air attack from 12,000 pound bombs by the R.A.F. [British air force] in an attempt on Hitler's life." They then ascended to Hitler's "Eagle's Nest" lair high in the mountains.

Just after this visit, Kennedy wrote a remarkable commentary in his diary, dated August 1, 1945, about Hitler and his place in history:

After visiting these places, you can easily understand how that within a few years Hitler will emerge from the hatred that surrounds him now as one of the most significant figures who ever lived.

He had boundless ambition for his country which rendered him a menace to the peace of the world, but he had a mystery about him in the way that he lived and in the manner of his death that will live and grow after him. He had in him the stuff of which legends are made.

Less than a year after this European tour, Kennedy was elected to Congress in Massachusetts, beginning a political career that took him to the White House, and which ended suddenly with his death on November 22, 1963.

"The great enemy of the truth is very often not the lie — deliberate, contrived and dishonest — but the myth — persistent, persuasive, and unrealistic ... Mythology distracts us everywhere — in government as in business, in politics as in economics, in foreign as in domestic affairs ..."

— John F. Kennedy, Speech at Yale University, June 11, 1962.

Polish Professor Under Fire for 'Holocaust Denial'

Dariusz Ratajczak, a professor at the University of Opole in southern Poland, was suspended in April 1999 from his teaching post following protests over his book, "Dangerous Topics," in which he writes sympathetically about revisionist scholarship disputing Holocaust claims.

Jewish organizations lost no time in voicing alarm over the new book, which apparently is the most scholarly presentation thus far in Poland of Holocaust revisionism. A Jewish community leader in Poland called it "shocking."

In the book, which was sold in university bookstores, Ratajczak appears to agree with specialists who contend that, for technical reasons, well-known claims of killing millions of Jews in gas chambers are impossible, that Zyklon B was used only for disinfecting, and that there was no German plan or program to exterminate Europe's Jews. He also contends that most Holocaust scholars "are adherents of a religion of the Holocaust."

The 37-year-old professor, who served with the university's Historical Institute, was popular with students. He responded to the furor with a letter to the influential Polish daily newspaper, *Gazeta Wyborcza*, in which he denied being an anti-Semite.

On May 31, 1999, state prosecutors in southwestern Poland brought charges against Ratajczak for violating a recently-enacted law that bans public denial of German crimes. If convicted, the scholar faces three years imprisonment.

In promulgating the law, Poland joins several other European states that criminalize "Holocaust denial." Unlike similar laws elsewhere, though, the Polish law additionally bans "denial" of Communist crimes.

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Bad News and the Good War

JOSEPH SOBRAN

Steven Spielberg's "Saving Private Ryan" is the most powerful movie I've seen in years. The opening sequence, already famous, shows the D-Day invasion in twenty minutes of gut-churning horror. War has never looked like this on the screen, and Spielberg surpasses himself to make the experience real to us.

Young soldiers vomit in fear as their landing crafts approach the French coast. When the doors are lowered to let them out, the men in front are instantly cut down. German bullets slam into their chests and helmets even before they can jump into the water. The timing, so unlike other movies, is shocking in itself. We expect our boys — as in other movies — to have a moment to collect themselves, to poise for action, at least to brace themselves for death.

No. That's the movie ritual — the conventional final moment when a man is allowed to strike a final pose, if only of agony. Spielberg serves immediate notice that war isn't like that, ergo this movie isn't like that. By slightly accelerating death, he makes it seem horrible again. This effect is achieved in a merciless split second.

It gets worse. The boys who make it to shore take hideous wounds. One gropes to pick up the arm that has just been shot off. Another lies babbling "Mama" with his intestines protruding. Another has his face shot away. Waves of blood lap the shore. These things happen so fast they barely have time to register, a chaos of death and mutilation. Spielberg films them with hand-held cameras, in jerky footage that makes you dizzy watching them, against a tremendous din of mortar and machine-gun fire. There are no panoramic shots, as in films like "The Longest Day," to give an epic (and comforting) distance to the violence. It's hard to imagine how the feeling of being under fire could be conveyed more terrifyingly on film.

When the Americans finally capture the cliff they have been storming, they shoot even the Germans who have raised their hands in surrender. It hardly seems like an atrocity; it's more like a relief.

Cut to the office of General George C. Marshall, who is told that one of the soldiers killed on the

beach was a boy named Ryan, two of whose three brothers have also died within the week; the third has just landed behind the lines in France. Marshall orders that this last surviving brother be found and removed from combat.

The rest of the movie centers on the squad assigned to save Private Ryan, who as it turns out doesn't want to be saved. Tom Hanks stars as the captain in charge of the mission. He's perfectly cast, though I wouldn't have thought so going in: I associated him with lightweight comedies and sentimental stuff like "Forrest Gump." He's a civilian — an English teacher — forced by fate to be an officer. He wants to do his duty and go home. Meanwhile he

has to take responsibility for younger men's lives. Hanks convincingly shows courage by taking things one step at a time, without bravado. You root for him, not to kill Germans, but to make it home, where he can just be normal again.



Joseph Sobran

Spielberg says he didn't want to make an anti-war film; he wanted to show the courage of the Americans who fought the war by showing just what the war was. He has earned the praised of

Paul Fussell, whose book *Wartime* complained that American civilians have always been given a "Disneyfied" picture of combat, without the horror, din, mutilation, and total, trouser-soiling terror of the real thing. We hear a great deal about the government lies these days, but the lies of World War II propaganda have become part of our cultural heritage.

"Saving Private Ryan" is a film Americans need to see before the next time the government wants to send their sons to fight abroad. That's the trouble: it's always abroad. Unlike Europe, Russia, and the Far East, we have no memory of battles near home, of foreign soldiers on our shores, of our cities being bombed. Two-thirds of the 50 million dead in World War II were civilians; virtually no American civilians were harmed.

To this day our perspective on war in general, and World War II in particular, is not only profoundly different from other people's, but essen-

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tially naive. Though this movie is the best corrective Hollywood has ever offered, Spielberg doesn't challenge — and in fact believes in — the larger mythology of the war, which is still secular liberalism's holy war. He shows Americans as the rescuers; it just happens that in this case the Yanks are trying to rescue one of their own (even if it transpires that Private Ryan, as befits a young American hero, doesn't want to be rescued).

A lot more revisionism is in order. The American forces killed their share of civilians, from Tokyo to Dresden, and the atomic bomb was, as Fussell notes, part of the brutal logic of the war. It began with optimistic nonsense about "surgical strikes" and "precision bombing" and soon degenerated into indiscriminate mass murder, enthusiastically perpetrated by Franklin Roosevelt and Winston Churchill along with the ally Joseph Stalin.

According to the liberal historian James Bacque, the Allies caused the deaths of as many as nine million Germans, mostly civilians, *after the war ended*. In his book *Crimes and Mercies*, Bacque describes the policy of mass starvation imposed on Germany during the occupation; he also describes the subsequent cover-up. Charitable donations of food from abroad were banned; the Germans themselves were prevented from acquiring fertilizer for their crops. In effect, the notorious Morgenthau Plan was imposed after all. Bacque quotes a grim anonymous witticism: "The Morgenthau Plan was conceived in sin, died at birth, and lived to a ripe old age." (No such policy was imposed on Japan, oddly enough.)

After piecing the terrible story together, Bacque took it to Drew Middleton of the *New York Times*, who didn't challenge it but refused to print it. Hailed in Europe, Bacque's carefully documented book has been ignored here. It erases the supposed moral contrast between the Nazis and the Allies, the very foundation of the democratic regime that has displaced traditional monarchy as well as republican constitutional government. Maybe we should think of what we call "the Holocaust" as Hitler's Morgenthau Plan.

Ironically, Bacque has found Soviet records more honest than those of the democracies. The reason for this seeming paradox is simple: the Soviet rulers didn't have to worry about prying journalists and historians. They felt their darkest secrets were safe — as, until recently, they were. So those secrets were recorded with ruthless accuracy. The democratic rulers, on the other hand, couldn't be sure how long the truth could be suppressed, so they withheld or deleted many damning facts from the official records. As a result, the truth has to be gathered indirectly. But millions of deaths couldn't stay hidden forever. Bacque isn't the only one to have found the truth; another historian has arrived at a



Charles Lindbergh addresses a meeting.

similar figure.

In time the official mythology of the war will be replaced by a more balanced picture. Not that any new picture will ever have the power of the old myth, but those who are seriously interested in history will realize that the myth is political propaganda. It's already happening, despite efforts to smear all "revisionism." Serious history always "revises" common and often cherished beliefs that spring from partisan motives.

A new picture need not wait on new revelations; to some extent it can be constructed by simple reflection on the obvious. It has been customary since World War II began to censure American "isolationism" and French "cowardice" for the desire to avoid war with Germany. But the isolationists were generally people who thought war wasn't in ordinary Americans' interest, and in retrospect their arguments look better than ever.

The war ended with 50 million dead (three times the carnage of the Great War, as it used to be called), with much of Europe devastated, and with Stalin in possession of several Christian countries with more nuclear weapons than heart might wish, to say no more about it; vindication enough, you might think, for those misgivings. But in the eyes of the progressive-minded, having been proved right in spades is no excuse for isolationism.

It's no longer disputed that Roosevelt and Churchill secretly schemed to get America into the war; in fact their admirers cite their efforts, and even their lies, as evidence of their far-seeing statesmanship at a time when lesser folk overwhelmingly (and short-sightedly, we are told) opposed sending their sons abroad to kill and die.



Charles Coughlin addresses radio listeners.

When Charles Lindbergh's eloquent radio speeches brought an avalanche of anti-war mail to the White House, Roosevelt launched a smear campaign against Lindbergh and illegally ordered the FBI to open his mail; he also had the phones of many letter writers tapped. To this day Lindbergh is portrayed as a Nazi sympathizer, though when the war began he tried to enlist in the armed forces; he was prevented from serving by order of Roosevelt himself. (He finally found a niche as an unpaid adviser to an aeronautics firm.)

Lindbergh is also remembered as an anti-Semite for saying, at an America First rally, that the Roosevelt Administration, the British, and the Jews were leading the agitation for war. This was perfectly true; moreover, Lindbergh said he understood why the Jews felt as they did about Germany; nevertheless, war wasn't in America's interest. But mere identification of Jewish interests — even interests Jews freely discussed among themselves — was taboo. (As it still is, even though we are expected to give Jewish interests a sort of tacit primacy.)

The British secret service actually murdered an American opponent of intervention on American soil, while British propaganda, often planted in popular movies, tried to enlist American sympathy against Germany. Much of the pro-war propaganda absurdly said that Hitler planned to invade the United States, when he was never even able to mount an invasion across the English Channel (as British officials, according to internal memos later released, fully realized at the time).

The standard mythology constantly omits what was already known — and remembered — in the years between the two world wars. In fact much of

what was then obvious is now virtually secret.

The "cowardly" French remembered the Great War. It was a fresh memory, horrible, tragic, inefaceable. Only twenty years earlier (in the 1970s, in our terms) nearly every family had sent a son to war; more than a million never came home, millions of others were wounded. Those who recalled it had no desire to repeat the experience with their sons.

The unhappy choice facing France and other countries was another war with Germany or the prospect of Communism. And people of Christian heritage, religious or not, knew what was happening to the Christians of the Soviet Union (another story the *New York Times* overlooked). Russian refugees flooded Western Europe, telling their stories.

The only way out of the dilemma was surrender to Germany. Under the circumstances, German occupation must have seemed much more bearable than the alternatives — except, of course, to the Jews and the political Left, whose perspective now constitutes the official myth without qualification.

An instructive footnote to all this is the minor myth of Father Charles Coughlin, now remembered only as an anti-Semite in the age of Hitler. From a Christian standpoint, Coughlin *might best be* described as one of the few public figures in America to tell the truth about Communism at a time when what might be called organized public opinion, led by Roosevelt and the *Times*, insisted on seeing the Soviet Union as "progressive."

Coughlin was an immensely popular radio preacher for many years before he touched the same electric fence Lindbergh would soon touch by referring publicly to Jewish interests. But as anti-Nazi propaganda intensified in the late 1930s, he called attention not only to Communist crimes but to Jewish participation in and support for Communism.

Coughlin by no means condemned all Jews; time and again, he insisted that no Jew who believed in the God of Abraham could also believe in Communism. All the same, many secularized Jews were Communist or pro-Communist, and the Soviet Union's original Communist elite had been predominantly of Jewish stock. Religious or not, such Jews were ferociously hostile to Christianity (as Europeans understood perfectly well).

It was hard to state the case fairly, and harder to get a fair hearing. The Coughlin furor came to a head after the *Kristallnacht* riots of 1938, when Coughlin devoted his regular Sunday broadcast to the Jewish question. Yes, he agreed that the violence and official robbery directed against 600,000 German Jews was outrageous. But why, he asked, was there no comparable public indignation against the Communists, who had murdered 20 million Russian and Ukrainian Christians?

The broadcast brought an immediate storm of

denunciations and accusations. The following week Coughlin quoted several of the harshest charges made against him, then invited his audience to listen to the offending broadcast again and judge for themselves whether the charges were true.

After replaying the previous week's speech — which clearly refuted the charges — he quoted a recent *New York Times* report of a convention of the American Jewish Committee. A St. Louis delegate named Abraham Levin had proposed that the Committee add to its statement of principles a declaration of anti-Communism. The proposal was denounced so violently that Levin withdrew it.

Today all that is left of Coughlin's reputation is what his enemies said of him. The broad brush of "anti-Semitism" obscures the details and nuances of what he actually said. And while we still hear — incessantly — of Pius XII's "silence" about Nazism, Coughlin gets to credit whatsoever for telling the truth about Communism at a time when so many others were not only silent about its crimes, but complicit in them.

The official myth of the prelude to World War II omits all mention of Communism, which terrified Europe. Germany was only one of several countries that had narrowly escaped a Communist revolution. This fact explains not only Hitler's popularity, but the much more widespread view that he was the lesser evil. The Jews had good reason to feel otherwise, but by the same token most gentiles felt that Communism was by far the greater threat to themselves.

But the Roosevelt Administration, ignoring the mass starvation of Ukraine and countless other atrocities, gave diplomatic recognition and other assistance to Stalin. Roosevelt compared the Soviet Constitution favorably to the US Constitution, assuring Americans that it guaranteed freedom of religion. His policy of "quarantining the aggressors" was never applied to the Soviet Union, even after its invasions of Poland, Finland, and the Baltic states. The notion that war forced him into an alliance with Stalin is a sentimental exculpation; he had befriended Stalin from his first year in office. The war merely gave him a patriotic pretext for continuing to do so.

The truth, in order to be suppressed, doesn't have to be denied. It can be systematically ignored. After all, even denial acknowledges that there is something to be discussed; it creates awareness in spite of itself. A studious silence is far more efficacious. If the major channels of information never mention a subject, it virtually ceases to exist.

Take Steven Spielberg. He has made a heroic effort to tell the truth about World War II, and he has shown things others have hidden. But like every member of his (and my) generation, he is the

unwitting heir of lies, and his film tells a story shaped, in spite of his intentions, by the official mythology. In our time telling the truth requires more than honest intentions; it requires enormous cunning, and sometimes guile.

Gerhard Förster

Gerhard Förster, a courageous Swiss publisher of revisionist books, died in his sleep during the night of September 22-23, 1998, in a home for the elderly in Baden, northern Switzerland. He was a co-defendant, with Jürgen Graf, in the "Holocaust denial" trial in Switzerland on July 16, 1998 — the most important legal proceeding so far on the basis of Switzerland's "Anti-Racism Law."

At the trial, the 78-year-old Förster was in such poor health that he had to be brought into the courtroom in a wheelchair. He was sentenced on July 21, 1998, to 12 months in prison for bringing out several allegedly anti-Jewish books, including two by Graf, through his *Neue Visionen* publishing firm. In addition, Förster was fined 8,000 Swiss francs (\$5,500). The court also ordered him to turn over 45,000 francs earned from book sales. (See "Swiss Court Punishes Two Revisionists," July-August 1998 *Journal*, pp. 2-12).

Förster was a retired electrical engineer who held several dozen patents. He was born in Silesia, Germany, and served briefly during the Second World War as a private in the regular German army. His father perished, along with some two million others, in the flight and genocidal expulsion of some 12-14 million ethnic Germans from central and eastern Europe, 1944-1948. Förster moved from Germany to Switzerland in 1957, and had been a Swiss citizen for many years. His wife died before him.

All books of Förster's *Neue Visionen* publishing firm are now distributed by, and available from, the Foundation for Free Historical Research in Flanders (VHO, Postbus 60, B-2600 Berchem 2, Belgium).

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Deeds and Legacy of an Arab Leader

DONALD NEFF

On July 23, 1952, the corrupt King Farouk of Egypt, an Albanian on his paternal side, was overthrown by a group of young military men calling themselves the Free Officers. The next day, one of the officers, Anwar Sadat, informed the nation by radio that for the first time in two thousand years Egypt was under the rule of Egyptians. Sadat spoke in the name of General Mohammed Neguib, the revolution's titular head. In fact, the real leader was Gamal Abdel Nasser. He was 34 at the time and would rule Egypt for the next 18 turbulent years. Because of his youth, Nasser hid his power behind the older Neguib for the first two years of the new regime. It was not until 1954 that he officially became prime minister, and not until June 23, 1956, that he assumed the presidency.¹

The coming to power in Egypt of the energetic young warrior sent shockwaves through Britain, France and Israel. Leaders in all three countries feared him as a galvanizing ruler who had the potential to unify the shattered Arab world at the expense of the West and Israel. As Israel's David Ben-Gurion put it: "I always feared that a personality might rise such as arose among the Arab rulers in the seventh century or like [Kemal Ataturk] who rose in Turkey after its defeat in the First World War. He raised their spirits, changed their character, and turned them into a fighting nation. There was and still is a danger that Nasser is this man."²

Britain and France held similar concerns. The rise of a strong Arab leader could not have come at a worse time for both nations. Drained by World War II, they were both in the process of losing their vast colonial empires. Both countries had already lost their mandates in the Middle East and both were desperately trying to maintain their influence in North Africa.

Nasser, above all else, wanted Egypt rid of British troops stationed along the Suez Canal, London's passage to India. In 1954, Britain finally gave in to Nasser's demand and agreed to withdraw its 80,000

British troops since, indeed, there no longer existed any reason for their presence. India was now independent and the canal had lost its strategic importance to Britain.³ The troops had been there since 1882, and their departure, the last foreign troops on Egyptian soil, was an enormous boost to Nasser's prestige. The historic agreement meant, in British diplomat Anthony Nutting's words: "For the first time in two and a half thousand years the Egyptian people would know what it was to be independent, and not to be ruled or occupied or told what to do by some foreign power."⁴

Israel, however, was greatly distressed by the agreement. The presence of British troops along the canal acted as a buffer against any rash action by Egypt, Israel's strongest Arab neighbor. Israel was so disturbed by the withdrawal that it had acted directly to ruin the talks by sending a sabotage team to Egypt to attack British and US facilities. However, the covert effort backfired when Egyptian counterintelligence agents captured the spy ring, and the embarrassing mission known as the Lavon Affair became public.⁵

The Anglo-Egyptian Suez agreement, signed in Cairo on October 19, 1954, was widely regarded as a strategic defeat for Britain. Two weeks later, on November 1, Algerian Arabs, their morale boosted by Nasser's success, began their revolt against French colonial rule, which dated back to 1830. One of the many results of the insurrection was to convince France and Britain that Egypt, and specifically Nasser, was aiding the Algerians, and therefore was a dangerous common enemy of the West.⁶ France had long seen Israel as a natural ally against the Arabs, and indeed was Israel's major friend at the time. The close friendship included France secretly sending weapons to the Jewish state in violation of the arms embargo agreed to by Western nations, including the United States.⁷

Thus was born the fiasco that has ignominiously gone down in history as the Suez Crisis of 1956. Little remembered in the United States, it was a watershed event in the Middle East. It involved one of the most cynical schemes ever hatched by Britain, France and Israel — and one of the highest points of American diplomacy. It also made Nasser the most idolized Arab leader of his time.

The crisis began when the leaders of Britain,

Donald Neff is the author of several books on US-Middle East relations, including the 1995 study, *Fallen Pillars: U.S. Policy Toward Palestine and Israel Since 1945*, and his 1988 *Warriors* trilogy. This article is reprinted from the July 1996 issue of *The Washington Report on Middle East Affairs* (P.O. Box 53062, Washington, DC 20009).

France and Israel decided to collude secretly to get rid of Nasser. Just how to do that was never really clear. But, somehow, they wistfully hoped that by sending vast navies and armies against Egypt they would cause Nasser to be overthrown or to resign in humiliation. The plan was to pretend Israel had been hit by an Egyptian raid, and in retaliation its army would race across the Sinai Peninsula and occupy the east bank of the Suez Canal. In response, Britain and France would pretend to intervene to stop a new Egyptian-Israeli war. All the while, of course, their warships and troops would actually be attacking Egypt. It was a preposterously transparent and shameless ploy but the three nations acted on it nonetheless.

In its broader context, the Suez Crisis was a concerted attack by Europe and Israel against Islam.

A massive armada of French and British warships gathered off Egypt in late summer 1956 as the colluders went ahead amid growing international concern. No one was more concerned than President Dwight D. Eisenhower. The colluders had failed to take him into their scheme, presumably in the mistaken belief that since they were all US friends, the United States would not oppose their ill-conceived machinations.

In this they were fatally mistaken. Although facing presidential elections in November, Eisenhower publicly and privately opposed the three countries. Using every power short of military force at his command, Eisenhower compelled them to stop their naval bombardment and invasion of Egypt, and to withdraw without gaining any profit from their misadventure. Not only did Nasser not fall, but his prestige soared in the Arab world as the leader who had faced down the West and Israel.

Failure of the Suez plot had disastrous consequences for the colluders. The attack by Britain and France on Egypt drained moral authority from those two countries and spelled the end of their empires. Iraq, Britain's last major ally in the region, fell to Arab nationalists in 1958. And France finally lost Algeria in 1962. After Suez, the United States became the major Western power in the Middle East — not a position President Eisenhower had sought. As he noted in his memoirs, before the Suez war "... We felt that the British should continue to carry a major responsibility for its [Middle East] stability and security. The British were intimately familiar with the history, traditions and peoples of the Middle East; we, on the other hand, were heavily involved in Korea, Formosa, Vietnam, Iran, and in this hemisphere."⁸

Not only did Britain and France lose their position in the region, but their rash actions helped the Soviet Union cement its presence in such countries as Egypt, Iraq and Syria. Moscow was able to strut



Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser

as the defender of the Arabs against the perfidious West, earning Russia considerable popular support in the Arab world.

Israel's leaders pronounced themselves satisfied with the gains achieved. It had secured US support for free maritime passage through the Strait of Tiran, connecting the Red Sea with the Gulf of Aqaba and the Israeli port of Eilat, and the stationing of [United Nations] UNEF troops at Gaza, where they prevented *fedayeen* [guerilla] raids into Israel. Prime Minister Ben-Gurion thought he had profited by humiliating Nasser and by raising domestic morale and intensifying a sense of national identity among Israel's diverse Jewish population. However, on closer examination Israel had sowed the whirlwind with its aggressive actions. The government of Gamal Abdel Nasser had initially shown little interest in the Arab-Israeli conflict. Its main interests were narrowly focused on its own demanding domestic problems. But after Israel's aggressive actions, which started well before the Suez outrage, Egypt diverted its resources to a major buildup of its armed forces.

The war also released aggressive forces within Israel that fed on dreams of conquest and expan-

sion. These dreams would be realized eleven years later when Israel launched another surprise attack against both Egypt and Syria, drawing in Jordan, which was bound to both Arab countries by military treaty. That aggression, in turn, made Israel a pariah state in the world community because of its continued occupation of Arab land, and made inevitable the 1973 war, which cost Israel unrelieved suffering and shook the country's self-confidence to the core. By then Nasser was gone. He had died of a heart attack on September 28, 1970, at the age of 52.

Although widely reviled by Israel and its supporters, Nasser, the son of a postal clerk, had been a great Arab leader. While he was a compulsive conspirator, suspicious of others and thin-skinned to criticism, he was also charismatic, a natural leader and eventually the most beloved and admired Arab of his time. Nasser was described by his friend and chronicler, Mohamed Heikal, as "always a rebel [who] remained a conservative in his personal life ... He was never interested in women or money or elaborate food. After he came to power the cynical old politicians tried to corrupt him but they failed miserably. His family life was impeccable ... The world itself had found in him one of its most controversial statesmen and the Arabs had chosen him as the symbol of their lost dignity and their unfulfilled hopes."¹²

In the judgment of diplomat Anthony Nutting, who knew Nasser and wrote a biography of him: "For all his faults, Nasser helped to give Egypt and the Arabs that sense of dignity which for him was the hallmark of independent nationhood ... Egypt and the whole Arab world would have been the poorer, in spirit as well as material progress, without the dynamic inspiration of his leadership."¹³

Notes

1. Anthony Nutting, *Nasser* (London: Constable, 1972), p. 37; Richard F. Nyrop, et al., eds., *Area Handbook for Egypt* (Washington, DC: US Govt. Printing Office, 3rd ed., 1976), p. 36.
The best biographies of Nasser remain those of Nutting and Stephens: Anthony Nutting, *Nasser* (London: Constable, 1972), and, Robert Stephens, *Nasser: A Political Biography* (London: Allen Lane/Penguin Press, 1971).
2. Kennett Love, *Suez: The Twice-Fought War* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1969), p. 676.
3. Anthony Nutting, *Nasser* (London: Constable, 1972), pp. 69-72; Donald Neff, *Warriors at Suez: Eisenhower takes America into the Middle East* (New York: Linden Press/Simon & Schuster, 1981), pp. 17-18, 59.
4. A. Nutting, *Nasser* (London: 1972), p. 71.
5. D. Neff, *Warriors at Suez: Eisenhower takes America*

into the Middle East (New York: 1981), pp. 56-58.

6. D. Neff, *Warriors at Suez* (New York: 1981), p. 161. The bitter war lasted until July 1, 1962, when Algerians voted to establish an independent Arab nation. The fighting took the lives of 17,456 French, and upward of a million Arabs. See: Alistair Horne, *A Savage War of Peace: Algeria 1954-1962* (New York: Viking, 1977), p. 538.
7. D. Neff, *Warriors at Suez* (1981), pp. 235, 238.
8. Dwight D. Eisenhower, *Waging Peace: 1956-61* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., 1965), pp. 22-23.
9. Cheryl A. Rubenberg, *Israel and the American National Interest: A Critical Examination* (Chicago: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1986), p. 84.
10. D. Neff, *Warriors at Suez* (1981), p. 439.
11. K. Love, *Suez: The Twice-Fought War* (New York: 1969), pp. 13-14.
12. Mohamed Heikal, *The Cairo Documents* (New York: Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1973), pp. 1, 20.
13. A. Nutting, *Nasser* (1972), p. 481.

'No One' Believes the 'Six Million'

In spite of endless repetition, millions of people around the world have never believed the figure of Six Million Jewish wartime victims. In a 1964 interview, Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser said that "No one, not even the simplest man in our country, takes seriously the lie about six million murdered Jews."

(Source: Interview with the *Deutsche (Soldaten und-) National-Zeitung* [Munich], May 1, 1964, p. 3. Also, quoted in part in: Robert S. Wistrich, *Hitler's Apocalypse* [New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986], p. 188.)

Forces of the Future

"Little as we know about the events of the future, one thing is certain: the moving forces of the future will be none other than those of the past — the will of the stronger, healthy instincts, race, will to property, and power."

— Oswald Spengler, *Die Jahre der Entscheidung*.

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

— George Washington

Wartime 'Master Race' Photo Deceit



MASTER RACE

A common deception technique is to falsely caption or otherwise misrepresent an authentic photograph. Shown here is the front cover of a 1943 issue of the British magazine *Parade*, which was a tool of wartime Allied anti-German propaganda. It purports to show a disheveled and malevolent-looking German soldier, above the caption "Master Race." Derek Knight, an Englishman who served during World War II with the British "Army Film and Photographic Unit," revealed later that the man in this photo was actually an uncomprehending Egyptian who had been found on a Cairo street. He was persuaded to put on German helmet and a uniform-like jacket, and to permit himself to be photographed.

(Source: K. Sojka, ed. *Bilder, die Fälschen: Dubiose "Dokumente" zur Zeitgeschichte* [Munich: FZ-Verlag, 1999], p. 131; *D. National-Zeitung* [Munich], Oct. 13, 1995, p. 10.)

"A knowledge of the past prepares us for the crisis of the present and the challenge of the future."

— John F. Kennedy

Could You Survive a Nuclear Attack?

Why I Survived The A-Bomb

By Akira Kohchi (Albert Kawachi)

Until now, the *real* story of the first nuclear holocaust had not been told. Previous books on the atomic bombings of Hiroshima approached it only obliquely: technical works hailed it as a marvel of nuclear science, and books written from the military perspective honored the men who gave and carried out a difficult order. Even the eye-witness accounts, numbering some two thousand — and almost all yet to be translated from the Japanese — are overwhelmingly stories of *personal* misery. The total picture — the background, scope, and consequences of the catastrophe — has, until now, never been presented.

Why I Survived the A-Bomb tells a unique and fascinating story as seen from inside Japan 48 years ago and today. The author is eminently qualified — he lived through the experience of a nuclear attack and walked through the flaming, radioactive city of Hiroshima!

Albert Kawachi, a longtime United Nations finance officer, explores the attempts at political and economic justifications for the atom-bombing as he describes the day-to-day living experiences of his family in its wake. His story is dramatic, informative, and historically revisionist.

What was it really like to survive the massive devastation, then deal with the suffering and humiliation wrought by this American doomsday weapon? Who was behind the use of the bomb in the first place? And what did it really accomplish? We need real answers to these hard questions before we speak glibly of defense and disarmament, and before we argue over trade imbalances and deficits, for what happened at Hiroshima and Nagasaki could be our tomorrow.

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

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Holocaust survivor
and author
Albert Kawachi

New Evidence on the 1941 'Barbarossa' Attack: Why Hitler Attacked Soviet Russia When He Did

Stalins Falle: Er wollte den Krieg ("Stalin's Trap: He Wanted War"), by Adolf von Thadden. Rosenheim: Kultur und Zeitgeschichte/ Archiv der Zeit, 1996. (Available from: Postfach 1180, 32352 Preussisch Oldendorf, Germany). Hardcover. 170 pages. Photos. Bibliography.

Reviewed by Daniel W. Michaels

Until his death in July 1996, Adolf von Thadden was a prominent and respected figure in German "right wing" or "nationalist" (conservative) circles.¹ In this, his final book, this prolific writer concisely and cogently explains why Hitler was compelled, for both political and military reasons, to launch his preemptive strike against the Soviet Union when and how he did. "Stalin's Trap" is also his final legacy to future generations, a sort of testament to young Germans.

For decades the prevailing and more or less official view in the United States and Europe has been that a race-crazed Adolf Hitler, without warning or provocation, betrayed a trusting Josef Stalin by launching a treacherous surprise attack against the totally unprepared Soviet Union on June 22, 1941. Von Thadden's book — which is based in large part on recently uncovered evidence from Russian archives, Stalin's own statements, and new revelations of Russian military specialists — persuasively debunks this view.

Many Soviet documents captured by the Germans during the course of the war, as well as German intelligence reports on the Soviet buildup in 1941, amply justify Hitler's decision to strike. Presented before an impartial tribunal, this evidence surely would have exonerated the German military and political leadership. Unfortunately, all of these documents were confiscated and kept by the victorious Allies.

In his lengthy December 11, 1941, speech declaring war against the United States, Hitler described in detail the Soviet menace, which was being aided and abetted by Britain and the (still officially neutral) USA. In this historic Reichstag address, the German leader said:²

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

Already in 1940 it became increasingly clear from month to month that the plans of the men in the Kremlin were aimed at the domination, and thus the destruction, of all of Europe. I have already told the nation of the build-up of Soviet Russian military power in the East during a period when Germany had only a few divisions in the provinces bordering Soviet Russia. Only a blind person could fail to see that a military build-up of unique world-historical dimensions was being carried out. And this was not in order

to protect something that was being threatened, but rather only to attack that which seemed incapable of defense ...



Adolf von Thadden

When I became aware of the possibility of a threat to the east of the Reich in 1940 through [secret] reports from the British House of Commons and by observations of Soviet Russian

troop movements on our frontiers, I immediately ordered the formation of many new armored, motorized and infantry divisions ...

We realized very clearly that under no circumstances could we allow the enemy the opportunity to strike first into our rear. Nevertheless, the decision in this case was a very difficult one ...

A truly impressive amount of authentic material is now available that confirms that a Soviet Russian attack was intended. We are also sure about when this attack was to take place. In view of this danger, the extent of which we are perhaps only now truly aware, I can only thank the Lord God that He enlightened me in time, and has given me the strength to do what must be done. Millions of German soldiers may thank Him for their lives, and all of Europe for

its existence.

I may say this today: If the wave of more than 20,000 tanks, hundreds of divisions, tens of thousands of artillery pieces, along with more than 10,000 airplanes, had not been kept from being set into motion against the Reich, Europe would have been lost ...

During the great Nuremberg trial of 1945-1946, former high-level Third Reich officials testified about the background to the Barbarossa attack, describing the Soviet threat in 1941, and the staggering amounts of war materiel they encountered after their forces penetrated Soviet territory. But this evidence was brusquely dismissed by the Tribunal's Allied-appointed judges.

Von Thadden cites, for example, the Nuremberg testimony of Hermann Göring:³

We learned very quickly, through our close relations with Yugoslavia, the background of General Simovic's coup [in Belgrade on March 27, 1941]. Shortly afterwards it was confirmed that the information from Yugoslavia was correct, namely, that a strong Russian political influence existed, as well as extensive financial assistance for the undertaking on the part of England, of which we later found proof. It was clear that this venture was directed against the friendly policy of the previous Yugoslav government toward Germany ...

The new Yugoslav government, quite obviously and beyond doubt, clearly stood in closest relationship with the enemies we had at that time, that is to say, England and, in this connection, with the enemy to be, Russia.

The Simovic affair was definitely the final and decisive factor that dispelled the Führer's very last scruples about Russia's attitude, and prompted him to take preventive measures in that direction under all circumstances.

As von Thadden also relates, General Alfred Jodl, one of Hitler's closest military advisors, similarly testified before the Nuremberg Tribunal about Germany's "Barbarossa" attack:⁴

It was undeniably a purely preventive war. What we found out later on was the certainty of enormous Russian military preparations opposite our frontier. I will dispense with details, but I can only say that although we succeeded in a tactical surprise as to the day and the hour, it was no strategic surprise. Russia was fully prepared for war.

Allied authorities at Nuremberg denied to the German defendants access to the documents that would have exonerated them.⁵ Germany's military and political leaders were hanged, committed suicide, or were deported to the Soviet Union for slave



Adolf Hitler before the Reichstag on December 11, 1941. On this historic occasion, the German leader explained his reasons for declaring war against the United States. He also spoke about the background to the June 1941 German attack against Soviet Russia. "Already in 1940," he said, "it became increasingly clear from month to month that the plans of the men in the Kremlin were aimed at the domination, and thus the destruction, of all of Europe ... We realized very clearly that under no circumstances could we allow the enemy the opportunity to strike first into our rear ... A truly impressive amount of authentic material is now available that confirms that a Soviet Russian attack was intended."

labor or execution. As a result, the task of setting straight the historical record has been left to others, including scholars in Russia and the United States, as well as such honorable Germans as von Thadden.

Further evidence cited by von Thadden about the German-Russian clash was provided by Andrei Vlassov, a prominent Soviet Russian general who had been captured by the Germans. During a conversation in 1942 with SS general Richard Hildebrandt, he was asked if Stalin had intended to attack Germany, and if so, when. As Hildebrandt later related:

Vlassov responded by saying that the attack was planned for August-September 1941. The Russians had been preparing the attack since the beginning of the year, which took quite a while because of the poor Russian railroad network. Hitler had sized up the situation entirely correctly, and had struck directly into the Russian buildup. This, said Vlassov, is the reason for the tremendous initial German successes.

No one has done more than Viktor Suvorov (Vladimir Rezun), a one-time Soviet military intelligence officer, to show that Stalin was preparing to



General Alfred Jodl, Operations Staff Chief of the German Armed Forces High Command. Testifying before the Nuremberg Tribunal, Jodl emphasized that Germany's June 1941 attack against Soviet Russia "was undeniably a purely preventive war."

attack Germany and the West as part of a long-range project for global Sovietization, and that Hitler had no rational alternative but to counter this by launching his own attack.⁶

In "Stalin's Trap," von Thadden discusses and confirms Suvorov's analysis, while also citing the findings of other Russian military historians who, working in archives accessible only since 1990, support and elaborate on Suvorov's work. These include retired Soviet Colonel Aleksei Filipov, who wrote "The Red Army's State of War Preparedness in June 1941," an article published in 1992 in the Russian military journal, *Voyenni Vestnik*, and Valeri Danilov, another retired Soviet Colonel, who wrote "Did the General Staff of the Red Army Plan a Preventive Strike Against Germany?," which appeared first in a Russian newspaper, and later, in translation, in the respected Austrian military journal, *Österreichische Militärische Zeitschrift*.

On the 46th anniversary of the end of the war in Europe, the influential Moscow daily *Pravda* (May 8, 1991) told readers:

Unrealistic [Soviet] plans of an offensive nature were drawn up before the war as a result of an overestimation of our own capabilities and an underestimation of the enemy's. In accordance with these plans we began deploying our forces on the western frontier. But the enemy beat us to it.

More recently, two prominent European historians, one German and one Austrian, have presented further evidence of Soviet preparations for an attack against Germany. The first of these is Joachim Hoffmann, who for many years was a historian with the renowned Military History Research Center in Freiburg. He lays out his evidence in *Stalins Vernichtungskrieg, 1941-1945* ("Stalin's War of Annihilation"), a work of some 300 pages that has appeared in at least three editions. The second is Heinz Magenheimer, a member of the Academy of National Defense in Vienna, and an editor of the *Österreichische Militärische Zeitschrift*. His detailed book has recently appeared in English under the title *Hitler's War: German Military Strategy, 1940-1945* (London: 1998).

Von Thadden also reviews a series of articles in the German weekly *Der Spiegel* about Soviet plans, worked out by General Georgi Zhukov, to attack northern Germany and Romania in early 1941. Commenting on this, Colonel Vladimir Karpov has stated:

Just imagine if Zhukov's plan had been accepted and implemented. At dawn one morning in May or June thousands of our aircraft and tens of thousands of our artillery pieces would have struck against densely concentrated enemy forces, whose positions were known down to the battalion level — a surprise even more inconceivable than the German attack on us.

Stalin's Speeches

Von Thadden cites and quotes at length from several speeches by Stalin, as well as from an order he issued in 1943. According to the author, these show that Stalin — like his predecessor, Lenin — always considered war to be the ultimate vehicle by which to promote world Communist revolution and usher in the global dictatorship of the proletariat.

Perhaps the most revealing of these speeches is Stalin's address to a Politburo meeting on August 19, 1939. Delivered to an intimate circle of associates, it shows his astute but utterly cynical evaluation of political forces, and reveals his cunning foresight. (To this writer's knowledge, no American

historian has yet taken public notice of this speech.)

Stalin delivered this speech just as Soviet officials were negotiating with British and French representatives about a possible military alliance with Britain and France, and as German and Soviet officials were discussing a possible non-aggression pact between their countries. Four days after this speech, German Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop met with Stalin in the Kremlin to sign the German-Soviet non-aggression pact.

It is important to point out here that Stalin could have prevented war in 1939 by agreeing to support Britain and France in their "guarantee" of support to Poland, or simply by announcing that the Soviet Union would firmly oppose any violation by Germany of Polish territory. He decided instead to give Hitler a "green light" to attack Poland, fully anticipating that Britain and France would then declare war on Germany, making the localized conflict into a full-scale, Europe-wide war.

In this speech, Stalin laid out his shrewd and calculating view of the European situation:

The question of war or peace has entered a critical phase for us. If we conclude a mutual assistance pact with France and Great Britain, Germany will back off from Poland and seek a *modus vivendi* with the Western powers. War would be avoided, but down the road events could become dangerous for the USSR. If we accept Germany's proposal and conclude a non-aggression pact with her, she will of course invade Poland, and the intervention of France and England in that would be unavoidable. Western Europe would be subjected to serious upheavals and disorder. Under those conditions, we would have a great opportunity to stay out of the conflict, and we could plan the opportune time for us to enter the war.

The experience of the last 20 years has shown that in peacetime the Communist movement is never strong enough to seize power. The dictatorship of such a party will only become possible as the result of a major war.

Our choice is clear. We must accept the German proposal and politely send the Anglo-French mission home. Our immediate advantage will be to take Poland to the gates of Warsaw, as well as Ukrainian Galicia ...

For the realization of these plans it is essential that the war continue for as long as possible, and all forces, with which we are actively involved, should be directed toward this goal ...

Let us consider a second possibility, that is, a victory by Germany ... It is obvious that Germany will be too occupied elsewhere to turn against us. In a conquered France, the French Communist Party will be very strong. The Communist revolution will break out unavoidably,



In a secret address to his "inner circle" on August 19, 1939, Stalin said: "It is in the interest of the USSR — the workers' homeland — that war breaks out between the Reich and the capitalist Anglo-French block. Everything should be done so that this drags out as long as possible with the goal of weakening both sides." The Soviet leader's plan to overwhelm Europe in a great military assault was dashed by Hitler's preemptive "Barbarossa" strike.

and we will be able to fully exploit this situation to come to the aid of France and make it our ally. In addition, all the nations that fall under the "protection" of a victorious Germany will also become our allies. This presents for us a broad field of action in which to develop the world revolution.

Comrades! It is in the interest of the USSR — the workers' homeland — that war breaks out between the Reich and the capitalist Anglo-French block. Everything should be done so that this drags out as long as possible with the goal of weakening both sides. For this reason, it is imperative that we agree to conclude the pact proposed by Germany, and then work that this war, which will one day be declared, is carried

out after the greatest possible passage of time...

The Soviet leader's daring calculation to use Germany as an "icebreaker" for war was, von Thadden says, "Stalin's trap."

A version of this speech has been known since 1939, but for decades it has been widely dismissed as a fraud. However, in 1994 Russian historians found an authoritative text of it in a special secret Soviet archive, and quickly published it in a prominent Russian scholarly journal, as well as in an academic publication of Novosibirsk University.⁷

Shortly after this August 1939 speech, von Thadden points out, Stalin ordered a two-year military mobilization plan, a massive project that culminated in the summer of 1941 with powerful Soviet forces poised to strike westwards against Germany and the rest of Europe.

On May 5, 1941, just seven weeks before the German attack, Stalin delivered another important speech, this one at a ceremonial banquet in the Kremlin to graduates of the Frunze Military Academy. Also attending were the members of Stalin's "inner circle," including Molotov and Beria.

During the war, von Thadden relates, the Germans reconstructed the text of this speech based on recollections of captured Soviet officers who had attended the banquet.

As von Thadden notes, a number of historians have predictably denied its authenticity, rejecting it as a product of German propaganda disinformation. However, several years ago Russian historian Lev Bezymensky found the text of a portion of the speech, which had been edited for anticipated publication, in Kremlin archives. He published this text in a 1992 issue of the scholarly journal *Osteuropa*.

In this speech, Stalin stressed that the recent peaceful policy of the Soviet state had played out its role. (With this policy, the Soviet Union had greatly extended its borders westward in 1939 and 1940, absorbing some 30 million people.) Now, Stalin bluntly announced, it was time to prepare for war against Germany, a conflict that would begin soon. He cited the tremendous buildup of Soviet military power, both in quantity and quality, during the last few years. The recent German "occupation" of Bulgaria, and the transfer of German troops to Finland, he went on, are "grounds for war against Germany."

Stalin said:

Our war plan is ready ... We can begin the war with Germany within the next two months ... There is a peace treaty with Germany, but this is only a deception, or rather a curtain, behind which we can openly work ...

The peaceful policy secured peace for our country ... Now, however, with our reorganized army, which is technologically well prepared for modern warfare, now that we are strong, we

must now go from defense to attack.

In fully defending our country, we are obliged to act offensively. We must move from defense to a military policy of offensive action. We must reorganize our propaganda, agitation, and our press in an offensive spirit. The Red Army is a modern army, and a modern army is an offensive army.

The motto of a peaceful policy of the Soviet government is now out of date, and has been overtaken by events ... A new era in the development of the Soviet state has begun, the era of the expansion of its borders, not, as before, through a peaceful policy, but rather by force of arms. Our country has available all the necessary conditions for this.

The successes of the German army are due to the fact that it has not encountered an equally strong opponent. Some Soviet commanders have falsely overestimated the successes of the German army ...

Therefore, I propose a toast to the new era that has dawned in the development of our socialist fatherland. Long live the active offensive policy of the Soviet state!

In the face of all the new evidence that has become available in recent years, von Thadden contends here, obviously it will be necessary to reexamine the long-standing official interpretation of the war.

To shore up the beleaguered "establishment" view of the Hitler-Stalin clash, a group of concerned scholars met at an international conference in Moscow in 1995. Historians from Europe, Israel, the United States and Canada met with their Russian counterparts to coordinate the "official" line, in both Russia and the West, on the German-Russian clash and its origins. These historians simply ignored most of the abundant and growing body of evidence for the revisionist view of this chapter of history, including the Stalin speeches and other evidence cited by von Thadden, or the recent substantiating findings of Russian historians.

To show that even "establishment" scholars can change their view about this chapter of history, von Thadden cites French historian Stéphane Courtois.⁸ In 1968 this renowned scholar was still a dedicated Maoist, and in 1981 he co-founded the scholarly journal *Communisme*. More recently, Courtois has stated:

I work for a reevaluation of Stalin. He was the greatest criminal of this century. But at the same time he was the century's greatest politician: its most competent and most professional. He understood best of all how to utilize all means in the service of his goals. From 1917 onwards, he had a global vision, and sticking to his project, he achieved it ... Of course, one can

easily say that Hitler unleashed the war. But the evidence of Stalin's responsibility is shattering. Stalin wanted to eradicate anyone who opposed the Marxist-Leninist social order.

"Because of the resistance of German soldiers," concludes von Thadden, "the Russians and the Anglo-American 'liberators' met each other not in western Europe, but rather on the Elbe in central Germany."

Notes

1. Von Thadden wrote numerous articles and essays, and was a co-publisher of the Coburg monthly *Nation und Europe*. Other books by him include *Zwei Angreifer: Hitler and Stalin*, 1993; *Adolf Hitler*, 1991; *Die verfemte Rechte*, 1984; *Guernica: Greuelpropaganda oder Kriegsverbrechen?*
2. "Hitler's Declaration of War Against the United States," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1988-89 (Vol. 8, No. 4), pp. 389-416.
3. This portion of Göring's testimony, given on March 15, 1946, is in the IMT "blue series" (Nuremberg), vol. 9, pp. 333-334.

On March 27, 1941, Serbian officers in Belgrade, with backing from Britain, and possibly also the United States, overthrew the pro-German Yugoslav government of prime minister Cvetkovic. The new government, headed by General Simovic, quickly concluded a pact with Moscow. The subsequent German invasion of Yugoslavia, launched on April 6, delayed the Barbarossa attack against the USSR by several weeks. See: *Germany and the Second World War* (Oxford Univ. Press: 1995), vol. 3, pp. 480, 498, 499.

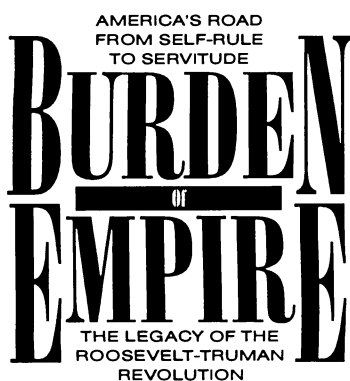
4. This portion of Jodl's testimony, given on June 5, 1946, is in the IMT "blue series," vol. 15, pp. 394-395.
5. See David Irving's study, *Nuremberg: The Last Battle*, reviewed in the July-August 1998 *Journal of Historical Review*. See also, M. Weber, "The Nuremberg Trials and the Holocaust," Summer 1992 *Journal*, pp. 167-213.
6. Suvorov's first three books on World War II have been reviewed in *The Journal of Historical Review*. The first two, *Icebreaker* and "M Day," were reviewed in Nov.-Dec. 1997 *Journal* (Vol. 16, No. 6), pp. 22-34. His third book, "The Last Republic," was reviewed in the July-August 1998 *Journal* (Vol. 17, No. 4), pp. 30-37.
7. A portion of this speech is quoted in part in the Nov.-Dec. 1997 *Journal of Historical Review*, pp. 32-34, and in the July-August 1998 *Journal*, p. 31.
8. Works by Courtois include *Histoire du parti communiste français* (1995), *L'etat du monde en 1945* (1994), *Rigueur et passion* (1994), *50 ans d'une passion française*, 1991), *Qui savait quoi?* (1987), and, perhaps best known, *Le livre noir du communisme: Crimes, terreur, repression* (1997).

Intellectual Groveling

"The Occident will not perish through totalitarianism, or even through spiritual impoverishment, but rather through the servile groveling of its intellectuals for political expediency."

— Gottfried Benn (1886-1956), German poet

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First published in 1989, *Other Losses* stirred up a media storm in North America and in Europe, earning respectful treatment from such media giants as CBS, *Time*, *Der Spiegel*, and the *New York Times*. Praised by Pat Buchanan and revisionist historian Alfred de Zayas, *Other Losses* is must reading for revisionists.

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Perseverance

I am deeply impressed with the IHR website. What a quality job you've done. The breadth and scope of it is daunting. The writing at the site is of such great quality, and the credentials are formidable. I've spent many hours here, and I'll spend many more. Thank you for your efforts.

To carry on for so many years, especially after the 1984 arson attack, takes perseverance, guts and tenacity of will. Great work!

E. G.

[by Internet]

Dedication and Honesty

Recently and quite by accident, while "surfing" on the Internet for some totally unrelated research, I came upon the Leuchter Report on the IHR web site.

Although I had heard of those who did not believe the Holocaust actually took place, I had never heard of Leuchter's *Report* or of his subsequent ordeal. Forgive my ignorance. I usually stay up on politics, both domestic and to some extent international, as well as important issues generally.

I had believed the history of the Holocaust as presented when I was a child. However, Leuchter's Report dispels much of what I was taught and have read. What I can't understand is why the Jewish community does not support every effort to find the truth, no matter what it is. I don't see what the problem is. Maybe I'm naive or something! Then again, how about Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge victims in Cambodia. If three million is an accurate figure of his victims, I think we should call that a Holocaust.

It is very frightening to read about what Mr. Leuchter went through. I am Jewish by birth, although I became a Christian as

an adult. The Jewish response to Leuchter's information, including the vilification of him, makes me ashamed that I was born Jewish. Leuchter's picture is even posted on a "watch list" of an anti-hate group. That's absolutely absurd.

It is quite clear that Leuchter carried out his investigation with no preconceived ideas, except those he had been taught regarding the Holocaust. If anything, that should have prejudiced him the other way. However, true to scientific form, he went where his research took him. That represents dedicated scientific honesty.

A. M. B., MD

[by Internet]

Find the Truth

I am a fellow student of history. I am not an anti-Semite. I just think that the victors wrote history in their way. Keep up the good work. (On some of the revisionist sites there is sometimes a sarcastic tone that I don't think is at all helpful.) I think the honest study of history will bring the truth to light. Drive on, and don't let them get you down. Let's just find the truth.

R. W.

[by Internet]

What MacDonald Misses

After reading the review of Kevin MacDonald's book, *Separation and its Discontents*, in the May-June 1998 *Journal*, I immediately ordered the book and read it very carefully. I readily agree with him that Jews routinely use deception and self-deception in competition with non-Jews, that there is "fundamental and non-resolvable friction" between Jews and non-Jews, and that Jews work to fundamentally alter Western culture to suit their interests. Unfortunately, though, MacDonald fails to lay out the full

implications of all this. He is particularly off the mark about Jewish motivation.

He suggests that greater understanding of the true relationship between Jews and non-Jews will help to resolve this longstanding conflict. But this is silly, rather like asserting that the rabbit and the fox could get along if only they understood one another better.

MacDonald contends that Jews, as a group, outdo non-Jews in economic, cultural and, intellectual and political competition. He argues that anti-Semitism is caused mainly by envy and rancor over Jewish success in resource competition, and resentment over Jewish unwillingness to assimilate.

This explanation is inaccurate, or at least insufficient. Jewish success in competition with non-Jews is not, in and of itself, a major cause of anti-Semitism. Most non-Jews have a healthy sense of fair play, and are ready enough to accept being outdone, if it's achieved honestly and equitably. What non-Jews throughout history have found intolerable is Jewish domination achieved through deceit and subversion.

MacDonald writes that Jews, understandably, seek to transform society by pushing for "multi-culturalism." This is true as far as it goes, but Jews want not merely to survive, but to prevail in a society that is miscegenated, culture-less and race-less. They seek to undermine and ultimately destroy the racial and cultural cohesion of the host nation.

J. A.

Niles, Illinois

Forgiveness for Sale

It seems that the World Jewish Congress, and its allies, continue to find ever new and creative ways

to extort more and more "restitution" money from Germans. A recent news item reported: "They [the German companies] want to buy moral forgiveness, but you don't buy moral forgiveness at bargain-basement prices," added Edward Fagan, another of the [Jewish restitution] lawyers." Apparently "moral forgiveness" is for sale, after all.

P. G.
Nashville, Tenn.
[by Internet]

'Slow Judaizing'

A front cover feature article in the April 1998 issue of *New York* magazine asks "Is Israel Still Good for the Jews?" (One might better ask if Israel was ever good for Americans.) In this revealing article, author Craig Horowitz boasts: "Not only do Jews now think and act like Americans; Americans now think and act like Jews. There has been a slow Judaizing of America in which it's becoming increasingly difficult to see where one begins and the other ends."

When an alien racial-ethnic minority group achieves decisive power in a country, as happened in Russia after 1917, profound changes are sure to take place. Is something similar happening today in the United States? One need look no further than the White House and Capitol Hill to see the tremendous power and influence of the Jewish minority.

Charles E. Weber
Tulsa, Okla.

Lipstadt Book Not Persuasive

At a local library I recently found a copy of *Denying the Holocaust* [reviewed in the Nov.-Dec. 1993 and Sept.-Oct. 1995 *Journal* issues], a book by Deborah Lipstadt that is very critical of the IHR and its publications on the Holocaust issue. The book is not written objectively, and is even deliberately misleading. Not only is the book not persuasive, reading it actually had the effect of making me more sure of the revisionist view of this issue.

For instance, to prove her case Lipstadt writes that the German government has admitted that Germans committed all the World War II crimes of which they were accused. What she doesn't tell her readers is that the German authorities could have disputed the charges only if they had been willing to submit to further Allied punishment, and even let many more Germans perish.

A precedent for this was set at the end of World War I, when the British and French maintained the blockade of Germany to force the German government to sign the punitive Treaty of Versailles. As educated Germans know, the Allied blockade was kept in place for nine months after the end of hostilities. During that period (November 1918 to July 1919), nearly a million German civilians, mostly women and children, died of starvation. [See *The Politics of Hunger: The Allied Blockade of Germany, 1915-1919*, by C. Paul Vincent, reviewed in the Summer 1986 *Journal*.]

By starving the Germans into submission, the Allied powers were able to extort enormous reparations from Germany, as well as force acceptance, through the imposed Versailles Treaty, of German "guilt" for World War I.

In the aftermath of Germany's defeat in World War II, American authorities similarly imposed the infamous Morgenthau Plan. As Canadian historian James Bacque has shown [in *Other Losses and Crimes and Mercies*], millions of Germans starved to death under Allied occupation after the German surrender in May 1945.

Any "admissions" of "guilt" under such circumstances are, of course, worthless.

Lipstadt's book is written in the spirit that offense is better than defense. She accuses revisionists of behavior that she, and those like her, routinely display. *Denying the Holocaust* also clearly reflects the author's lifelong indoctrination, and was obviously written with considerable input

from others.

Lipstadt viciously derides those who provide scientific evidence to show that there were no wartime homicidal gas chambers. However, she attacks only their competency and credentials, not their evidence. By her reasoning, the work of Thomas Edison and the Wright brothers should be rejected out of hand because they lacked proper credentials. Anyway, what are her qualifications as a chemist or engineer?

Lipstadt insists on calling those who reject the Holocaust extermination claims "deniers." She won't call them revisionists because, as she acknowledges, historical revisionism has a long and honorable tradition.

If this book is typical of "pro-Holocaust" literature, I can understand why Lipstadt and those like her categorically refuse to debate Holocaust skeptics. Every "denier" should read *Denying the Holocaust*. It will remove the last doubts about the validity of the revisionist view.

U. V.
Oklahoma City, Okla.

High Priests?

It seems that Jews have become high priests of "information" in America, and that anyone who challenges the "received wisdom" risks being dismissed as anti-Semitic. For example, E. Fuller Torrey, author of *Freudian Fraud: The Malignant Effect of Freud's Theory on American Thought and Culture*, a 1992 book that debunks Freud's research and highlights his baleful influence on American culture, finds it necessary to reassure his readers that he is not anti-Semitic.

J. G.
[by Internet]

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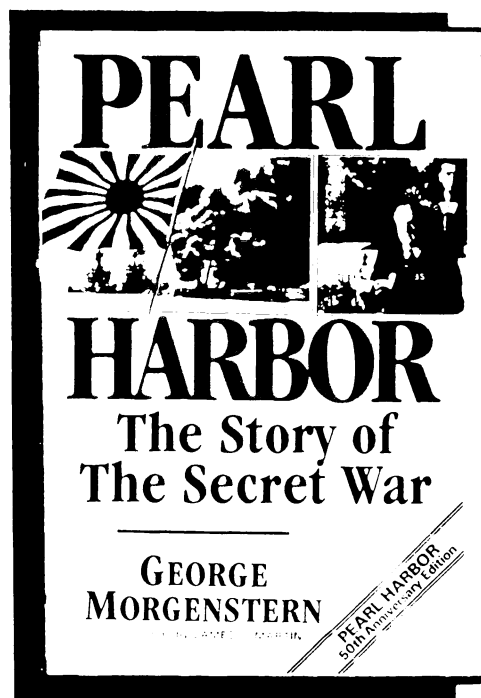
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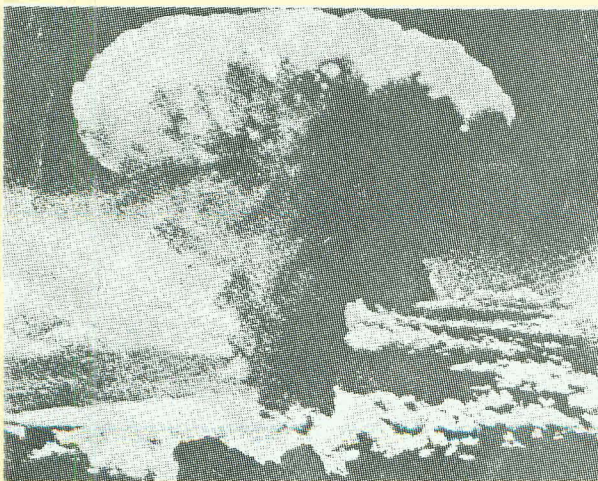
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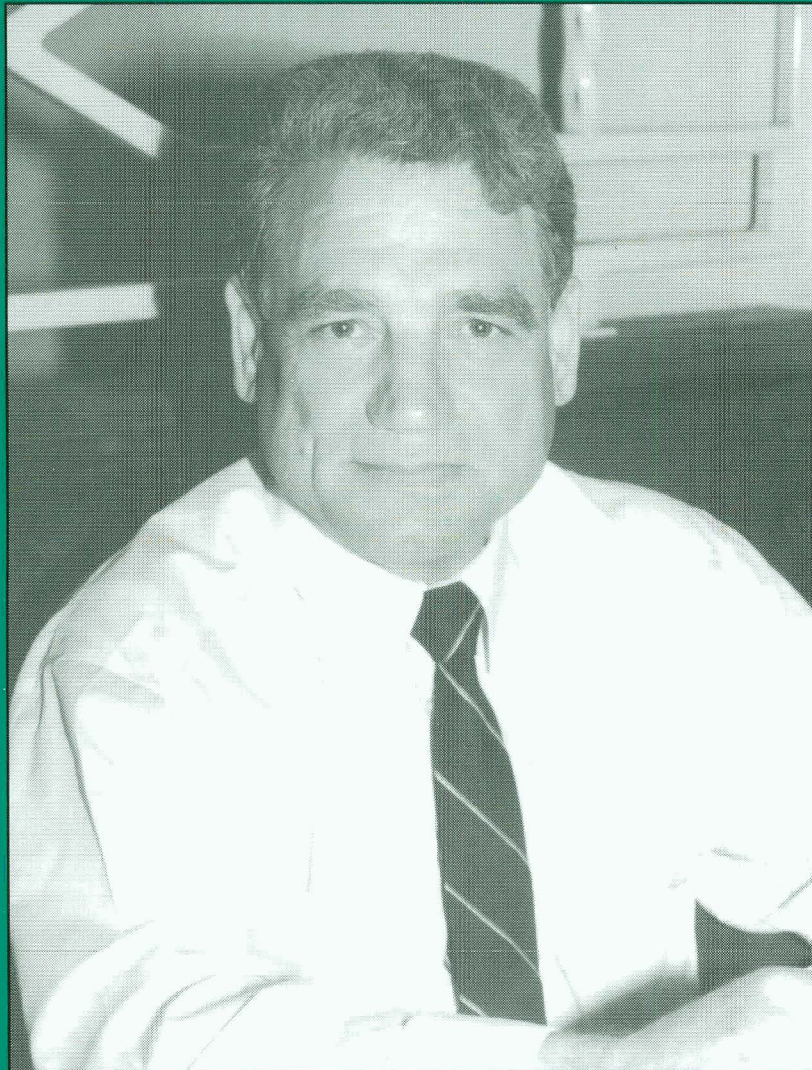
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The Journal of Historical Review

Volume 18, Number 4

July / August 1999



**Dr. Toben Free After Seven Months
in German Custody**

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New CODOH Campus Furor

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the 'Garaudy Affair'**

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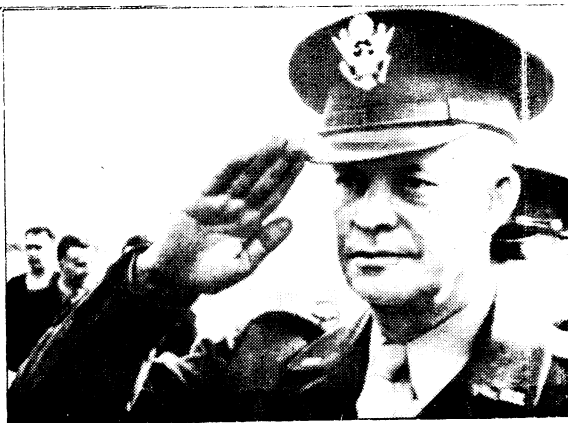
'Political Correctness' in Germany

Claus Nordbruch

"Americans ... will find its indictment as sickening as it is incredible."

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On the Cover: Fredrick Toben

The Journal of Historical Review (ISSN: 0195-6752) began publication in 1980. It upholds and continues the tradition of Historical Revisionism of scholars such as Harry Elmer Barnes, A.J.P. Taylor, William H. Chamberlin, Paul Rassinier and Charles Tansill. *The Journal of Historical Review* is published six times yearly by the **Institute for Historical Review**, P.O. Box 2739, Newport Beach, CA 92659. Subscription price: \$40 per year, \$65 for two years, and \$90 for three years. For foreign subscriptions, add \$10 per year. For overseas airmail delivery, add \$30 per year. Remittances for subscriptions must be payable in US dollars drawable on a US bank. Donations to the IHR are tax-deductible.

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German Court Sentences Australian Holocaust Skeptic

Dr. Toben Free After Seven Months In Custody

Dr. Fredrick Toben, an Australian scholar and educator, is free after seven months in German prison for having disputed Holocaust extermination allegations. He was taken into custody in Mannheim on April 8, 1999, and detained, without bail, until his trial in November. Toben, 55, is a leading Holocaust revisionist writer and publicist in Australia, where he founded and (until his arrest) directed the Adelaide Institute, an important revisionist research and publishing center.

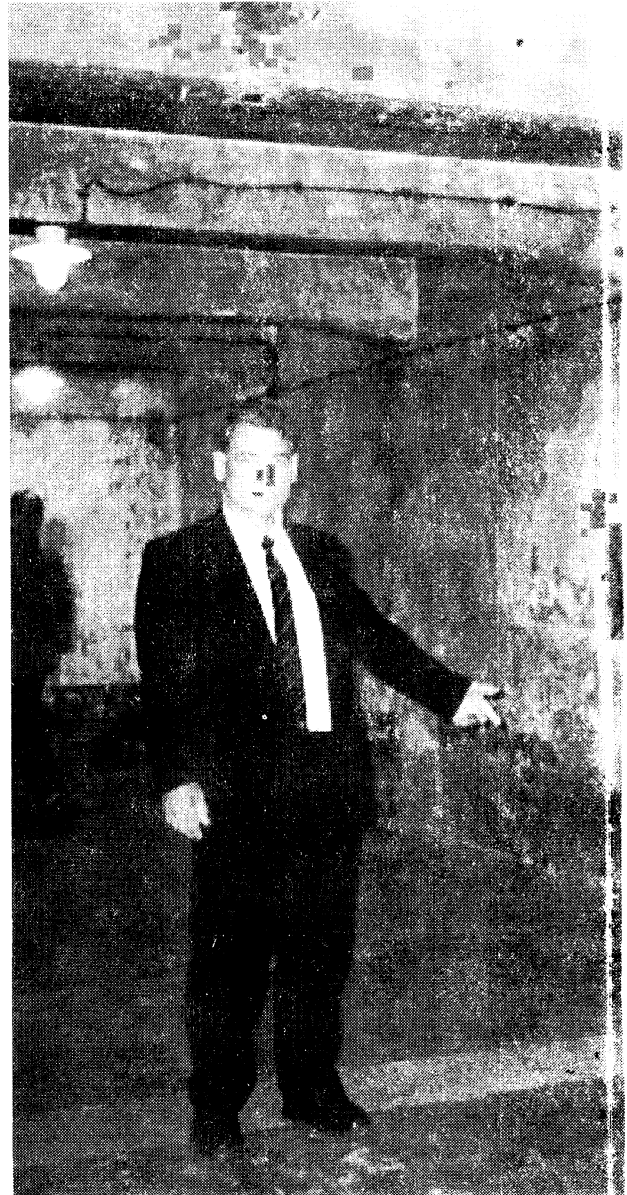
At the conclusion of the three-day trial on November 10, 1999, a Mannheim district court found Toben guilty on charges of incitement to racial hatred, insulting the memory of the dead, and public denial of genocide, because he had disputed Holocaust extermination claims in writings sent to persons in Germany. Presiding Judge Klaus Kern said that there is no doubt that Toben is guilty of "denying the Holocaust," and that because there is no sign that he would relent his views and activities, a prison sentence was required. The court then sentenced him to ten months imprisonment.

Taking into consideration the seven months he had already served in custody, Judge Kern ruled that Toben could be released on payment of a bail or fine of 6,000 marks (about \$3,500) in lieu of the three months remaining of his prison sentence. German sympathizers quickly raised the money, and he was freed within 24 hours of the verdict.

Important Court Ruling on Internet

In a ruling with potentially far-reaching consequences, the Mannheim court declared that German law has no jurisdiction over Toben's "on-line" writings or publications. It declined to consider the extensive evidence presented by the prosecution taken from the Adelaide Institute's Internet web site. Judge Kern said the court could take into account only the material Toben had mailed to or otherwise physically distributed in Germany. Material published on the Internet is not published in Germany. Instead, he went on, its distribution requires the Internet user, acting on his own initiative, to connect with the Adelaide Institute web site, and then to download material from it.

"This is a victory for free speech," Toben commented upon his release. "We have saved the Inter-



Fredrick Toben inside the "gas chamber" at the Auschwitz I main camp, April 1997.

net as a place we can tell the truth and not be punished for it." The German court's Internet ruling may be relevant, for example, in the current legal case before the "Human Rights Commission" in Tor-

onto, Canada, which charges Ernst Zündel with distributing "hate" through an Internet web site based in southern California.

Expressing concern that the Mannheim court's verdict sets a dangerous precedent, prosecutor Hans-Heiko Klein immediately lodged an appeal. "This is the first time," he said, that "a court in Germany has decided that some things which are said in [sic] Germany on the Internet cannot be subject to German laws. This is a very bad thing. It will undermine our laws which are very important for ensuring that history in Germany is not repeated."

Toben's attorney is likewise appealing the court's sentence.

Toben remains defiant. "I will not be silenced," he vowed. "I intend to keep using the Internet to promote discussion on these issues. I believe in seeking the truth. Why are they so afraid in Germany of allowing open discussion about the so-called Holocaust? It can only be because they are afraid of the truth."

Intimidation of Defendants

On the first day of the trial, November 8, Toben announced that he would not defend himself against the charges because by doing so he would likely be charged for additional violations of Germany's "Holocaust denial" and "incitement" laws. His lawyer, Ludwig Bock, similarly announced that he would offer no defense on behalf of Toben because he risked being charged himself. "If I say anything I will go to jail myself, and if he says anything there will be another trial," Bock told a reporter.

Prosecutor Klein later confirmed that such fears were entirely justified. "If they [Toben and Bock] had repeated things in this court which are against the law I would have charged them again," said Klein. Bock did however read a statement to the court that compared the prosecution of Toben and other "Holocaust deniers" to the trials of witches in the Middle Ages, and which called Germany's anti-revisionist laws a gross violation of the principle of freedom of speech.

In the German legal system no privilege protects the evidence of witnesses in court. If a defendant, or his attorney, says something in court that repeats the "crime" for which he is being tried, he can be charged again. This makes it all but impossible for defendants in such "thought crime" cases to present effective arguments and pertinent evidence.

"The problem we have," said Geoff Muirden, Adelaide Institute acting director, "is that since it's against the law to produce hard evidence to prove aspects of the Holocaust are wrong, we can't mount much of a defense."

"I wanted the court to go with me to Auschwitz and see the evidence," said Toben. "In any case



Dr. Toben, center, during his visit at the IHR office, April 1, 1997, with Mark Weber, left, and Greg Raven, right.

where murder is alleged, there has to be a murder weapon. I have been to Auschwitz and I know there is no mass murder weapon there. The so-called [homicidal] gas chambers do not exist."

Bock, who is well-known in Germany as a defender of Holocaust "thought criminals," meanwhile is awaiting the outcome of an appeal of his own conviction (and 9,000-mark fine) earlier this year on a charge of inciting racial hatred because, in defending another revisionist skeptic, Günter Deckert, he had criticized German political leaders and judges for suppressing debate on the Holocaust issue.

In similar cases in the past, German courts have simply refused to consider evidence supporting revisionist claims. In effect, truth is no defense. For example, some years ago German courts fined best-selling British historian David Irving 30,000 marks (about \$21,000) for publicly saying what is now authoritatively conceded. He was punished for having told a Munich meeting in April 1990 that the structure in Auschwitz that has been portrayed for decades to tourists as an extermination gas chamber is a "dummy" (*Attrappe*).

Irving was found guilty of thus "disparaging the memory of the dead," a German criminal code provision that effectively "protects" only Jews. The judge refused to consider any of the evidence presented by Irving's attorneys, including a plea to permit Dr. Franciszek Piper, senior curator and archives director of the Auschwitz State Museum, to testify in the case.

Also in Switzerland, "thought crime" defendants are intimidated by the authorities. During a July 1998 "Holocaust denial" trial in Switzerland, the public prosecutor threatened to charge a court-qual-

ified engineer with “racial discrimination” for having given sworn testimony as an expert witness that confirmed technical arguments the defendants had made. (See “Swiss Court Punishes Two Revisionists,” July-August 1998 *Journal*, pp. 2-12)

Toben firmly rejects the premise of German authorities that revisionists are dangerous neo-Nazis:

It's time we got rid of this conceptual prison in our language which brands anyone who seeks the truth about the Holocaust as neo-Nazi or anti-Semitic. I am neither of these things. There are Jewish people who agree with me that we should establish the truth. The Holocaust is a matter of belief for many people. I respect that. But it is not a matter of fact. I only want to deal in facts.

Toben also rejects the “Holocaust denier” label. “No one denies that this terrible thing happened,” he has said. “We are looking at allegations that Germans systematically killed people, specifically Jews, in homicidal gas chambers.”

Free Speech Groups Protest Detention

In Australia, John Bennett promptly denounced Toben's detention. The nationally renowned civil rights defender said that Toben had been arrested “under draconian anti-free-speech laws.” Calling this a “classic free speech case,” Bennett urged people to contact German embassies and other appropriate German agencies to protest the arrest. Bennett also helped organize a legal defense fund to secure the historian's release.

Since 1980 Bennett has been president of the Australian Civil Liberties Union (P.O. Box 1137, Carlton, Vic. 3053, Australia). For decades he has also been a leading revisionist writer and publicist in Australia.

In London, historian David Irving promptly condemned Dr. Toben's arrest as an “outrage.” The best-selling British author is himself banned from Germany for his dissident views on Second World War history.

Electronic Frontiers Australia (EFA), an independent on-line free speech group, also spoke out against Toben's arrest, expressing particular concern that German authorities are treating material posted on an Australia-based web site as if it had been published in Germany. EFA chairman Kimberley Heitman, who is also a lawyer, said that the German government is, in effect, trying to legislate for the entire world.

Mark Weber, director of the Institute for Historical Review (IHR), strongly protested Toben's arrest and detention. The southern California-based revisionist history “think tank” closely monitors restrictions on free speech and free historical inquiry in Germany and other countries.

Toben was arrested in April in the office of Hans-Heiko Klein, Germany's best-known public prosecutor of “Holocaust deniers.” He was taken into custody during a private meeting with Klein to discuss with him German laws that prohibit disagreement with an official view of Second World War history, especially regarding the wartime treatment of European Jews. “Some people have claimed that I deliberately provoked my arrest in Germany to bring attention to myself. That is absolutely untrue,” said Toben. He was in Europe as part of a European research tour that took him to Poland, Germany, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Ukraine and Germany.

He was held for seven months in “investigative custody,” without bail, on the basis of arrest warrants of April 9 and May 3. Referring to the pertinent sections of the German criminal code, the warrants specifically alleged that Toben, on repeated occasions, had

A. in a manner suited to disturb the public peace,

1. incited a portion of the population to hatred, and,

2. attacked the human *dignity* of others, by insulting, by malevolently making contemptuous, or by libeling a portion of the population, B. publicly denied, in a manner designed to disturb the public peace, a [genocidal] act ... carried out under National Socialist rule,

C. insulted others, and

D. denigrated the memory of the [Jewish] dead.

Reflecting the special status enjoyed by Jews in Germany today, the April arrest warrant also declared:

The claims of the accused as well as the literature offered and distributed by him are suited to awaken and stir up emotionally hostile attitudes toward Jews in general and, in particular, against Jews who live in the Federal Republic of Germany. They are also suited to shake the confidence in public security of the targeted Jewish portion of the population.

Jewish groups predictably expressed satisfaction with Toben's conviction. In Australia, the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation Commission — similar to the ADL in the United States — responded by calling for stricter legislation in Australia against “racial vilification.”

Disputing Holocaust extermination claims is

legal in most countries, including Australia, but it is a crime in Germany, Israel, France, Switzerland, and several other European states. In 1994 Germany's parliament sharpened the law against "popular incitement" to make it apply more directly to "Holocaust denial." The new amendment made it a crime for a person "in a manner that could disturb the public peace, publicly or in a meeting" to "approve, deny or whitewash" genocidal actions "carried out under National Socialist rule." Offenders are liable to fines and up to five years imprisonment. Noteworthy is the fact that the German law applies only to the Third Reich regime and era. It does not criminalize "denial" of genocidal actions carried out by Communist, Zionist, Democratic or other regimes.

Dr. Fredrick Toben (Töben) was born in northern Germany in June 1944, but emigrated to Australia when he was ten. He has lived most of his life in his new homeland, and is an Australian citizen. He studied at Melbourne University in Australia, as well as at universities in Heidelberg, Tübingen and Stuttgart in Germany, where he earned a doctorate in philosophy. He also holds a Master's degree in education, and has worked as a school teacher in Victoria, Australia.

Centered in South Australia's largest city, and funded by donations, the Adelaide Institute plays a major role in the worldwide struggle against the historical blackout. It was founded in 1994 by Toben, who (until his arrest) directed its work and edited its important newsletter (P.O. Box 3300, Norwood 5067, Australia. E-mail: freadin@adam.com.au). It also maintains an information-packed Internet web site (www.adam.com.au/freadin/adins.html).

In radio and television appearances, Dr. Toben has been an outspoken voice for historical accuracy and free historical inquiry. Over the weekend of August 7-9, 1998, the Adelaide Institute hosted Australia's first-ever revisionist conference, a successful meeting that included speakers from the United States and Europe. (See "The Adelaide Institute Conference," Nov.-Dec. 1998 *Journal*, pp. 6-10.)

All this enraged the powerful Jewish-Zionist lobby. In 1997 the Executive Council of Australian Jewry (ECAJ), the country's main Jewish community organization, brought legal action against Toben to shut down the Institute's web site. In this case, the first test of the country's Racial Discrimination law involving the Internet, Toben was brought before the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (HREOC). Outraged by its guiding principle that truth is no defense, Toben walked out of the Commission hearing and refused to cooperate further with it.

Could You Survive a Nuclear Attack?

Why I Survived The A-Bomb

By Akira Kohchi (Albert Kawachi)

Until now, the *real* story of the first nuclear holocaust had not been told. Previous books on the atomic bombings of Hiroshima approached it only obliquely: technical works hailed it as a marvel of nuclear science, and books written from the military perspective honored the men who gave and carried out a difficult order. Even the eyewitness accounts, numbering some two thousand — and almost all yet to be translated from the Japanese — are overwhelmingly stories of *personal* misery. The total picture — the background, scope, and consequences of the catastrophe — has, until now, never been presented.

Why I Survived the A-Bomb tells a unique and fascinating story as seen from inside Japan 48 years ago and today. The author is eminently qualified — he lived through the experience of a nuclear attack and walked through the flaming, radioactive city of Hiroshima!

Albert Kawachi, a longtime United Nations finance officer, explores the attempts at political and economic justifications for the atom-bombing as he describes the day-to-day living experiences of his family in its wake. His story is dramatic, informative, and historically revisionist.

What was it really like to survive the massive devastation, then deal with the suffering and humiliation wrought by this American doomsday weapon? Who was behind the use of the bomb in the first place? And what did it really accomplish? We need real answers to these hard questions before we speak glibly of defense and disarmament, and before we argue over trade imbalances and deficits, for what happened at Hiroshima and Nagasaki could be our tomorrow.

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Holocaust survivor
and author
Albert Kawachi

CODOH's *Revisionist* Distribution Prompts Media Furor

Bradley Smith is back in the news. The veteran revisionist activist has touched off a major furor that has received nationwide newspaper and television attention with the distribution at Hofstra University in Long Island, New York, of his new 28-page magazine-format publication. He arranged to distribute 5,000 copies of *The Revisionist: A Journal of Independent Thought* as an insert with the October 28, 1999, issue of the student newspaper, *The Chronicle*.

Jewish students and faculty, as well as officials of Jewish-Zionist groups, responded with predictable rage when they learned of the distribution. In a letter published in a subsequent issue of the Hofstra student paper, a Regional Director of the Jewish-Zionist Anti-Defamation League (ADL) complained:

We are outraged that the *Chronicle* chose to include an entire Holocaust denial publication, *The Revisionist*, as an insert in the issue of October 28.... [It] contains 27 pages of repeated denials that there ever was a Nazi program to extermination directed at the Jewish people.

While Smith and his Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust (CODOH) are no strangers to generating campus media excitement, the uproar over the distribution of *The Revisionist* at the large New York City-area university has been magnified by the publication's length, evident intelligence, and earnestness of content. It contains thoughtful, topical and informative writing by several revisionist writers, including Smith and IHR *Journal* Associate Editor Ted O'Keefe. *The Revisionist* includes a look at historical fakery by the US Holocaust Museum in Washington, DC, a critical review of Daniel Goldhagen's much-discussed study *A Nation on Trial*, and a sympathetic look at the work and impact of British historian David Irving. (This same issue of *The Revisionist* was distributed to *Journal* subscribers along with the last *JHR* issue.)

Distribution of *The Revisionist* represents a new level of CODOH activism. Whereas past campus outreach efforts by Smith often seemed to have prompted debate only about the issue of free speech for revisionism, "Holocaust lobby" officials seem concerned that this new CODOH initiative will generate wider campus discussion of wider historical and social-political issues.

Chronicle editor Shawna Van Ness said that the paper's editorial board decided overwhelmingly to accept the CODOH insert because rejecting it "would be censorship on our part." This has been a consistent policy of the paper, which ran CODOH



Bradley Smith reports on his work at the Eleventh IHR Conference

advertisements in 1997 and 1998.

Smith, who has worked closely with the IHR, has focused much of his attention on campus outreach. Over the years, dozens of student papers around the country have published CODOH advertisements calling for open debate of the Holocaust issue. CODOH also maintains a major revisionist web site: www.codoh.com. (For more on Smith's activism, see, for example, "Bradley Smith's 'Campus Project' Generates Nationwide Publicity for Holocaust Revisionism," July-August 1994 *Journal*, pp. 18-24; "Brad Smith's Campus Project," May-June 1993 *Journal*, pp. 17-20; "Smith Steps Up CODOH Ad Campaign," Nov.-Dec. 1993 *Journal*, p. 22; "Smith and Cole Appear on 'Donahue' Show," May-June 1994 *Journal*, pp. 19-20.)

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Wartime Germany's Anti-Gas Air Raid Shelters: A Refutation of Pressac's 'Criminal Traces'

SAMUEL CROWELL

As Holocaust historians concede, hard evidence for mass killings in Second World War gas chambers has proven to be elusive. After an extensive search, especially of wartime German records held in Polish archives, French author Jean-Claude Pressac acknowledged in his detailed 1989 study, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers*, that he was unable to find any direct proof of wartime gas chamber killings at Auschwitz (including the its nearby satellite camp of Birkenau). Instead, he offered 39 documentary "criminal traces" of such gassings — what he called "indirect proofs."

These "traces" are wartime documents, mostly from the Auschwitz central construction office, that contain passing references to "gas tight doors," "gas detectors," and such. In the view of Pressac, and other defenders of the standard Holocaust story, these are implicit references to equipment or devices that were part of homicidal gassing operations.

In the following essay, American researcher Samuel Crowell presents detailed evidence of benign explanations for these "criminal traces."¹ His basic argument is that the documents cited by Pressac as "traces" of homicidal "gas chambers" are references to air raid shelters, or to their fittings or equipment. Specifically, he contends, the Birkenau crematory morgue rooms — the supposed "gas chambers" where, it is alleged, hundreds of thousands of Jews were killed with "Zyklon" pesticide — were modified to also serve as air raid shelters with features to protect against possible Allied attacks with poison gas.

Crowell extensively cites contemporary German specialized literature on wartime air raid shelters and measures against possible air attacks with poison gas to argue that such shelters, and their equipment, were widely used throughout wartime Germany, including in the concentration camps. He contends that seemingly damning documentary ref-

erences to "gas tight doors" and so forth actually refer to normal civil air defense equipment. He therefore concludes that there is no documentary proof — direct or indirect — of homicidal gas chambers at Auschwitz-Birkenau.

Crowell provides an important new perspective on the "gas chamber" issue that merits thoughtful consideration. May his work encourage further investigation and discussion of this crucial issue.

— The Editor

It is well known that although poison gas was used extensively in the First World War, it was not used in the Second. As a result, we tend to forget that in the years before the outbreak of war in 1939, many people expected gas warfare to be a feature of any future conflict. German civil defense literature of the time reflected this anxiety, describing in detail how bomb shelters were to be made secure from both bombs and poison gas. In other words, German bomb shelters were also designed and built as anti-gas shelters.²

While the German wartime literature on bomb shelters or anti-gas shelters has been neglected, it is of enormous value to historians as a primary source. It is particularly relevant for historians of the Holocaust, because this literature uses many of the very same terms that are commonly associated with extermination gas chambers at Auschwitz-Birkenau.

In 1989 an important work by French pharmacist Jean-Claude Pressac appeared in English, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers*.³ This massive, illustrated book of 564 oversize pages was instantly acclaimed as an authoritative refutation of revisionist critics. In it, Pressac sought to prove, strictly on the basis of wartime German documents, that extermination gas chambers were built in each of the four crematory facilities at Birkenau. The core of his demonstration is a list of 39 "criminal traces" of these elusive gas chambers.⁴

But there is something curious here: every one of these "criminal traces" describes a feature of an ordinary German bomb shelter. In other words, every "trace" cited by Pressac as evidence of homicidal gas chambers can also be interpreted as evidence of German bomb shelters or, more precisely,

Samuel Crowell is the pen name of an American writer who describes himself as a "moderate revisionist." At the University of California (Berkeley) he studied philosophy, foreign languages (including German, Polish, Russian, and Hungarian), and history, including Russian, German and German-Jewish history. He continued his study of history at Columbia University. For six years he worked as a college teacher.

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their anti-gas warfare features.

Significantly, others have already noted similarities between the alleged extermination gas chambers and German wartime bomb shelters. To some extent this is even suggested in the Holocaust literature. For example, Miklos Nyiszli, an important source for Pressac, claims in his memoir that during air raids prisoners would take shelter in the gas chamber.⁵

In *Auschwitz and the Allies* Jewish-British historian Martin Gilbert quotes the testimony of a Jewish woman survivor of Auschwitz who describes how, during an air raid, she and many other new female arrivals were led into a dark space and kept until the raid was over.⁶ Interestingly, this testimony describes how several of the women became hysterical during the raid, believing themselves to be inhaling poison gas.

(By inference this testimony confirms that the SS camp personnel took care to protect Jewish prisoners during air raids.)

Among independent researchers, the observation of Wilhelm Stäglich is noteworthy. In 1944 he was stationed at Auschwitz as an anti-aircraft artillery officer, and after the war he served for years as an administrative judge in Hamburg. In his detailed study of the Holocaust issue, first published in German in 1979, he noted that the presence of gas-tight doors in the cellars of the Auschwitz crematory facilities suggested their use as air raid shelters. "At that time," wrote Stäglich, "gas-tight doors were not uncommon, since every cellar had to double as an air raid shelter... Air raid shelters had to be secure not only against explosives, but against gas as well."⁷

American researcher Friedrich Berg has also recognized the importance of German wartime civil defense literature, even though his main research interests lay elsewhere.⁸ Among a handful of European researchers, Robert Faurisson made some suggestive comments in an article published in 1991.⁹ American scholar Dr. Arthur R. Butz suggested, in an article first published in 1996, that Morgue #1 of crematory facility (*Krema*) II at Birkenau was in fact a "gas shelter."¹⁰

In general, though, the anti-gas features of German wartime bomb shelters has been overlooked. This article seeks to redress this neglect by showing



Jean-Claude Pressac

that anti-gas warfare features were basic to German wartime bomb shelter design and construction. In doing so, we cite important but neglected contemporary literature. Finally, we compare this evidence of German wartime anti-gas shelter design and equipment with Pressac's "criminal traces."

This article comprises two main parts. After a brief discussion of the background of poison gas warfare, Part One takes a closer look at contemporary German bomb shelter and anti-gas shelter literature. This section's rather detailed citations from primary source literature are appropriate, we believe, not only because of the importance of this relatively inaccessible evidence, but because the conclusions drawn from it are inherently very contentious, given the very emotion-laden nature of this subject. Part One finishes with some pointed conclusions about characteristics of German bomb shelters.

Part Two deals with each of Pressac's "criminal traces," with references to evidence and points from Part One, as well as to some of the documents in Pressac's own book. Every one of these "criminal traces," we show, can be interpreted in two ways: either as sinister indications of homicidal gas chambers (Pressac's view), or, more plausibly, as benign anti-gas warfare features of common German wartime bomb shelters.

The obvious implication is that there is no contemporaneous documentary evidence whatsoever of homicidal gassings at Auschwitz-Birkenau.

Part One: A Review of German Wartime Anti-Gas Shelter Literature

Poison Gas Warfare Prior to World War II

It is generally agreed that the era of poison gas warfare as we know it began during World War I on April 22, 1915.¹¹ On that day, German forces released a cloud of chlorine gas against French military positions at Ypres. From that date on, both sides used poison gas, causing hundreds of thousands of casualties, of which, however, only a small percentage died.

Poison gas was used in warfare after World War I, but not in Europe. It was used in Russia against Bolshevik "Red" troops, both by British forces and by anti-Communist "Whites." It was also used by British forces in Afghanistan, and by French military units in Morocco. The most infamous use of poison gas during the interwar period was by Italian forces in Ethiopia in 1935, where 15,000 fell victim to mustard gas. With regard to the World War II "gas chamber" issue, the Ethiopian campaign usage was important because the Italian military deployed poison gas by air, which forged the conceptual con-

nection between gas attacks and bombing raids. In line with these all these developments, the Soviet Union began developing large stores of poison gas in the 1920s, as well as hydrogen cyanide, which were produced at the Karaganda works.

Hydrocyanic acid (HCN), or hydrogen cyanide gas — the odorless and invisible poison supposedly used at Auschwitz-Birkenau to kill hundreds of thousands of Jewish prisoners between 1941 and 1944 — was adapted in 1924 in the United States as a means of legal executing criminals.¹²

In the years prior to the outbreak of the Second World War, the major European powers, including Germany, prepared for the use of poison gas in any eventual war. These preparations naturally also involved the possible use of hydrogen cyanide. For example, a relatively early Third Reich guide (published in 1936) to protective measures against poison gas specifically discusses hydrogen cyanide (*Blausäure* or *Cyanwasserstoff*).¹³ Of the nine gas mask filters described, it mentions that the “G” filter is specifically designed for protection against HCN, with a capacity for 3.6 grams.

The author of this 1936 guide is “Fire Warden” (*Branddirektor*) Hans Rumpf. Given his title, it should not surprise us that he would draw on his practical experience with fires in discussing the potential dangers of poison gases. Thus, for example, in a table of poison gases, the common pesticide Zyklon B is listed separately from HCN (*Blausäure*) because of its normal irritant properties.¹⁴ Rumpf also discusses the development of poisonous gases in fires, mentioning, for example, how gases generated by flames will drift to areas with a lower temperature than their boiling point, and then condense into a mist or smoke. He also observes¹⁵

We know, for example, that leather, celluloid, and proteinous substances give off nitric gas as well as cyanide, while rubber will produce sulphur gas and sulfuric acid. All of these gases are poison gases.

Further confirmation of the threat of cyanide gas usage came during World War II itself. In the summer of 1941, at the time of the outbreak of war with Soviet Russia, the German military obtained a Soviet gas mask with a high tolerance for HCN, and a short time later, it obtained Soviet contingency plans for using cyanide gas by spraying it from low flying airplanes. As a result, in early 1942 the German military conducted its own field tests using farm animals, and also developed the FE 42 gas mask filter, with a particular tolerance for HCN.¹⁶

To sum up, poison gases had been used for 24 years before the outbreak of war in 1939. During World War I hydrogen cyanide had been used on a



Standard German armed forces gas mask, type GM 38, widely issued during World War II. This one is fitted with a special “J” filter, for use with Zyklon.

limited scale by the Allies against German troops. In 1941 German authorities learned that the Soviet military had developed stocks of HCN, as well as contingency plans for using it. By 1941 the Germans feared gas attacks with HCN, and made appropriate preparations to deal with them. It should therefore not be surprising that the Germans would have produced masks and detectors designed to defend against and detect hydrogen cyanide gas.

Publicly-available literature published in Germany in the late 1930s and during the Second World War shows clearly that it was widely known and understood during the war years that air raid shelters could and should be built so that they also protect against possible poison gas attacks. Accordingly, the need for “gas tight” doors and such in this regard was widely understood.

In 1939 a Berlin publisher issued *Luftschutz durch Bauen* (“Civil Air Defense Through Construction”), a rather comprehensive work that describes how bomb shelters should be constructed, operated, and furnished. One section has two pages of line drawings showing all the things one would expect to find in a normal German bomb shelter, including a container for contaminated clothing, a gas-tight door (*gasdichte Tür*), a washstand, a medicine cabi-

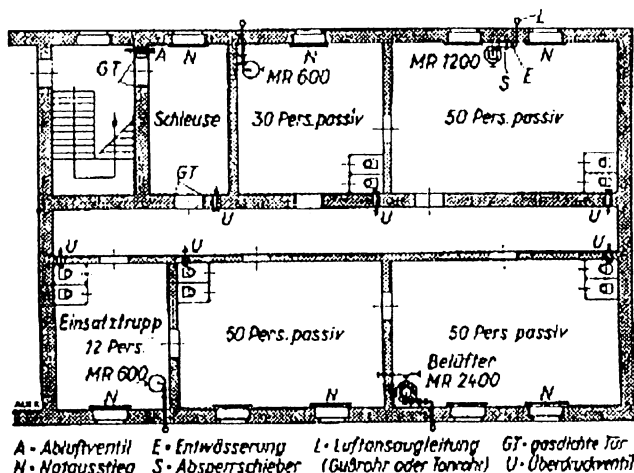


Bild 2. Anordnung der Schutzraumbelüfter.

This diagram, captioned “Arrangement of defense shelter ventilators,” appeared with an article about air raid shelters published in a 1939 issue of the German trade periodical *Gasschutz und Luftschutz*. It identifies the following: “A-Exhaust outlet, E-Drainage, L-Air intake, GT-Gas tight door, N-Emergency exit, S-Stop valve, and U-Pressure release valve.”

net, emergency lighting, benches, and a ventilation system. It also includes a blown-up diagram of an emergency exit showing the exit tunnel, a frame, a gas-tight shutter (*Gasglocke*), and a protective screen (*Trümmerschutz*), which looks like a mesh screen with a wide edge around it.¹⁷

Another section describes the layout of a regular bomb shelter: one enters a small foyer (*Vorraum*) where the bucket for contaminated clothes is kept, and where one can clean one’s shoes in a tray full of sand. From there one moves into a gas lock (*Gas-schleuse*), where one can sit down, and preferably with a cold water tap for washing up.¹⁸ Farther on in the bomb shelter proper (*Schutzraum*), there are benches, tables, and folding chairs. Apparently conscious of space limitations, the book notes that modern bomb shelters are also designed to also serve as washrooms and dressing rooms (whereas such rooms were separated in earlier shelters).

At another place in the book, the shelter’s ventilation system (*Schutzraumbelüfter*) is described in greater detail. Air is drawn from a pipe at about ceiling level, first passing through a dust filter (*Staubfilter*). Then as the air pipe turns downward, the flow can be interdicted by a stopcock. Then the air passes through two more filters, including a gas filter (*Gasfilter*). Finally, after passing through the extraction or pumping mechanism, which can be powered by hand or by electricity, and the now fresh air enters the shelter near the ground level.¹⁹

Another section of the book describes some of the

devices used for protection from rubble and debris:²⁰

Among new constructions we mention above all the grill or protective grille. The overhead exit of a light shaft is closed with a strong, rubble-resistant steel grating. One half of the grille is closed from below, so that if the grille is covered by rubble from a building it possible to open a space for an emergency exit from the bomb shelter. The opening of the grille is secured with a chain. On the inside of the cellar opening there is a gas tight shutter.

Further on the book discusses bomb shelters appropriate for factories or large work places. Such a bomb shelter complex (*Schutzraumbau*) comprises several sections, including a command center (*Befehlsstellen*), an emergency room (*Rettungsstelle*), and a decontamination center (*Entgiftungsanstalten*).²¹ The entire structure is equipped with gas detectors (*Gasspürer*),²² and the entrance has a gas-tight steel door. To accommodate many people comfortably during an air raid, the waiting room should be rather large. The book goes on to explain:²³

From the waiting room, doors lead on the one side to the treatment rooms and on the other side to sleeping quarters. Among the treatment rooms for the wounded and for those exposed to poison gas there is a doctor’s office and an operating room. In large layouts the doctor’s office and the operating room are separate. Farther on there will be sleeping quarters, shelters for lightly wounded, and decontamination centers.

As we can already see, the German wartime bomb shelter is a rather sophisticated facility, based on a systematic design and with a division of functions. In addition, the references in this authoritative work to gas-tight doors, buckets for contaminated clothing, wash rooms, changing rooms, and decontamination centers reflects a very real concern with the possibility of poison gas attacks.

Another noteworthy publication is a booklet published in Berlin in 1939 entitled *Schutzraumabschlüsse* (“Air Raid Shelter Room Seals”).²⁴ Written by an engineer named Scholle, it describes in great detail how to make an air raid shelter (*Schutzraum*) gas tight. Indeed, Dr. Scholle emphasizes the need to make a shelter secure from poison gas (*gas-sicher*), debris (*trümmersicher*), and bomb splinters (*splittersicher*).²⁵ Scholle specifies that windows or emergency exits should be protected on the outside from debris and bomb splinters, while the protection from gas should be on the inside.²⁶ This would mean, in practical terms, that any screening or

grille-work would be on the outside of an opening, and any gas tight cover would be on the inside.

In this booklet Scholle also describes the need for bomb shelter doors to be gas tight and to have a gas tight peephole.²⁷

Every anti-gas bomb shelter door must be equipped with a peephole. The peephole should be made round, without the use of putty or other easily hardened materials to be made gas tight, and it should have a view of 40 millimeters. The disc of multi-layered glass of at least six millimeters in thickness should be protected from damage with a perforated steel plate.

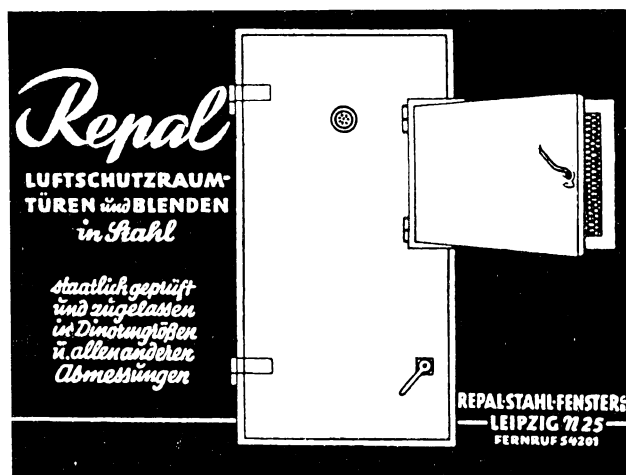
The purpose of the peephole in a bomb shelter door was to enable the Fire Warden to check on the inhabitants of a shelter, to ensure their needs and safety, or to enable the inhabitants to check outside conditions before opening the door. The thin glass disc could, in practice, be recessed either on the outside or the inside of the door, depending on its location. The recessed side would be protected from damage.²⁸ Although a perforated steel plate would be the preferred protection, a number of other means could be used.²⁹

Another important publication in this regard is the trade periodical *Gasschutz und Luftschutz* ("Gas Defense and Civil Air Defense"). An article published in 1939 in this periodical describes the latest advances in civil air defense technology as shown at a recent trade exhibition in Leipzig.³⁰ Attention is given to all the usual features of bomb shelters, including mechanisms for achieving darkening (*Verdunklung*). Darkening was considered very important. In an above-ground bomb shelter, it was the first thing to achieve in the event of an air raid.

This article also discusses modifications for bomb shelters, including doors and window shutters, which can be made of several materials, as well as a discussion of ways of making chimneys and smoke stacks gas tight.³¹

Bomb shelter doors and window shutters come in many different varieties, they are made out of steel, steel-saving constructions, wood, and other building materials ... Among gas protective chimney seals there is a novelty that does not use a steel frame ... consisting of a rubber flap that is pressed against the frame of the concrete chimney flue by means of a bolt.

This construction not only saves steel but also solves the problem of the frame rusting. Another construction for a chimney seal uses a rubber plate which normally hangs loose, but which can be placed into position by means of a



The Repal company of Leipzig offers "air defense shelter doors and shutters, in steel" in this advertisement, which appeared in a 1942 issue of the German trade periodical *Baulicher Luftschutz*. Such doors were gas resistant. Note the protected peep hole.

hook on the inside of the external flue in order to achieve gas tightness in the chimney shutter.

Another article published in this same periodical in 1939, "Work Place Emergency Rooms", contains a floor plan for a typical anti-gas shelter: "A - Exhaust, E - Drainage, L - Air intake, GT - Gas tight door, N - Emergency exit, S - Stop valve, and U - Pressure release valve."³² This article, written by Dr. Ing. Karl Quasebart, also contains recommendations on setting up an emergency room (*Werkrettungsstelle*), particularly for gas attacks, as part of the bomb shelter complex.³³

Those who have been exposed to Yellow Cross or are suspected of same [however] are divided by sex in the undressing rooms, and go from there to the shower rooms, and to the dressing rooms, where extra clothes are available, and from here back to the waiting room, for further transport or direction to the doctor's office.

("Yellow Cross," according to the German gas classification system of the time, denotes vesicants, or blister gases.)³⁴ Thus, undressing rooms and showers were part of the decontamination process, and (as we have already seen)³⁵ were envisioned as an integral part of the bomb shelter complex.

Dr. Quasebart's article also contains photographs of such decontamination facilities. A shower room (*Duschraum*) could contain showers, of course, but the photograph in this article captioned *Duschraum* shows not showers but three water faucets

**Gasschutzfüren
und Blenden**

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"Gas Tight Steel Doors" are offered by the Albus company of Dortmund in this advertisement, published in a 1942 issue of the German trade periodical *Baulicher Luftschutz*. Potential customers are assured that the company's doors and shutters provide "Absolute safety in use!" and that "the simple method of construction enables easy, quick usage." (Note the protected peep hole.)

with hoses attached and coiled around exposed upright pipes. Another photo, captioned "Bath and Shower Room for Gassing Victims" (*Bade- und Duschraum für Kampfstoffverletzte*) shows a bathtub with a more typical shower arrangement attached.³⁶ Clearly, the concepts of "shower room" and "decontamination facility" were rather elastic in their actual application.

Another article in *Gasschutz und Luftschutz* appearing in 1939, this one detailing "Practical Lessons for Work Place Bomb Shelters," recommends *Baustahlgewebe*, described as "wire mesh of varying gauges that has been welded together at certain points," to protect bomb shelter apertures. This is a good substitute, readers are told, especially for constructing covers.³⁷

In March 1940 this periodical changed its name to *Baulicher Luftschutz* ("Civil Air Defense Construction"). A particularly noteworthy article, "Makeshift Bomb Shelters: Right and Wrong," appeared that year in the journal.³⁸ Written by engineer Ernst Baum, it contains several photographs "gas tight window shutters" (*gassichere Fensterblende*), most of them constructed of wood. It also describes an incorrect method for fixing a shutter up against the grating of the window grille:³⁹

Making a window gas tight, according to the regulations, is one of the easiest measures. But even so one observes many mistakes relating to gas tight shutters. It is wrong, for example, to

wrap a board in cloth and press it up against the grating of the window grille with a Christmas tree pole.

The article includes a specific reference to "shutters made of wood" (*Holzblende*).

Another 1940 *Baulicher Luftschutz* article of interest, "Remarks on the Ordinance and Regulations for Building Makeshift Air Raid Shelters," written by a Reich Air Ministry specialist, offers a series of recommendations for building improvised or do-it-yourself bomb shelters. Among them is a suggestion that when they are not serving to protect in air raids, bomb shelters should be, or at least can be, used for other purposes.⁴⁰

It should be noted that these specifications pertain to makeshift or improvised shelters, that is, shelters which would not be expected to have a sophisticated ventilation system. As we shall see, the maximum limits of occupancy for ventilated shelters were different.

"Hygienic and Psychological Conditions for Building Air Raid Bunkers," a lengthy article by a Reich Health Office specialist, appeared in a 1942 issue of *Baulicher Luftschutz*.⁴¹ Among other relevant topics, it deals with recommended temperatures and air circulation for bomb shelters.

Also, citing Regulation No. 7 for air raid bunkers, the article recommends air temperatures of 17 C (62.6 F) degrees, and surface temperatures of 16 C (60.8 F) degrees.⁴² Hence, efforts to heat or warm air raid shelters by the use of stoves or heated air would be entirely in keeping with these regulations.

A lengthy article by an Air Ministry engineer, "The Role of Heating and Ventilation in Planning Air Raid Bunkers," published in a 1942 issue of *Baulicher Luftschutz*, covers such air circulation systems in much greater detail, and with several accompanying drawings.⁴³

Several advertisements for relevant products appear in various 1942 issues of *Baulicher Luftschutz*. One offers wire grille products (*Drahtgeflechte*) produced by the Otto Christ Drahtwarenfabrik of Mannheim-Käfertal. Another advertisement offers gas tight doors and shutters (*Gasschutztüren und Blenden*) produced by the Albus Stahltürenwerk of Dortmund. Potential customers are assured that the products provide "Absolute safety in use!" and that "the simple method of construction enables easy, quick usage."⁴⁴

German measures against possible Allied use of poison gas were also noted in a confidential 640-page guide prepared during the final months of the war by the US War Department. This carefully researched and well-illustrated *Handbook on German Military Forces* was published in March of 1945.⁴⁵ The section on "Chemical Warfare Equip-

ment” presents detailed information, for example, about decontamination vehicles for clothing, a variety of gas protection devices for personnel, horses, and even dogs and pigeons, and decontamination trucks for personnel (which could shower 150 men in an hour).

German anti-gas shelters are specifically mentioned, while a subsection cites a variety of German gas detectors, including detector sets for fortifications, and gas detection laboratories. Widely distributed German gas masks, it mentions, were designed to protect against attacks by HCN and other gases. This shows widespread German awareness of the potential danger of hydrogen cyanide gas attacks, and suggests that the available gas detectors could detect the presence of cyanides in the atmosphere.

Also in this book is a photograph of several air raid bunker ventilators (*Schutzraumbelüfter*), which the *Handbook* calls “collective protectors.”⁴⁶ The photo shows the extensive overhead ductwork suspended from the ceiling by “stirrups” (*Bügel*). Because the ceiling appears to be of concrete formwork, we would suspect that the stirrups are attached to some other element, possibly flat wooden squares. It is worth noting also that such “stirrups” are frequently used on the outside of above-ground bomb shelters to brace fortifying elements — timber, sandbags, concrete, and so forth.⁴⁷

Allied Bombings of Auschwitz

The German “Air Raid Guide Emergency Program” (*Luftschutz Führer Sofort Programm*) of November 1940 specifically required that: “All new constructions, especially in buildings of the armaments industry, are henceforth to be equipped with bomb-proof air raid shelter rooms.”⁴⁸ This unquestionably applied to Auschwitz. During the course of the war, the concentration camps — of which Auschwitz was one of the largest — played an increasingly important role in the German war economy.⁴⁹

German authorities had good reason to be concerned about Allied air attacks against Auschwitz. In fact, the camp complex was repeatedly bombed during the war. Because of its critical importance as a major gasoline production center, Auschwitz III (Monowitz) was a target of several Allied bombing raids, and was consequently heavily defended with anti-aircraft flak batteries. Bombers of the Allied Mediterranean Air Force carried out four major raids against Monowitz in 1944: On August 20, September 13, December 18, and December 26.⁵⁰

During the September 13 attack, for example, 96 US air force B-24 heavy bombers dropped almost a thousand 500-pound bombs. Besides Monowitz, the Auschwitz main camp and Birkenau were also hit. Fifteen SS men and 40 inmates, including 23 Jews,



Das MANNESMANN SK Fenster
für Schutzraum und Keller
Kenn-Nr. RL 3 37 96

ist ohne Gasglocke ein normaler Kellerrast. Licht und Luft haben ungehinderten Zutritt. Bei Luftgefahr wird die Gasglocke (Abbildung) in die mit Sperrflüssigkeit gefüllte Dichtungsrinne eingesetzt, und der gassichere Abschluß für den Luftschutzraum ist hergestellt. Auch als Notausstieg ist das SK-Fenster verwendbar und zugelassen, selbst stärkste Personen können es leicht passieren. Der Einbau ist denkbar einfach, jeder Maurer kann diese Arbeit ausführen.

1. Schnitt durch die Zarge (Dichtungsrinne) mit Gasglocke und Rast.
2. Schnitt durch den Lichtschart (Notausstieg) mit den Aussparungen zum Einbau des SK-Fensters.
3. Lichtschart von oben gesehen (Grundriß von Bild 2).

A Zarge B eingesetzte Gasglocke
C aufgelegter Abdeckrost
D Stampfbeton E Hauswand

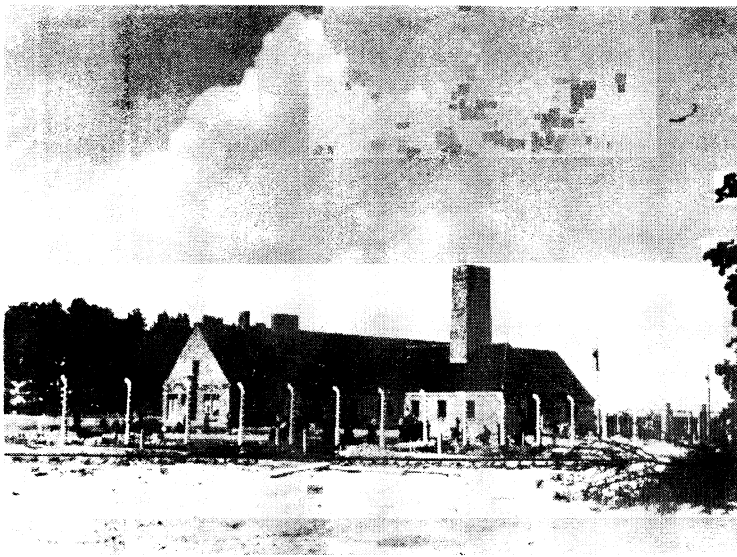
MANNESMANN-STAHLECHBAU AKTIENGESELLSCHAFT **BERLIN C 2**

The Mannesmann company of Berlin, in this advertisement from a wartime German trade periodical, offers special grated “windows” for air defense shelters and cellars. During air raids, the ad text explains, these “windows” could quickly be made gas-tight, and also serve as emergency exits.

were killed at the main camp, and 30 civilian workers were killed at Birkenau. A further 65 inmates and 28 SS men were badly injured.⁵¹

In mid-November 1943, Auschwitz commandant Arthur Liebehenschel issued an order on measures to be taken in the camp against Allied air raids.⁵²

Important in this regard are three wartime documents from the Auschwitz central construction office (*Zentralbauleitung*) that were recently discovered in Moscow archives. These documents — from October 1943, November 1943, and November 1944 — deal with an extensive network of air raid shelters (*Luftschutzdeckungsgräben*) at Auschwitz.⁵³ They indicate that, from the summer of 1943, many such shelters for the protection of prisoners were ordered, planned and under construction at Auschwitz. (We don’t know how many were actually completed.) Designed to hold 50 persons each, the shelters were to have ventilation and drainage. The



Birkenau crematory building (Krema) III. Along with Krema II, this was among the most "bomb safe" structures in the entire Birkenau camp, and thus, as Samuel Crowell argues, particularly suitable for adaptation as air raid shelters.

WVHA agency in Berlin, which ran the German concentration camp system, budgeted 110,000 Reich marks for building materials for this large-scale project.

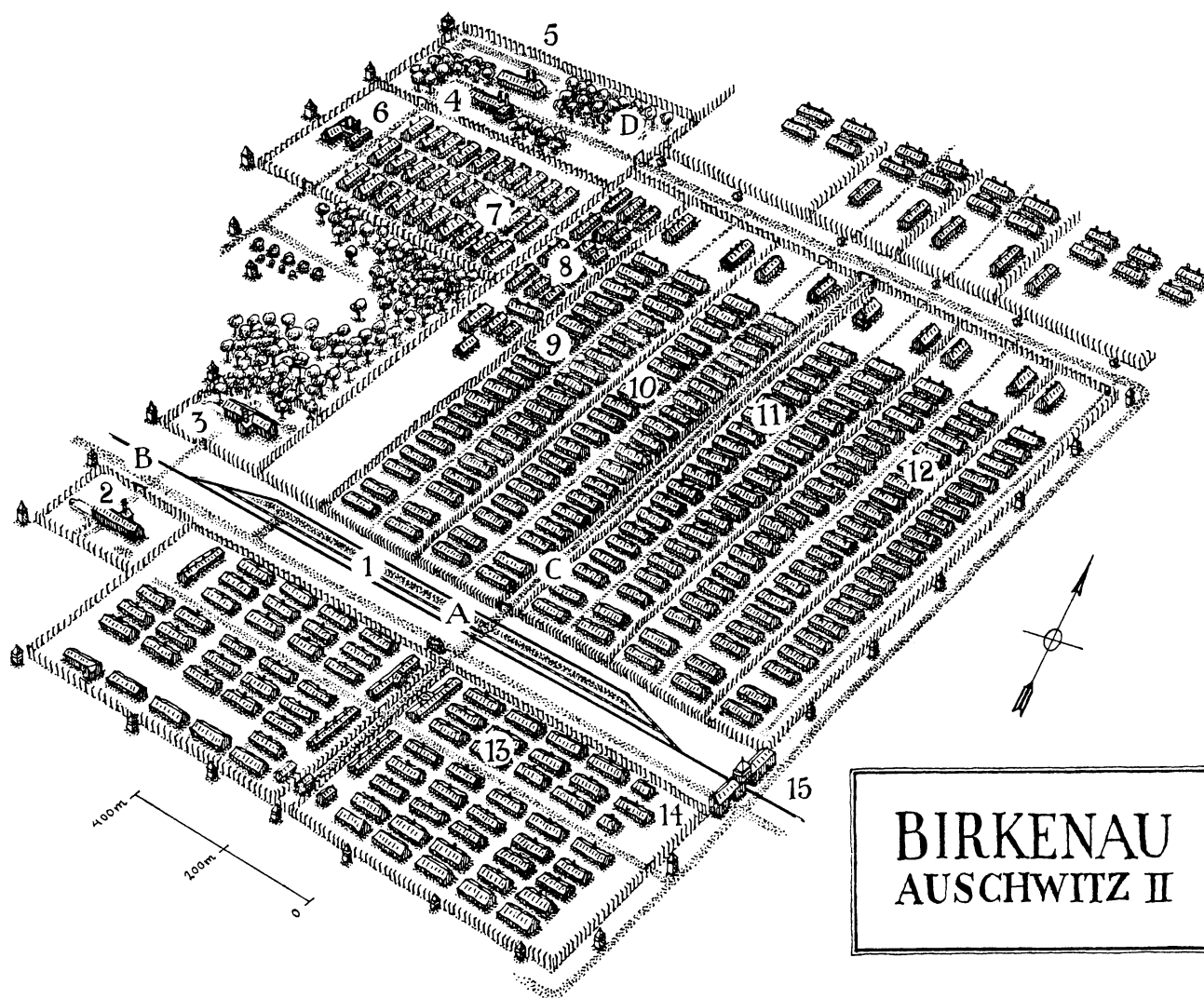
It is noteworthy that the SS authorities would go to considerable trouble and expense to build air raid shelters for Jewish prisoners who, supposedly, were already condemned to death.⁵⁴ (Similarly, German authorities provided building materials to the Warsaw ghetto for the construction there of air raid shelters to protect the Jewish inhabitants from Allied bombing attacks.)⁵⁵

Because German air raid shelters were routinely built to protect against possible poison gas attacks, they were often fitted with gas tight doors and other related fixtures. We should naturally expect to find many such shelters at Auschwitz and Birkenau, together with quite a few "incriminating" gas tight doors and similar items. (As already suggested, the "incriminating" items found at Auschwitz at the end of the war, and cited in the years since by Pressac and other defenders of the standard Holocaust story, were most probably features of anti-gas air raid shelters, or of non-homicidal disinfestation facilities.)

It is worth noting that, until now, no mainstream historian has bothered to take notice of the German wartime civil defense equipment, facilities and measures, in relation to the gas chamber claims.

On the basis of the foregoing, the following conclusions may be safely drawn:

1. After 1940, German bomb shelters were routinely constructed to also serve as anti-gas shelters.
2. German bomb shelters, including anti-gas shelters, were built according to a sequential organization plan that allowed for decontamination and several other functions. In large structures, separate rooms were reserved for each of these functions.
3. Decontamination procedures involved a sequence of steps, including undressing, showering or washing, and medical attention. In large structures, a separate room was devoted to each function.
4. Facilities and rooms designed for a variety of purposes could be, and often were, adapted for alternative use as bomb shelters, as needed.
5. Bomb shelters, although usually underground, could be and sometimes were built above ground.
6. In the event of an air raid, particular attention was paid to the darkening of shelters.
7. German air raid shelters often featured an elaborate system of ventilation, which drew air from ceiling height and filtered it out near the bottom. The ventilation ductwork was suspended from the ceiling. In addition, the regulations recommended ventilation capacities allowing for anywhere from 15 to 18 air exchanges. Regulations recommended that the air in bomb shelters be heated to 17 C (62.6 F) degrees.
8. A standard feature of a German wartime shelter was a gas tight door, which could be made of either wood or steel. The seal could be achieved with either rubber or felt.
9. These gas tight doors had glass peepholes, which were usually protected from damage with a perforated steel plate, although other means could be, and were, used.
10. A flat iron bar was frequently bolted along the base of a gas tight door to help insure a gas tight seal.
11. Windows and emergency exits were usually covered with grating, mesh, or grille work of some kind to protect against splinters and rubble.
12. Shelter windows and emergency exits normally were both covered with gas tight shutters, which were installed inside a grating, mesh, or grille. The shutters could be made of steel or wood.
13. An advertisement for wire mesh (*Drahtnetz*), appearing in a 1942 issue of the specialized German periodical *Baulicher Luftschutz*, suggests that this material was commonly used for win-



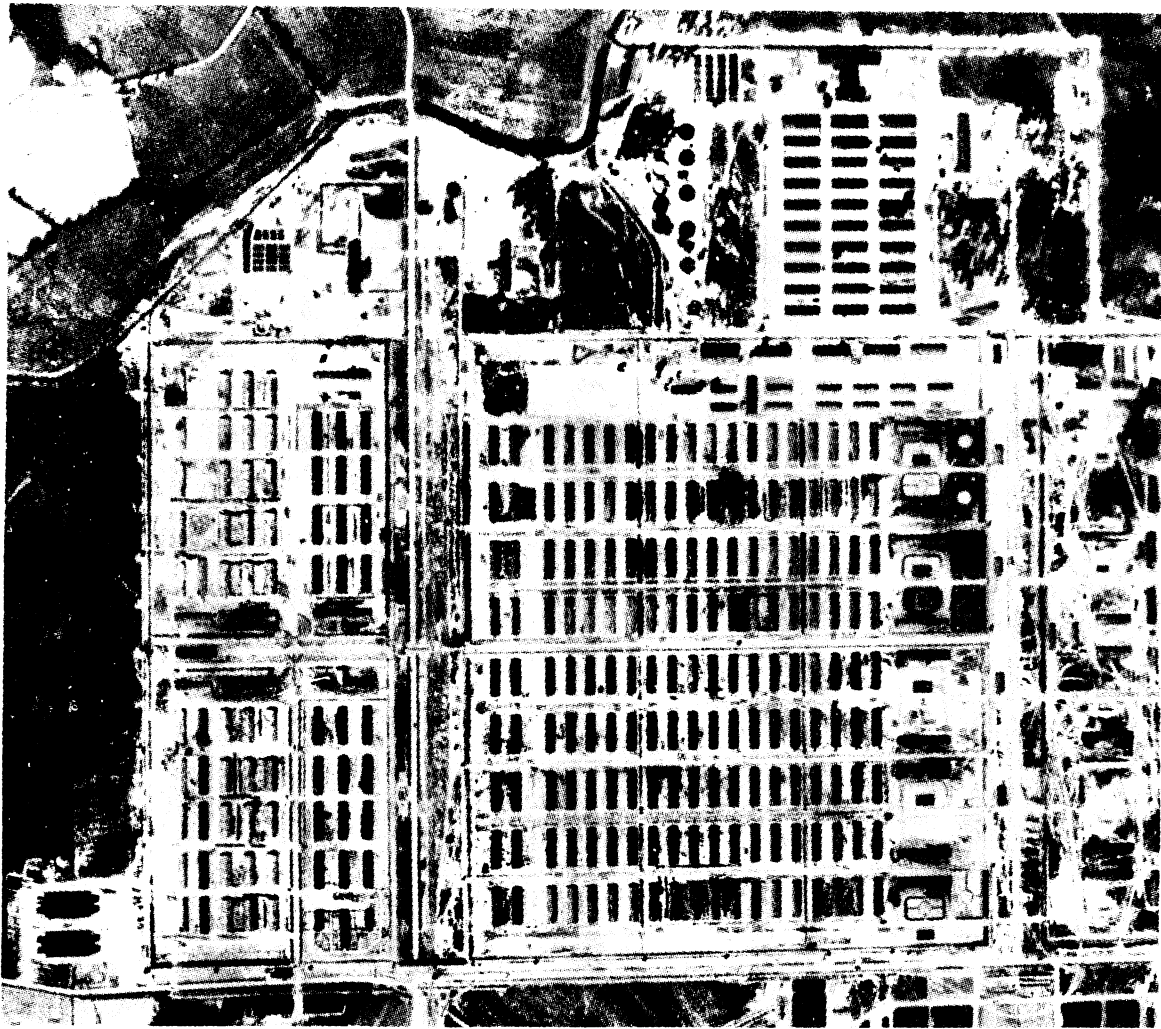
Features of Birkenau camp (Auschwitz II):

1. Rail siding and "selection" ramp 2. Crematory facility (*Krema*) II 3. Crematory facility (*Krema*) III 4. Crematory facility (*Krema*) IV 5. Crematory facility (*Krema*) V 6. "Disinfection and Disinfestation Facility," also known as the "Central Sauna" 7. "Canada" section, where inmates' belongings were sorted and stored 8. Hospital or sick bay section 9. "Gypsy Camp" section 10. "Men's Camp" section 11. "Hungarian Camp" section 12. "Family camp" section 13. "Women's Camp" section 15. Entry gate for rail transport

dow or emergency exit gratings, mesh, or grilles. There is also a specific reference here to using wire mesh screens for splinter and debris protection.

14. Chimneys and smoke stacks were also designed to be gas tight.
15. Gas detectors were a common feature of German military equipment. That German military personnel were equipped to detect HCN is an entirely reasonable inference.
16. The extensive and publicly available German

literature on civil defense used a large number of synonyms and neologisms. This is typical of any new field, which takes time to standardize its vocabulary. For example, poison gas victims are described variously as "*Gelbkreuzverletzte*," "*Gasvergiftete*," and "*Kampfstoffvergiftete*." Hence, when reviewing documents and other contemporary material about bomb shelters, we should expect similar variability in the use of terms.



The Auschwitz-Birkenau camp, from an enlarged portion of an Allied aerial reconnaissance photograph taken on May 31, 1944.

Part Two: Pressac's 'Criminal Traces'

In his much-heralded book, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers*, Jean-Claude Pressac attempted to prove, on a strictly material and documentary basis, the existence of extermination gas chambers in the four crematory facilities at Auschwitz-Birkenau (*Kremas II-V*).

Specifically, he offered 39 "criminal traces" as "indirect proof" for homicidal gassings. He readily acknowledged that there is no "direct proof" for the alleged murder of millions of Jews in gas chambers, such as a document or diagram that refers, even in passing, to a "gas chamber for killing Jews" or even a document that specifically mentions a homicidal gas chamber. Pressac also acknowledged that the "witness testimony" that is usually cited as evidence is unreliable. He further explained that he was offering these "traces" in response to the insistent

demand by French revisionist scholar Robert Faurisson for "one proof, one single proof" of the supposedly incontrovertible mass gassings.⁵⁶

As we shall show in the following pages, a benign interpretation for each of Pressac's "criminal traces" is possible. Therefore there is no proof — even indirect — of "criminal" gassings of Jews at Auschwitz-Birkenau.

Criminal Trace 1: The 'Gassing Cellar' Letter

This document, which is the oldest and best known "criminal trace," has been cited for years as evidence of homicidal gassings at Birkenau. It is a January 1943 letter about Birkenau crematory facility (*Krema*) II from SS Captain Bischoff of the Auschwitz central construction office (*ZBL*) to the WVHA in Berlin. Bischoff's passing mention in this letter to a "gassing cellar," or *Vergasungskeller*, is regarded by Pressac as a "slip" and an "enormous gaff," because supposedly this was a thoughtless ref-

erence to a homicidal gas chamber.

For more than 20 years, revisionists have offered alternate explanations of it. In an essay published in 1996 and 1997, Dr. Butz persuasively proposed that this "gassing cellar" referred to an air raid "gas shelter."⁵⁷

Each of the various interpretations offered by revisionists is plausible because the word *Vergasungskeller* is a neologism, a newly coined term that is also apparently unique. This point should be stressed: The term *Vergasung* or *Vergasungskeller* occurs in no other known document or item of literature from this era.⁵⁸

Just what was this "gassing cellar"? No explanation can be definitely proven, but as we shall see, several of the other "trace" documents cited by Pressac contain similarly unconventional wordings.

Clearly this document is not, in itself, a "criminal trace" because benign interpretations of the term *Vergasungskeller* are possible, if not probable. It could be considered a "criminal trace" only with further corroborating evidence.

Criminal Trace 2: Ten Gas Detectors

This is a February 1943 telegram order for ten gas detectors (*10 Gasprüfer*), sent to the Topf company in Erfurt that manufactured the Birkenau crematory ovens. As already noted, gas detectors (*Gasprüfer* or *Gasspürer*) were common in German chemical warfare equipment and in anti-gas shelter equipment.⁵⁹ A benign interpretation is possible, therefore it is not a criminal trace.

There is more to this "trace," however. In a book on the "crematories of Auschwitz," published in German and French in 1993, Pressac cited a newly discovered letter of March 2, 1943, from a Topf company engineer to the Auschwitz construction office, reporting that he had not been able to acquire the requested ten gas detectors.⁶⁰ The letter, headed "Crematory, Gas Detectors," refers to the items as "Indicators for residual hydrocyanic acid" (*Anzeigegeräte für Blausäure-Reste*), which shows that the specific gas to be detected in this case was HCN. (There is no record that the requested detectors were ever located or delivered, much less evidence that they were ever used for the purpose assumed by Pressac.)⁶¹

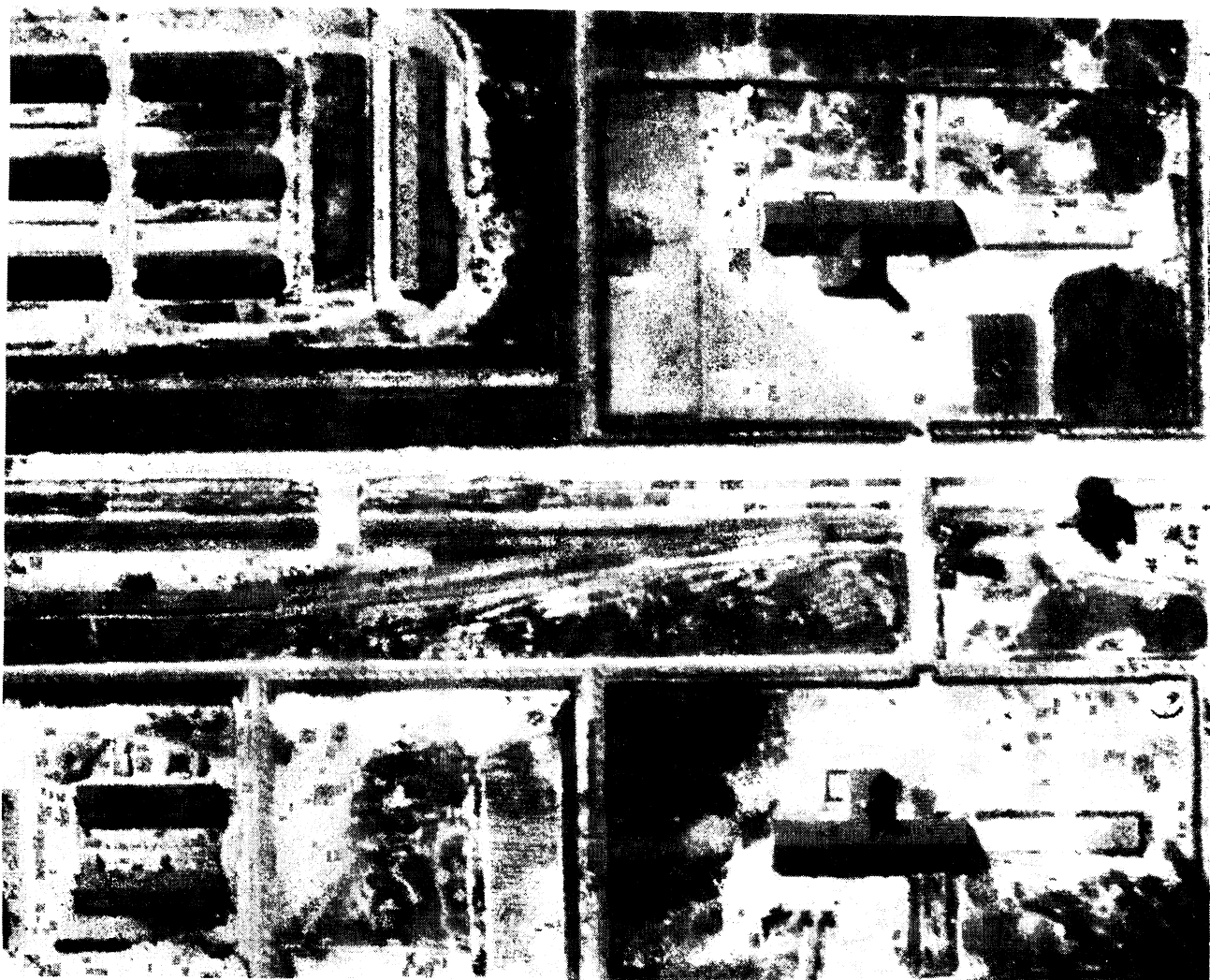


At no time were any of Auschwitz-Birkenau's four crematory buildings ever hidden, concealed or "camouflaged." They were in plain view, and even newly arriving Jews could easily see them. Crematory buildings (*Kremas*) II and III were particularly visible. In this photograph, taken in May or June 1944,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

This "criminal trace" can be readily dismissed: Germans had been gassed with HCN in the First World War, and they prepared for its possible use in the Second. Gas detectors for HCN have no "criminal" significance at all.

But there is still a problem. We know that the Degesch company that manufactured the HCN pesticide Zyklon had HCN gas detectors, and that the German military had its own gas detectors. Why, then, would one ask for gas detectors from a crematory oven manufacturer (Topf)? And why ten in number? Perhaps the most plausible answer is that these gas detectors were meant for the ten three-muffle crematory ovens of Birkenau crematory facilities (*Kremas*) II and III, and that they probably had some characteristic (heat resistance?) that made them usable in or near the ovens.⁶² It makes sense that the gas detectors would be meant for *Kremas* II and III because, as Pressac himself notes, the Birkenau crematory facilities were always discussed as pairs (II and III, IV and V),⁶³ and because *Kremas* IV and V did not have ten but rather four double muffle ovens each.

We must next ask what the function of these detectors might be. Pressac argues that they prove homicidal gassings with Zyklon in the Birkenau crematory morgue cellars (*Leichenkeller*). Why else



Detail from an Allied aerial reconnaissance photo, taken on June 26, 1944, shows crematory facilities (*Kremas*) II (top) and III (bottom) at Auschwitz-Birkenau. (In 1979 the CIA incorrectly dated this photo as August 25, 1944.) In none of the Allied reconnaissance photos taken in 1944, including this one, is there any trace of the mass exterminations that supposedly were being carried out at the time.

would anyone want gas detectors for a morgue room?

But if so, the responsible personnel certainly would not have needed devices to let them know that near by there were dangerous concentrations of HCN gas. In other words, this request for detectors most plausibly suggests a wish to detect the presence of HCN residues created by processes other than the release of HCN from Zyklon in crematory morgue cellars.

Arthur Butz has argued that burning certain fabrics in the incineration chute behind the crematory ovens of Birkenau *Kremas* II and III would have generated high levels of HCN in the crematory ductwork, and that this would explain the desire for such HCN detectors. There is merit to this argument.⁶⁴

Recognizing that the important issue here is not

the “criminality” of these detectors, but rather the question of why the Topf company was asked to supply them, I accept the general validity of Dr. Butz’ thesis, in the absence of a more convincing explanation.

Criminal Trace 3: Gas Door Handle

This document mentions “handle for a gas door, one item” (*1 Stck Handgriff für Gastür*), presumably meaning a “gas tight door.” As already shown, gas tight doors were a common feature of anti-gas air raid shelters.⁶⁵ A benign interpretation is possible, therefore this is not a criminal trace.

It’s worth noting that the German term *Stück* (“unit,” “piece” or “item”) is abbreviated or misspelled here as “*Stck*.” There are other such abbreviations or misspellings in the “trace” documents cited by Pressac.

In these four documents are passing references to an “undressing room” or an “undressing cellar” (*Auskleideraum, Auskleidekeller*). Undressing rooms were a common feature of bomb shelters, forming part of the decontamination sequence.⁶⁶ A benign interpretation is possible, therefore these are not criminal traces.

These documents contain references to “gas doors,” presumably meaning “gas tight” doors. Probably the most important of these documents is one dated March 31, 1943, that mentions “three gas tight doors (3 *gasdichte Türe*) and a “gas door ... for morgue cellar 1 of crematory facility III ... with peephole” (*Gastür 100/192 für Leichenkeller I des Krematoriums III ... mit Guckloch*).⁶⁷ Because these specifications exactly match those of a typical bomb shelter door,⁶⁸ this should be regarded as a clear-cut reference to a typical anti-gas shelter door. As already noted, gas tight doors were a common feature of wartime German anti-gas shelters. A benign interpretation is possible, therefore these are not criminal traces.

These documents contain passing references to “gas tight doors.” As already noted, gas tight doors were a common feature of anti-gas shelters. Because a benign interpretation is possible, these are not criminal traces.

A March 1943 construction project inventory form for Birkenau *Krema* II contains handwritten mentions of “four wire mesh introduction devices” (4 *Drahtnetzeinschiebvorrichtung*) and of “four wooden shutters” (4 *Holzblenden*). Because these items are listed next to each other on the same document, are for four items each, and are both in the same handwriting, both we and Pressac assume that their functions are related. Pressac regards this document as “important evidence” that morgue cellar (*Leichenkeller*) 1 in Birkenau crematory facility (*Krema*) II was used “as a homicidal gas chamber.”⁶⁹

1. *Leichenkeller* (morgue) 1. Below ground level morgue.
2. *Leichenkeller* (morgue) 2. Below ground level morgue.
3. *Leichenkeller* (morgue) 3. Below ground level morgue.
4. Furnace room. Ground level only. 15 cremation muffles.
5. Corpse elevator. Only a small central part of the building, where the furnace room joined
6. Corpse chute.
7. Cellar entrance.
8. Ground level entrance.
9. Ground level entrance.
10. Chimney and waste incinerator.
11. Supervisor's office, worker rest room, toilet, shower, tools, urn storage, fuel (coke) storage.

Pressac contends that the *Holzblenden* mentioned in this 1943 document were wooden “covers” or “lids” on the roof of the semi-underground morgue of Birkenau *Krema* II, which were lifted when dumping Zyklon into the chamber’s wire mesh “columns” to gas Jews.

In fact, *Blenden* (tendentiously rendered by Pressac as “covers” or “lids”) were simply shutters or blinds. Made of either steel or wood, they were commonly used in German air raid shelters to make an opening, such as a window, gas tight.⁷¹ A benign interpretation of these *Holzblenden* is possible, therefore it is not a criminal trace.

At least two advertisements in the pertinent literature depict wire mesh screens in an anti-gas shelter, one depicting a screen behind an *open shut-*



During a trial in France against revisionist scholar Robert Faurisson, lawyers for the Paris-based LICRA organization presented this photograph of a gas chamber door at Auschwitz as evidence of homicidal gassings at the camp. The small sign on the door warns "Poisonous Gasses! Mortal Danger on entering the room!" As French anti-revisionist researcher Jean-Claude Pressac has acknowledged, "this is not convincing proof of homicidal use." It is actually the door of a non-homicidal delousing gas chamber. Pressac further notes that shortly after the war the Soviets, as part of "a completely put up job," presented — as "proof" of homicidal gassings — similar photos from Auschwitz of gas-tight doors, with peep-holes, from delousing chambers. (Source: J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz*, 1989, pp. 46, 49)

ter. The anti-gas shelter literature also contains advertising for wire mesh (*Drahtnetz*).⁷² The pertinent literature also specifies that all windows and other openings of German anti-gas shelters must have some kind of mesh, netting, grating or grille work.⁷³

Auschwitz work order No. 353, dated April 27, 1943, contains an order for "twelve window gratings" or "window lattice-works" (*12 Stück Fenster-*

gitter 50 x 70 cm), which Pressac accepts as a reference to wire mesh screens or grilles for the 12 "gas tight windows" (or doors) (*gassdichten Fenster*) of Birkenau Kremas IV and V. These were functionally identical to "shutters" (*Blenden, Holzblenden*).⁷⁴

Therefore, we propose that the "wire mesh" devices cited here by Pressac were functionally related to the "wooden shutters" (*Holzblenden*) in the same way that the just-mentioned "window gratings" (*Fenstergitter*) were related to the "gas tight windows" (*gassdichten Fenster*) of Kremas IV and V.

In addition, given that the specialized literature specifies that such openings must be available for emergency exit, we further hypothesize that these inserts must be removable.⁷⁵

Auschwitz work order No. 78, of March 11, 1943, mentions (translated from Polish): "For the manufacture of screens with scantlings [or screens with edges] for crematory facility II (construction site 30), the gist of which is that wire gauze and wire mesh are to be used to meet the order."⁷⁶ This order is significant because it helps to explain the nature of the "wire mesh" devices cited by Pressac. The order's reference to screens is not a reference to induction devices, and indeed, they seem most likely to be the screens for emergency exits discussed earlier.⁷⁷

We believe, therefore, that the supposedly sinister "wire mesh induction devices" or "wire netting inserting devices" were most probably simply removable wire mesh screens that were placed into openings that the "wooden shutters" were designed to cover. A benign interpretation is possible, therefore this is not a criminal trace.

It should be noted that Pressac himself has candidly observed that the roof of morgue cellar (*Leichenkeller*) of Birkenau crematory building (*Krema*) II — for which these four pairs were designated — has only *two* holes in its largely collapsed but still intact roof. (It takes some courage to observe that there are two, not four, holes in the roof of morgue cellar 1 of Birkenau *Krema* II, and they are not where they are supposed to be.)⁷⁸ German chemist Germar Rudolf has demonstrated that these holes must have been made *after* the war.⁷⁹ In any case, though, because there are only two holes, in whatever manner these four pairs of "wire mesh" devices and "shutters" were meant to be used, they could not all have been used exclusively in the roof of this morgue cellar. This fact weakens Pressac's "homicidal" interpretation of their construction and purpose.

Criminal Traces 13 and 26: Flat Iron for 'Gas Doors'

These are references to flat iron bars for gas (tight) door fittings (*Flacheisen für ... Stück*

Gastürbeschläge). Flat iron bars and similar items were often used to improve the seal on gas tight doors or gas tight shutters of German air raid shelters. For gas tight doors, such bars would be placed along the side or on the base of the door.⁸⁰ A benign interpretation is possible, therefore it is not a criminal trace.

Criminal Trace 16: Shower heads

A mention of 14 shower heads (*14 Brausen*) in a June 1943 inventory form is regarded by Pressac as a reference to dummy shower heads in morgue cellar (*LK*) No. 1 of Birkenau crematory facility (*Krema*) III. He says that this document, which also mentions “one gas tight door” (“criminal trace” 15), is “the only one known at present that proves, indirectly, the existence of a homicidal gas chamber in Leichenkeller I of Krematorium III.” This inventory form, his Pressac also writes, is “absolute and irrefutable proof of the existence of a gas chamber fitted with dummy showers” in *Krema* III.⁸¹

There is no material basis for Pressac’s assertion that these shower heads were fake. In any case, this “criminal trace” is only “relative” — that is, it is criminal only insofar as some other criminal trace(s) can be proved. Showers were a common feature of German wartime bomb shelters, forming part of the decontamination sequence.⁸² A benign interpretation is possible. Therefore, it is not a criminal trace.⁸³

Criminal Trace 17, 17A, 17B: Gas Tight ‘Doors’

This February 1943 document mentions twelve “gas tight doors” (*12 St. gasdichten Türen ca 30/40 cm*). I agree with Pressac that this is actually a reference to gas tight windows — not least because of their small size: 30 by 40 centimeters. These are in Birkenau crematory facilities (*Kremas*) IV and V. As already pointed out, gas tight windows were a common feature of German bomb shelters.⁸⁴ A benign interpretation is possible, therefore it is not a criminal trace.

The fact that these small openings — in spite of their small size: 30 by 40 centimeters. — are referred to as *doors* further strengthens our view that the engineers and construction workers at Auschwitz used unorthodox words to describe familiar, but differently named, objects. In addition, and as already noted, these objects are effectively identical to the shutters (*Blenden*) discussed above.

Criminal Traces 18 and 20, and 19 and 21: ‘Gas’ Windows and ‘Gas’ Chamber

“Traces” 18 and 20 mention putting “gass [sic] tight window” in place (*Gassdichtenfenster versetzen*), while “traces” 19 and 21 mention “concrete in gas chamber” (*betonieren im Gasskammer*).



Steel protective doors “for air defense, industry, [and government] agencies” are offered by the Panzerlit company in this advertisement from a wartime German trade periodical.

Pressac regards these “traces” — which are from February and March 1943 and relate to Birkenau *Kremas* IV and V — as very as very important evidence of homicidal gassings at Birkenau.

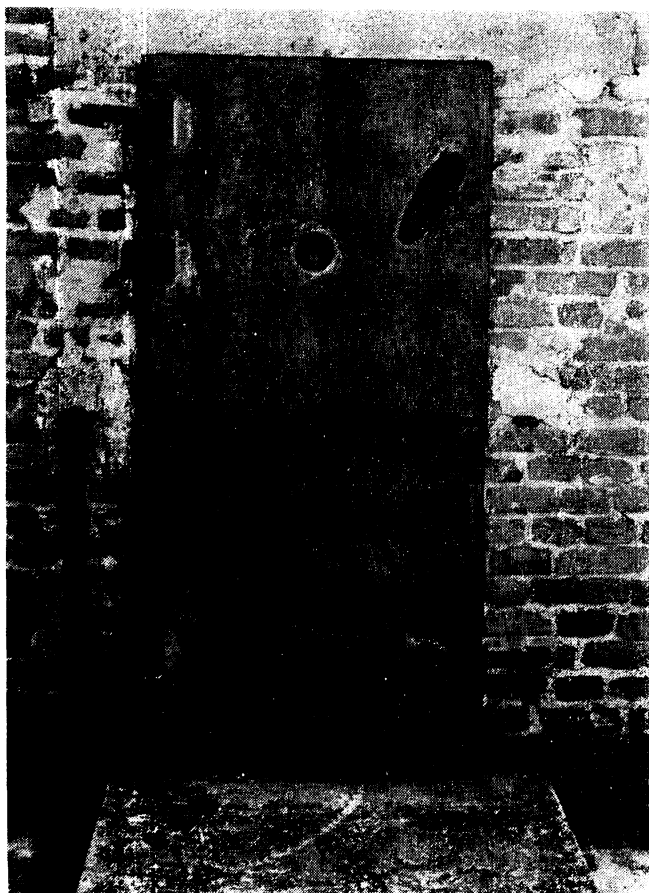
As already pointed out, gas tight windows were a common feature of German anti-gas shelters.⁸⁵ In addition, and as already noted, these objects are identical to the “shutters” (*Blenden*).

These four “traces” are dealt with here together because in each the word “gas” (*Gas* in German) is misspelled. In these four “traces” it is rendered as “Gass.” I do not agree with Pressac’s view that these are simple misspellings. Instead, I’m inclined to think that they are abbreviations: “tight windows for the [anti-gas shelter]” (*Gass[chutzraum]dichtenfenster*) and “[anti-]gas shelter” (*Gass[chutz]kammer*).⁸⁶

In any case, a benign interpretation is possible. Therefore, these are not criminal traces.

Criminal Trace 25: Gas Tight ‘Towers’

A construction office (*Zentralbauleitung*) letter of March 31, 1943, mentions “three gas tight tow-



This door on display at the US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC, is portrayed as the door of an extermination gas chamber. This photo is taken from *The World Must Know* (p. 138), a book by Museum official Michael Berenbaum. The accompanying caption describes it as “a casting of the door to the gas chamber at Majdanek... from the outside, SS guards could observe the killing through a small peephole.” However, as even Jean-Claude Pressac concedes (on pages 555 and 557 of his 1989 *Auschwitz* book), this was a delousing chamber used to disinfect clothing. Similar doors, Samuel Crowell points out, were also commonly used with standard German wartime bomb shelters, as a protection against possible poison gas attacks.

ers” (3 *gasdichte Türme*). Pressac assumes that “towers” (*Türme*) here is nonsensical, and that it should instead read “doors” (*Türen*). If so, these would simply be references to gas tight doors. As already pointed out, such doors were a common feature of German bomb shelters. A benign interpretation is possible, therefore this is not a criminal trace.⁸⁷

But there is more to be said about this. There is no material or documentary support for Pressac’s view that these “towers” are really “doors.” Given

that this *Türme* spelling is repeated in this same document, his contention that this is merely a stenographic error seems strained.

I propose that “gas tight towers” is not an error, but may have been a reference to shutters for chimneys or smoke stacks, which, according to German anti-gas literature, were also supposed to be gas tight.⁸⁸ While the word *Turm* in German means “tower,” it (and its associated diminutive, *Turmchen*) can also mean, in German building parlance, a turret or ventilation chimney. Referring to the drawings of *Kremas* IV and V with their shuttered cupolas surmounting the roof, one might easily conclude that these may also have been referred to as “towers.” Supposedly the “extermination gas chambers” of *Kremas* IV and V were at the opposite end of the building. But this end of the buildings also had chimneys, although much smaller ones. In short, we propose that these “towers” (*Türme*) were gas tight chimneys of some kind.

Criminal Trace 28: Bolts for ‘Gas Tight’ Doors

This document mentions “anchor bolts for gas tight doors” (24 *Ankerschrauben für gasdichte [sic] Türen*). As already emphasized, such doors were a common feature of German wartime bomb shelters.⁸⁹ A benign interpretation is possible, therefore it is not a criminal trace.

Criminal Traces 30 and 31: Heating a Morgue

In two documents, both from March 1943, there are references to warming or heating “morgue cellar” (*Leichenkeller*) 1 in Birkenau *Krema* II. One mentions a “hot air supply” to the morgue, and the other mentions a “pre-warmed” morgue. These are “supplementary traces,” writes Pressac, because “heating a mortuary is nonsensical.” Still, they are “criminal” only to the extent that other traces are shown to be criminal.⁹⁰

Actually, warming or heating an anti-gas shelter is mentioned in the relevant literature, where specific temperatures are cited as ideal in keeping the humidity low.⁹¹ In addition, warming this semi-underground morgue cellar to keep it from freezing, such as in winter, would not be unusual.⁹² A benign interpretation is possible. Therefore these are not criminal traces.

Criminal Trace 32: Gas Tight Door Fittings

This 1943 work order for *Krema* V mentions “fittings for gas tight door” (*Beschläge für gasdichte Tür*). Because the date of this order is June 17, 1943 — that is, some time after *Krema* V had begun operation — Pressac argues that this new door was used to replace a faulty or damaged one. However, he offers no material evidence in support of this assertion. Anyway, and as already pointed out, gas tight

doors were a common feature to anti-gas shelters. A benign interpretation is possible, therefore this is not a criminal trace.

Criminal Trace 33: Key for Gas Chamber

This July 1943 work order mentions a “key for gas chamber” (*1 Schlüssel für Gaskammer*). Noting that “doors to the homicidal gas chambers ... were not fitted with locks,” Pressac offers this only as “a dubious ‘trace.’” Apparently he cited it only because it contains the word “gas.” Anyway, he adds, this documentary reference is “incomprehensible with our present state of knowledge.”⁹³

Perhaps the most interesting thing about this document (which is also the source of “criminal traces” 32 and 33) is a portion that Pressac does not mention. Under August 11, 1943, Number 708, there is an order for “30 fittings for red light lamps” (*30 Stück Befestigungskonstruktionen für Rotlichtlampen*) for Birkenau crematory buildings IV and V. As already noted, the relevant German literature stresses that darkening was very important for bomb shelters, and installing red light lamps in rooms of *Kremas* IV and V would therefore be very understandable if, as we believe, these rooms also served as bomb shelters, or at least were adapted or modified for that purpose.⁹⁴ If, as Pressac and other Holocaust historians contend, such rooms only served as homicidal gas chambers, the purpose of red lamps there seems pointless, or at least unclear.

Criminal Trace 34: Gas Chamber

This May 1943 work order mentions “fittings for a door with frames, air tight, with peephole for gas chamber” (*Beschläge zu 1 Tür mit Rahmen, Luftdicht mit Spion für Gaskammer*). Pressac regards this “trace” as merely “supplementary,” not least because the “gas chamber” mentioned here in this Polish extract or summary is explicitly identified as a disinfection or delousing chamber (*Entwesungskammer* [sic]). Moreover, this fits the description of a normal anti-gas shelter door with a peephole.⁹⁵ A benign interpretation is possible, so no further commentary is necessary.

Some Additional Arguments by Pressac

At another place in his 1989 book, Pressac specifies eleven modifications of crematory facility (*Krema*) II that, he believes, are evidence of homicidal gassings there.⁹⁶ Here are these alleged “incriminating” modifications, with a brief response to each.

1. An access stairway was built to morgue cellar No. 2, allegedly the “undressing” room for gassing victims.

The addition of a staircase here at the nexus of the main building with the right angle under-

ground morgues makes complete sense in terms of access to a air raid anti-gas shelter. Without such a staircase, those seeking shelter there would have had to go another 50 yards out of their way.

Given their large size, these semi-underground morgue cellars would have provided effective shelter for many people in the event of a bombing raid or a gas attack. Morgue cellar 1 of Birkenau *Krema* II was 210 square meters in size, and morgue cellar 2 was 392.5 square meters in size. They could have held from 500 to 1,500 persons each.

Birkenau’s crematory facilities were among the most prominent and solidly-built structures in the entire camp. They were among only a handful of brick structures in Birkenau built by the Germans from the ground up. It seems only natural that they would have been modified or adapted to incorporate features and capacities in addition to their primary role as morgue rooms. Given their sturdy construction, and prominence, one can easily envision their secondary use as anti-gas air raid shelters, decontamination centers, or personnel shelters.

The location of Birkenau’s crematory facilities athwart or near rail lines alone would have insured their strategic importance. In the event of enemy attack with bombs or poison gas (or even artillery fire), there would have been no safer place in the entire camp than the morgue cellars of Birkenau *Krema* buildings II and III.

2. The double door of morgue cellar 1 of Birkenau *Krema* II was refitted to open outward.

Pressac contends that this new door was never actually installed. Anyway, an outward opening double door creates further problems for Pressac and other defenders of the standard Holocaust story, insofar as it blocks the corpse lift.

3. This double door was replaced with a single gas tight door.

Although Pressac cites a document to support this contention, it is not completely clear whether this door was meant for morgue cellar 1 or morgue cellar 2. In either case, as we have seen, gas tight doors of both types were used for air raid shelters. Oddly, Pressac claims⁹⁷ that the double door, with dimensions of 190 x 190 cm, was replaced by a single door 100 x 192 cm in size. A more reasonable explanation is that this single door was meant for morgue cellar 2, which no one has ever claimed was a homicidal gas chamber.

4. The drainage system was separated from the other drains in the building.

This is a design feature consistent with anti-

gas shelter design. If, as we propose, the drainage of morgue cellar No. 1 was designed to evacuate poison gas contaminants, one would certainly want to keep its drainage separate.⁹⁸

5. The efficiency of the morgue cellar 1 ventilation system was tested with Zyklon.

There is no material evidence for this claim.

6. A wooden wall was built in front of the corpse chute.

In this case as well, this modification is consistent with bomb shelter and anti-gas shelter design.

7. Four wire mesh induction columns with lidded chimneys were installed.

This is another claim (discussed above) for which no material evidence is offered.

8. Dummy wooden shower heads were installed in the ceiling of morgue cellar No. 1 (*Krema II*).

This is another non-material claim. The relevant document actually mentions 14 shower heads, and these are for *Krema III*. In any case, the decontamination section of an air raid shelter would naturally have showers and shower heads.⁹⁹

9. The three water taps were removed.

This is yet another non-material claim. The presence of water taps was typical in bomb shelters for cleaning and decontamination, and could certainly sustain shower heads, as we have seen.

10. Benches with clothes hooks were installed in morgue cellar No. 2 (*Krema II*).

The benches are typical of those in the front (waiting) room of large bomb shelters. The clothes hooks would be expected in the undressing rooms of large bomb shelters equipped with decontamination centers.

11. The area of morgue cellar No. 3 was reduced.

It appears that morgue cellar No. 3 (*Krema III*) was indeed subdivided to provide additional spaces or rooms. This is entirely consistent with the layout of a large bomb shelter. One of these new rooms was, naturally enough, for the collecting of gold and other metals from the dead. This is a perfectly logical procedure, when we recall that these morgues were after all morgues, and that metals are not consumed in cremation. Indeed, cremated tooth fillings emit mercury as a toxic air pollutant.¹⁰⁰

To sum up, Pressac provides no material evidence of unique or telltale adaptations indicating that the "*Vergasungskeller*" morgue cellar ever served, or could have served, as a homicidal (extermination) gas chamber. To the contrary (and Dr. Butz has argued), there are several reasons why the *Vergasungskeller* was most probably an anti-gas

shelter, an interpretation that is supported even by some of the modifications cited by Pressac. Moreover, and as we have shown, all of Pressac's "criminal traces" are consistent with German air defense shelter design.

The contemporary German technical literature explains the design, layout and equipping of these "morgue cellars" as morgues, with modifications for secondary bomb shelter use. We therefore conclude that these cellar rooms were, in fact, designed and constructed as morgues with a secondary or additional use as air-raid shelters. In this context, the morgue cellar with the gas tight door and the shower heads (or water taps) could only be one thing: a decontamination facility (*Entgiftungsanstalt*), with shower (*Duschraum*), for treating poison gas victims — in short, a semi-underground decontamination center, or *Vergasungskeller*.

Conclusions

Each one of Pressac's "criminal traces" can be explained as an anti-gas feature of an ordinary German wartime air raid shelter. More specifically, the "gas tight" features cited by Pressac were not designed to keep poisonous gas in, but rather to keep poisonous gas *out*. Pressac's "criminal traces" notion assumes that these "traces" must have a criminal interpretation. Our explanations, however, render them invalid. With these "criminal traces" no longer valid, it follows that there is no material or documentary evidence whatsoever for the existence of extermination gas chambers in the four Birkenau crematory facilities. Therefore, the only evidence of extermination gas chambers at these locations is witness testimony and postwar affidavits.

The contemporaneous German technical literature, a small part of which has been cited here, describes the design features, layout, and equipment of German wartime bomb shelters, or air-raid anti-gas shelters.

The design features, layout, and equipment of the alleged "extermination gas chambers" described by Pressac match those of morgues modified or altered to serve secondarily as air defense shelters with anti-gas warfare features.

The available material and documentary evidence shows that the alleged "extermination gas chambers" in the Birkenau crematory facilities were designed and constructed as morgues, with modifications for their additional or secondary use as anti-gas shelters.

How, or even if, these rooms were actually used as air raid shelters, or anti-gas shelters (in addition to their primary use as morgues), and what additional modifications may have accordingly been carried out, is beyond the scope of this article.

It should be noted that if these morgue cellar

rooms had in fact been used as extermination gas chambers, as widely alleged, additional modifications or adaptations of them would have been required for that use.¹⁰¹ There is no evidence of such additional modifications.

Notes

1. This article was first posted on CODOH Web site on March 23, 1997 (<http://www.codoh.com/incon/inconpressac.html>). It was expanded on April 30, 1997. A German translation, edited by Germar Rudolf, was published in the December 1997 issue of *Vierteljahreshefte für freie Geschichtsforschung* (Jg. 1, Heft 4), pp. 226-243. In that form it was slightly altered to include a section pertaining to air raid shelters in the concentration camp system, derived from a sister article, "Defending Against the Allied Bombing Campaign: Air Raid Shelters and Gas Protection in Germany, 1939-1945", which may be found at the CODOH site at <http://www.codoh.com/incon/inconabr.html>. The present version, edited by Mark Weber, is adapted from the English-language text prepared for the German-language version.
See also: Samuel Crowell, "The Gas Chamber of Sherlock Holmes," posted on the CODOH site at <http://www.codoh.com/incon/inconshr123.html>.)
2. Throughout I have used the terms bomb shelter and anti-gas shelter interchangeably, because the original German terms "*Luftschutzraum*," "*Gas-schutzraum*," and "*Schutzraum*," are used as synonyms in the German literature. I have adopted the (translated) term "anti-gas shelter" from a contemporaneous English-language source, *Handbook on German Military Forces* (published by the US War Department in March 1945, p. 518), which is further discussed in the body of the text.
3. *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers* was published in 1989 by the Beate Klarsfeld Foundation (New York). This book was announced in a sympathetic article by Richard Bernstein in *The New York Times*, December 18, 1989. Reviews and analyses of Pressac's book that have appeared in *The Journal of Historical Review* include: M. Weber, Summer 1990 issue (Vol. 10, No. 2), pp. 231-237; C. Mattogno, Winter 1990-91 (Vol. 10, No. 4), pp. 461-485; R. Faurisson, Spring 1991 (Vol. 11, No. 1), pp. 25-66, and Summer 1991 issue (Vol. 11, No. 2), pp. 133-175.
4. Actually, the number of criminal traces is something less than 39. The "39" refers to 39 documents, which are photographically reproduced in Pressac's book.
5. Miklos Nyiszli, *Auschwitz: A Doctor's Eyewitness Account* (New York: Arcade, 1993), p. 128, or (New York: Fawcett Crest, 1965), p. 97. (This is at the beginning of chapter 22.)
6. Martin Gilbert, *Auschwitz and the Allies* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1981), p. 309.
7. Wilhelm Stäglich, *Auschwitz: A Judge Looks at the Evidence* (IHR, 1990), p. 53. This is a translation of *Der Auschwitz-Mythos*, first published in German in 1979.
8. Friedrich P. Berg, "The German Delousing Chambers," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1986 (Vol. 7, No. 1), pp. 73-94; F.P. Berg, "Typhus and the Jews," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1988-89 (Vol. 8, No. 4), pp. 433-481.
9. Analysis of Pressac's 1989 *Auschwitz* book, by Robert Faurisson, in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1991 (Vol. 11, No. 1), pp. 25-66, esp. pp. 55-58. Specifically, Faurisson wrote (pp. 49, 65): "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)... 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."
10. Dr. Butz' "Vergasungskeller" article was first published on his Northwestern University Internet web-site on August 6, 1996, and has been revised at least twice since then. It appeared in the January 1997 issue (No. 51) of the Adelaide Institute Newsletter. A revised version was published in *The Journal of Historical Review*, July-August 1997 issue (pp. 20-23) under the title "The Nagging 'Gassing Cellar' Problem." (See also note 57.)
11. This section draws on the following sources: Sterling Seagrave, *Yellow Rain: A Journey Through the Terror of Chemical Warfare* (New York: 1981); the article "Poison Gas Warfare" by Major General Sir Louis Jackson, in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 12th edition, 1923 (Supplementary volumes to the 11th edition, 1910), volume XXXII, pp. 110-117; and, the article "A Whiff of Death: Chemical Warfare in the World Wars" by David Tschanz, in *Command: Military History, Strategy & Analysis*, issue 33, March-April 1995, pp. 46-57. The author expresses his gratitude to Richard A. Widmann for providing this last reference. Perhaps the most detailed exposition of World War I gas usage is Dieter Martinetz, *Der Gaskrieg, 1914-1918* (Koblenz: Bernard & Graefe, 1996).
12. Stephen Trombley, *The Executioner's Protocol* (New York: Crown/Anchor, 1992), p. 12. (This book was reviewed in the March-April 1998 *Journal of Historical Review*, pp. 34-36.)
13. *Branddirektor* Hans Rumpf, *Gasschutz: Ein Leit-faden für den Gasschutzlehrer und den Gasschutz-mann* (Berlin: E.S. Mittler & Sohn, 1936/ 3rd ed.), p. 46.
14. H. Rumpf, *Gasschutz* (cited above), pp. 49, 52.
15. H. Rumpf, *Gasschutz* (cited above), p. 54.
16. Guenther W. Gellerman, *Der Krieg, der nicht stat-tfand* (Koblenz: Bernard & Graefe, 1986), pp. 186 f.
17. *Luftschutz durch Bauen* (Berlin: Bauwelt Verlag,

- 1939), pp. 174-177.
18. *Luftschutz durch Bauen* (cited above), p. 180.
 19. *Luftschutz durch Bauen* (cited above), pp. 178 f.
 20. *Luftschutz durch Bauen* (cited above), pp. 182 f.
 21. *Luftschutz durch Bauen* (cited above), p. 205.
 22. *Luftschutz durch Bauen* (cited above), p. 208.
 23. *Luftschutz durch Bauen* (cited above), p. 210.
 24. Dr.-Ing. R. Scholle, *Schutzraumabschlüsse* (Berlin: W. Ernst & Sohn, 1939)
 25. R. Scholle, *Schutzraumabschlüsse* (cited above), p. 2.
 26. R. Scholle, *Schutzraumabschlüsse* (cited above), p. 3.
 27. R. Scholle, *Schutzraumabschlüsse* (cited above), p. 21.
 28. R. Scholle, *Schutzraumabschlüsse* (cited above), pp. 32, 37.
 29. Further research on this precise point indicates that the peephole might be variously shaped or covered, and might be recessed either on the inside or outside of the door, depending on the nature of the construction and available materials.
Thus, the peephole cited in R. Scholle, *Schutzraumabschlüsse* (1939, cited above), pp. 32, 37, shows the recess and covering on the inside. However, an article in the periodical *Gasschutz und Luftschutz* (Berlin-Charlottenberg: Verlag Gasschutz und Luftschutz, 10. Jg., 1940, pp. 6 and 42) shows it on the outside. See also the photographs of such doors in: J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers* (1989), pp. 29, 46, 48, 49, 50, 61. The literature also shows that, while the perforated steel plate was preferred, many other expedients were used, sometimes wired glass or ordinary glass, and sometimes the peepholes themselves might be rectangular, *Gasschutz und Luftschutz* (1940, cited above), p. 42.
 30. "Der Zivile Luftschutz auf den Frühjahrsausstellungen 1939," by Heinz-Guenther Mehl, published in *Gasschutz und Luftschutz* (Berlin-Charlottenberg: Verlag Gasschutz und Luftschutz), 9. Jg. (1939), p. 106.
 31. *Gasschutz und Luftschutz* (cited above), 9. Jg. (1939), p. 111.
 32. "Werkretungsstellen" ("Work Place Emergency Rooms"), by Dr. Ing. Karl Quasebart, published in *Gasschutz und Luftschutz*, 9. Jg. (1939), p. 236.
 33. *Gasschutz und Luftschutz*, 1939, p. 237.
 34. *Handbook on German Military Forces* (Washington, DC: US War Department, March 1945), p. 528. (Facsimile reprint: Louisiana State University Press, 1990 [with introduction by historian Stephen E. Ambrose].)
 35. *Luftschutz durch Bauen* (cited above), p. 210.
 36. "Werkretungsstellen," in *Gasschutz und Luftschutz*, 1939 (cited above), p. 239.
 37. "Aus der Praxis für die Praxis im Werkluftschutz" ("Practical Lessons for Work Place Bomb Shelters"), by Major a.D. (retired) Stein, in *Gasschutz und Luftschutz*, 1939, p. 263.
 38. "Behelfsmässige Luftschutzräume, falsch und richtig" ("Makeshift Bomb Shelters: Right and Wrong"), by Dr. Ing. Ernst Baum, in *Baulicher Luftschutz* (formerly *Gasschutz und Luftschutz*) 10. Jg., 1940, pp. 22 ff.
 39. *Baulicher Luftschutz* (cited above), 1940, p. 26.
 40. "Bemerkungen zur Verordnung und den Bestimmungen über die behelfsmässige Herrichtung von Luftschutzräumen" ("Remarks on the Ordinance and Regulations for Building Makeshift Air Raid Shelters"), by K. Otto, *Referent im Reichsluftfahrtministerium*, published in *Baulicher Luftschutz*, 1940, p. 8.
 41. "Hygienische und physiologische Grundlagen für den Bau von Luftschutz-Bunkern" ("Hygienic and Psychological Conditions for Building Air Raid Bunkers"), by Dr. W. Liese, *Reichsgesundheitsamt*, in *Baulicher Luftschutz*, 1942, pp. 104-110.
 42. *Baulicher Luftschutz* (article by Dr. W. Liese, cited above), 1942, p. 107.
 43. "Einfluß der Heizung und Belüftung auf die Planung von LS Bunkern" ("The Role of Heating and Ventilation in Planning Air Raid Bunkers"), by Dr. Ing. Hermann Schrader, *Regierungsbaurat im Reichsluftfahrtministerium* (Reich Air Ministry), published in *Baulicher Luftschutz*, 1942, pp. 110-116.
 44. Advertisements in *Baulicher Luftschutz* (cited above), 1942 issues, apparently pp. iv and v. Text portion translations: "Absolute safety in use!" (*Unbedingte Betriebssicherheit!*), and "the simple method of construction enables easy, quick usage" (*Die einfache Bauart ermöglicht leichte, schnelle Bedienung*).
 45. *Handbook on German Military Forces* (US War Dept., 1945. Cited above), pp. 518-527.
 46. *Handbook on German Military Forces* (cited above), p. 527 (Figure 125).
 47. *Baulicher Luftschutz* (cited above), 1942, p. 202.
 48. *Luftschutz Führer Sofort Programm* ("Air Raid Guide Emergency Program"), November 1940. Quoted in: Samuel Crowell, "Defending Against the Allied Bombing Campaign: Air Raid Shelters and Gas Protection in Germany, 1939-1945." The relevant portion of the text is posted on the CODOH Internet web site: www.codoh.com/incon/inconabr.html. Sources cited by Crowell for this document: Joachim Stahl, *Bunker und Stollen für den Luftschutz im Raum Siegen* (Kreuztal: 1980), pp. 23 ff., and, Georg Wolfgang Schramm, *Der zivile Luftschutz in Nürnberg, 1933-1945* (Nuremberg: 1983), pp. 327 ff. The wording in German is: "Bei allen Neubauten, insbesondere bei den Bauten der Rüstungsindustrie, sind von vorneherein bombensichere Luftschutzräume auszuführen. Sie sind in die gleiche Dringlichkeitsstufe wie die Bauvorhaben selbst aufzunehmen."
 49. Letter from Oswald Pohl, head of the SS agency that administered the concentration camps (WVHA), to SS chief Heinrich Himmler, with attached order by Pohl to all camp commandants, April 30, 1942. Nuremberg document R-129. *Trial of the Major War Criminals Before the International Military Tribunal*

(Nuremberg: 1947-1949), IMT "blue series," vol. 38, pp. 362-367.

See also: Himmler to Glücks, Jan. 25, 1942. Nuremberg document NO-500. *Trials of War Criminals Before the Nuernberg Military Tribunals* (1949-1953), NMT "green series," vol. 5, p. 365. Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 3 vols., 1985), p. 917.

50. David S. Wyman, *The Abandonment of the Jews* (New York: 1984), pp. 299-300; R. Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (New York: 1985), pp. 981, 1128-1129; At least two of these raids were reported in *The New York Times*: Aug. 21, 1944, p. 6, and Sept. 14, 1944, p. 6.
51. Martin Gilbert, *Auschwitz and the Allies* (New York: 1981), pp. 315-316, and illus. # 32, opp. p. 193.
52. Order (*Standortbefehl*) Nr. 51/43 of November 16, 1943, by Auschwitz commandant, and SS officer, Liebehenschel. Quoted by Carto Mattogno in his "Reply to Samuel Crowell's 'Comments' About my 'Critique of the Bomb Shelter Thesis'," 1999, posted on CODOH web site: www.codoh.com/granata/reply.html.
53. Memorandum (*Aktenvermerk*), Auschwitz, October 25, 1943. (*Betr. Luftschutz-Dekungsgräben*), signed by SS-Untersturmführer Dejaco (?). Original in the Central State Archives, Moscow. Document No. 502-1-26-178.
- Memorandum (*Aktenvermerk*), Auschwitz, November 5, 1943. (*Betr. Luftschutzdeckungsgräben*), signed by SS-Untersturmführer Dejaco (?). Original in the Central State Archives, Moscow. Document No. 502-1-26-186 +186R.
- Letter, from SS WVHA, Berlin, November 9, 1944, to *Bauinspektion* Kattowitz. (*Betr. Errichtung von Luftschutzdeckungsgräben*), Copy of copy. Original in the Central State Archives, Moscow. Document No. 502-1-281.

These three documents are posted, both in facsimile and retyped text, along with commentary, on David Irving's Focal Point web site: <http://www.fpp.co.uk/Auschwitz/documents/LSKeller/MoscowDocs.html>

In addition, a document of November 10, 1943, by SS officer Jothann, mentions work on such air raid shelters (*Luftschutzgräben*). Cited by Carlo Mattogno in his "Reply to Samuel Crowell's 'Comments' About my 'Critique of the Bomb Shelter Thesis'," posted on CODOH web site: www.codoh.com/granata/reply.html.

54. On measures to protect inmates at Auschwitz (including Birkenau) against death by disease, especially typhus, see: M. Weber, "High Frequency Delousing Facilities at Auschwitz," *The Journal of Historical Review*, May-June 1999, pp. 4-12.

55. "The Strop Report." Nuremberg document 1061-PS. Published in: IMT "blue series" (cited above), vol. 26, pp. 637-638, 672; Nuremberg Tribunal testimony of Joseph Bühler (April 23, 1946), in: IMT "blue series," vol. 12, pp. 75.

56. J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers* (cited above), p. 429. On the following pages of his book (pp. 430-457), Pressac presents his 39 "criminal traces," with commentary, source references, and photographic reproductions of each.

57. Arthur R. Butz, "The Nagging 'Gassing Cellar' Problem," *The Journal of Historical Review*, July-August 1997, pp. 20-23. (See also note 10.)

Dr. Butz argues here that the large concrete semi-underground morgues of Birkenau crematory facilities (*Kremas*) II and III, with their reinforced concrete roofs, and their intended berming, would have been ideal as air raid "gas shelters."

Actually, these morgue had features not only of anti-gas bomb shelters, but also of personnel shelters. Such personnel shelters, which were common in German emplacements, would preferably be underground, "or as low as the water level table permits." (See: *Handbook on German Military Forces*, cited above, p. 263). Also, they would be constructed of concrete reinforced with steel rods, have gas locks, be carefully camouflaged, and have four ventilation ducts, two of which would be dummies to thwart enemy attempts to introduce gas or explosives. (See: *Handbook on German Military Forces*, cited above, pp. 262-264).

Butz' research shows that "*Gaskeller*" can mean "*Gasschutzkeller*" or "gas shelter," and that "*Vergasungskeller*" can mean "*Gaskeller*." This is a good etymological argument, and important in this regard because, as we have seen, the construction workers and engineers were very creative in their use of the German language.

As already noted, the bomb shelter literature boasted an impressive vocabulary of synonyms and neologisms. Several nouns, that no one has heard before or since, were coined, using "*Gasschutz*-" or "*Luftschutz*-" as a prefix. In the subject index for one periodical year, we find at least 20 words that use *Gas*- or *Gasschutz*- as a prefix or suffix, including *Gasschutzbettchen* and *Kleinkindergasschutz*. *Luftschutz*- is even more productive, no less than 50 terms are listed, including such interesting terms as *Luftschutzhausapotheke*, and *Luftschutztürme* (See: *Gasschutz und Luftschutz*, 1939, cited above, index.) A similar prolificacy affects bomb shelters (*Gasschutzraum*, -*keller*, *Gaskeller* [as Dr. Butz has noted], *Luftschutzraum*, -*haus*, -*keller*, *Schutzraum*, even *Selbstschutz*; *LS-Bunker* only rarely), poison gas victims (*Gaserkrankung*, *Vergiftungen*, *Kampfstoffvergiftung*, *Kampfstoffverletzte*, *Gaskranken*, *Gelbkreuzverletzte*, and others) as well as decontamination centers (*Entgiftungsanstalt*, *Bade- und Duschraum für Kampfstoffverletzte*, *Gasentgift-*

- ung, *Rettungsstelle*). Such terms as *Vergasungskeller* for *Krema II*, and *Gasskammer* for *Krema IV* and *V*, would follow naturally in this series of neologisms.
58. For more on this, see the full, "original" text of this essay, posted on CODOH web site: <http://www.codoh.com/incon/incompressac.html>. See also: S. Crowell, "The Gas Chamber of Sherlock Holmes" [abstract], particularly Section 3 ["German Delousing Procedures"], posted on the CODOH site at <http://www.codoh.com/incon/inconshr123.html>.
 59. *Handbook on German Military Forces* (cited above), p. 525.
 60. J.-C. Pressac, *Die Krematorien von Auschwitz* (Munich: Piper, 1994), p. 93, and, J.-C. Pressac, *Les crématoires d'Auschwitz: la machinerie du meurtre de masse* (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 1993). This letter is reproduced in facsimile, together with an English translation, by J.-C. Pressac and Robert-Jan Van Pelt in their article in: Y. Gutman and M. Berenbaum, eds., *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp* (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1994), pp. 230-231. See also the discussion of this letter in: Arthur R. Butz, "Gas Detectors in Auschwitz Crematory II," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Sept.-Oct. 1997, pp. 24-30.
- The argument that this document is an altered copy or forgery has been advanced by Werner Rademacher in: E. Gauss, ed., *Grundlagen zur Zeitgeschichte* (Tübingen: Grabert Verlag, 1994), pp. 55-57. Carlo Mattogno has made this same argument, for example, in C. Mattogno, *Auschwitz: The End of the Legend* (IHR, 1994), p. 66, and in, C. Mattogno, "Auschwitz: Die Ende einer Legende," in Herbert Vorbeke, ed., *Auschwitz: Nackte Fakten* (Berchem, Belgium: VHO, 1995), p. 147.
61. J.-C. Pressac, *Die Krematorien von Auschwitz* (cited above), p. 94.
 62. At this point it is worth mentioning that the word "Gasprüfer" in the contemporary German literature refers to a device for measuring the mix of gases in a furnace. See: *Hütte, des Ingenieurs Taschenbuch* (Berlin: Verlag von W. Ernst & Sohn [Akademischer Verein Hütte], 1931), vol. 1, p. 1013 (with specific reference to exhaust gas analysis). This page is reproduced in facsimile in: C. Mattogno, *Auschwitz: The End of the Legend* (cited above), p. 122, and pp. 65-67, 117-122. This is also given in: C. Mattogno, in H. Vorbeke, ed., *Auschwitz: Nackte Fakten* (cited above), p. 152, and pp. 146-152.
 63. J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989, cited above), p. 452.
 64. "Gas Detectors in the Auschwitz Crematorium II" was published on Dr. Butz' Internet homepage on March 3, 1997, and revised several times thereafter. It was also published in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Sept.-Oct. 1997, pp. 24-30.
- One such source of HCN when burned is rayon. During the war years German military uniforms were made with an increasingly high proportion of rayon. (*Handbook on German Military Forces*, 1945, cited above, pp. 541, 543, 551.) It is also not unreasonable to assume that most concentration camp fabrics contained similar proportions of wool and rayon, and that highly flammable rayon fabrics would be treated with flame retardant, which would provide a catalyst for HCN release when burned. In addition, our review of the literature has shown that several other substances — including leather, celluloid, and proteinous matter — produced HCN when burned, and could have a poisonous effect. All of these could have been burned in the incinerator as well. (H. Rumpf, *Gasschutz*, 1936, cited above, p. 55.)
- A possible counter argument to Butz' thesis is that these gas detectors had special characteristics that made them appropriate for measuring HCN in connection with homicidal gassings. Aside from this being purely speculative, this counter argument offers no clue as to what these characteristics might be. Moreover, this argument would not explain why ten detectors would be needed, or how they would be used or consulted in a space that, after all, had only one door.
65. R. Scholle, *Schutzraumabschlüsse* (1939, cited above), pp. 21, 24 f; Advertisements in *Baulicher Luftschutz*, 1942 issues, cited above; and, *Gasschutz und Luftschutz*, 1939, p. 236.
 66. *Luftschutz durch Bauen* (1939, cited above), pp. 180, 205, 210; *Gasschutz und Luftschutz* (1939, cited above), p. 237.
 67. J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989, cited above), pp. 434, 436.
 68. R. Scholle, *Schutzraumabschlüsse* (1939, cited above), pp. 21, 24 f; Advertisements in *Baulicher Luftschutz*, 1942 issues, cited above; and, *Gasschutz und Luftschutz*, 1939, p. 236.
- The references in these other "trace" documents are to: "Gasdichttür," "Beschlüge für 1 Stück Gastür," "4 Gasdichte Türen," "Gastüren Verankerungen 210 stk," "4 dichte Türen, mit Türfutter," für 4 gasdichte Türen," "Gastüren einsetzen." Werner Rademacher in *Grundlagen zur Zeitgeschichte* (cited above), p. 57, has argued that all these items would have been superfluous for use with the supposed gas chambers, or the gas chamber doors. However, my bomb shelter thesis answers this problem.
69. J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989, cited above), pp. 430, 436, 438.
 70. J.-C. Pressac and R.-J. Van Pelt in Y. Gutman and M. Berenbaum, eds., *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp* (cited above), p. 233. *Holzblenden* is translated here as "wooden lids."
 71. *Gasschutz und Luftschutz* (1939, cited above), p. 111, and, 1940, pp. 22 ff, 26.
- Elsewhere in his 1989 *Auschwitz* book (pp. 425-428), Pressac provides several photographs of shutters, which he identifies as the "gas tight windows" or "doors" of Birkenau crematory facilities (*Kremas*) IV and V. These shutters are generally identical in size, shape, and construction to ordinary wooden shutters (*Blenden*) for air raid shelters, as can readily be seen

by consulting the literature cited above, and they are also of about the right size for emergency exits. Thus, “gas tight windows,” “gas tight doors,” “shutters” or “wooden shutters” are, in this context, all the same thing. This is important not only because it demonstrates the propensity of Birkenau construction workers and engineers to describe things by unconventional names, but also because it helps put this “wire mesh” or “wire netting” in context.

72. Advertisements in *Baulicher Luftschutz*, 1942 issues, cited above.
73. *Luftschutz durch Bauen* (1939, cited above), p. 182 f; *Gasschutz und Luftschutz*, 1940, p. 26; *Baulicher Luftschutz*, 1940, p. 263. German terms used are *Rost*, *Gitterstäbe* and *Geflecht von Draht*.
74. J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989, cited above), p. 441.
75. There are several references in the German anti-gas shelter literature to various *Schieber*, that is, devices that slide in and block, filter, or mediate a space (such as *Absperrschieber*, *Rosettenschieber*, or *Aufbläseschieber*). In each such case, the *Schieber* is something that it is slid into something else. In no case does it refer to a device into which something else is slid. (R. Scholle, *Schutzraumabschlüsse*, 1939, cited above, p. 5; *Luftschutz durch Bauen*, 1939, cited above, pp. 174ff, 182f.) Pressac’s characterization of *Drahtnetzeinschiebvorrichtung* as “wire mesh induction devices” or “wire netting inserting devices” is therefore semantically incorrect.
76. J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989, cited above), p. 440. The relevant portion of the text, in Polish, reads: “na wykonanie zaslon i kontówek dla krematorium II / B.W. 301, z treści którego wynika, że dla wykonania tego zamówienia zużyto gaze druciana i druciana plecionke.”
The original (German-language) order is not available, because, Pressac believes, the original document was taken from the Auschwitz State Museum and has not been returned. (J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz*, cited above, p. 438). This seems to be the only original document that is missing. Pressac therefore relies on a Polish-language abstract, notarized by Jan Sehn.
77. R. Scholle, *Schutzraumabschlüsse* (1939, cited above), p. 5; *Luftschutz durch Bauen* (1939, cited above), pp. 174ff, 182f.
78. J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989, cited above), pp. 354, 436. On page 436 he wrote: “According to the American aerial photograph of 24th August 1944, the four introduction points were located along a line running the length of the room in the EASTERN half. In the present ruins, two of these openings are still visible at the southern end but in the WESTERN half. Nobody up to now seems to have been concerned by this contradiction, nor to have explained it.” However, on page 354 Pressac wrote: “The reason for this as yet unexplained difference could well be simply that the roof shifted considerably when dynamited.”
79. R. Kammerer, A. Solms, eds., *Das Rudolf Gutachten* (London: Cromwell Press, 1993), pp. 26, 28. The text

is also on the Internet at: <http://www.vho.org>. (See also the English-language summary edition: *The Rudolf Report* [Cromwell Press, 1993], pp. 6-7.)

Rudolf argues that the two holes were crudely cut through the reinforced concrete after pouring, and that they could not be made secure or gas-tight under any conditions. Therefore they must have been made after the war.

For more about Rudolf and his *VffG* journal, see “Important New German-Language Revisionist Quarterly,” in the May-June 1998 *Journal*, pp. 26-27.

80. R. Scholle, *Schutzraumabschlüsse* (1939, cited above), p. 22.
81. J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989, cited above), pp. 429, 430, 438, 439.
82. *Gasschutz und Luftschutz* (1939, cited above), 1939, p. 276.
83. It should be pointed out that this reference to 14 shower heads pertains to morgue 1 of Birkenau crematory building (*Krema*) III, not *Krema* II. (For *Krema* II we have the materially unsubstantiated claim that it had 24 shower heads.) According to the *Krema* II inventory, morgue 1 was equipped with either three or five water taps, which would be consistent with the facilities or equipping of a decontamination shower room. (See: *Gasschutz und Luftschutz*, 1939, cited above, p. 276.)
84. *Gasschutz und Luftschutz* (1939, cited above), p. 111; and, 1940, pp. 22ff, 26.
85. *Gasschutz und Luftschutz* (1939, cited above), p. 111; and, 1940, pp. 22ff, 26.
86. Traces 18 and 19 are time sheets filled out by the foreman of a civilian construction firm that worked on *Kremas* IV and V. These contain two similar spellings, which Pressac considers mistakes: *gassdichtenfenster*, and *Gasskammer*. Traces 20 and 21 repeat the “misspellings” in a log book. I consider these misspellings odd, because there is more than one mistake being made here.
For more on all this, see the full, “original” text of this essay, posted on CODOH web site: <http://www.codoh.com/incon/incompressac.html>.
87. J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989), pp. 452, 453.
As Pressac notes here, Polish examining judge Jan Sehn arbitrarily changed *Türme* (“towers”) to *Türen* (“doors”) in producing an “authentic copy” of this document, which he “certified.” Sehn certified as an “authentic copy” a document to which alterations had been made. Certification of altered documents could certainly be characterized as forgery.
88. *Gasschutz und Luftschutz* (1939, cited above), p. 111.
89. *Gasschutz und Luftschutz* (1939, cited above), p. 111; and, 1940, pp. 22ff, 26.
See, for example, the small “towers” above *Krema* IV or V shown in the drawing on the front cover of Pressac’s 1989 book.
It should be noted that “gas tight” (*gasdichte*) is misspelled as *gasduchte*. But this comes from the Polish transcript, not from the German original document.

90. J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989, cited above), pp. 230, 433, 454.
91. *Gasschutz und Luftschutz* (1939, cited above), p. 276.
92. The heating of an underground morgue would sometimes be necessary to keep temperatures above the freezing point. See: E. Neufert, *Bauentwurfslehre* (Frankfurt: Ullstein Fachverlag, 1962), p. 423.
93. J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers* (1989), pp. 456, 457.

This Polish summary or extract of a German work order reads: *1 Schlüssel. für Gaskammer / Melden bei H.stuf der Apotheke im 44-Revier / . Bestellschein der Verwaltung BBD Nr. 87 Block vom 9.7.43.* Pressac translates this as: 1 key. for gas chamber. Report to SS captain of the SS hospital pharmacy. BBD administration Order No. 87 Block of 9th July, 1943.


I believe that alternate interpretations of this "trace" are conceivable, and that, anyway, there are several possible mistakes in this extract. Until the original German work order is found, I think it best to leave this "trace" alone.

94. "Der Zivile Luftschutz auf den Frühjahrsausstellungen 1939," by Heinz-Guenther, published in *Gasschutz und Luftschutz* (1939, cited above), pp. 5, 264, 323ff.
 95. R. Scholle, *Schutzraumabschlüsse* (1939, cited above), p. 21. Note the use of the word *Spion* for the peephole, instead of the more usual *Guckloch*. This is further evidence of the creative vocabulary of Birkenau construction workers.
 96. J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989, cited above), p. 286, with pp. 302-303, 310 and 312.
 97. J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989, cited above), p. 434.
 98. Germar Rudolf has also made the point that it would be natural to segregate the drainage of this space if the cellar contained contaminated corpses. R. Kammerer, A. Solms, eds., *Das Rudolf Gutachten* (London: Cromwell Press, 1993). Also on the Internet at: <http://www.vho.org>.
 99. It has been mentioned in this regard that the architectural drawings for morgue cellar #1 of *Krema II* do not indicate the piping for the shower heads. As a matter of fact, they indicate no shower heads at all, but rather three water taps (actually, symbols indicating three points where water would be piped in) against the eastern wall (Pressac, *Auschwitz*, 1989, pp. 310, 312). It is strange that Pressac suggests (*Auschwitz*, 1989, p. 310) that this same drawing would indicate that the water taps were removed, but on closer inspection it turns out that the water taps were removed according to witness testimony only.
- Furthermore, it seems odd that Pressac would consider a lack of piping in any way significant. Elsewhere in this same book (Pressac, *Auschwitz*, 1989, pp. 55-57), he presents four drawings of a known delousing station for prisoners: all four indicate the 55 shower heads, but only one shows the piping for the shower heads, which are in turn led back to only four water outlets.

A photograph presented by Pressac (*Auschwitz*, 1989, p. 80) shows how such outlets, by the use of exposed piping suspended from iron rods attached to the ceiling, could sustain shower heads in a ratio of 14 to 1.

Therefore, it should be clear that this entire issue of piping, shower heads, water taps, and such is, from a documentary point of view, just not relevant.

100. Kenneth V. Iserson, *Death to Dust: What Happens to Dead Bodies?* (Tucson: 1994), p. 251.
101. In particular, it would have been necessary to reverse the screens and shutters. Normally (that is, in the case of air raid shelters), the screens would be on the outside, to protect against bomb splinters and debris, while the shutters would be on the inside, to afford gas protection. If not reversed, the intended gassing victims could simply have opened the emergency exits and climbed out. But if reversed, the debris, splinter, and gas protection features would be compromised. In short, converting these rooms to extermination gas chambers would have prevented their effective use as bomb shelters. There is no material or documentary evidence that such modifications were ever made.



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

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Origin and Enduring Impact of the 'Garaudy Affair'

A French Scholar's Look at Israel's 'Founding Myths'

THEODORE J. O'KEEFE

When *Les mythes fondateurs de la politique israélienne* — soon to be issued by the IHR as *The Founding Myths of Modern Israel* — was first published in France at the end of 1995, it unleashed a nationwide sound and fury unmatched by any other revisionist book on the Holocaust, before or since. No book by Paul Rassinier, by Arthur Butz, or by Robert Faurisson has precipitated anything approaching the tempest among intellectuals and the uproar in the media that accompanied the appearance of this work by well-known French scholar Roger Garaudy.

Nor did the impact of *Founding Myths* end with the literary controversy that swept France in the first half of 1996. Garaudy's trial and conviction in Paris in 1998 for Holocaust heresy ignited further conflagration across the Islamic Middle East and beyond. As Zionist organizations soon had cause to lament, influential persons and groups in Arab countries, and in non-Arab Muslim nations such as Iran, made, for the first time in the Islamic world, a show of concerted support for the Holocaust revisionist position.

How to account for the extraordinary affair aroused by Garaudy's book? As he himself emphasized throughout *Founding Myths* by his prominent citation of sources in the text, little if anything of the book's scholarship is original — neither the Holocaust revisionism expounded here, nor his summoning of recent Old Testament scholarship against the "chosen people" and "promised land" myths that justify modern Zionism, nor his citation of Zionist leaders and anti-Zionist Jews in evidence against Israeli policies.

Rather, the cause of the uproar lies in the extraordinary syzygy of a man and a movement. The man is of course Roger Garaudy, who has made

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This essay is adapted from the foreword to the forthcoming IHR edition of Garaudy's *Founding Myths*.



Roger Garaudy

a twentieth century odyssey through literature, philosophy, and politics, from Christianity to Communism, through Stalinism back to Christianity, and then to Islam, and at last to the radical revising of World War II history that French attorney Pierre Pécastaing called "the great intellectual adventure of the end of this century."

Roger Garaudy was born in Marseille in 1913. At 14 he became that rarity, a French Protestant, and then graduated from university with a bachelor's degree in philosophy. After service in the French army in 1940, he joined the anti-German and anti-Vichy *Résistance*, for which he was interned in a French camp in Algeria. After the war Garaudy joined the powerful French Communist Party, then at the height of its prestige following the triumph of Soviet arms.

Garaudy was much more than a mere "card-carrying Communist." He was elected a Communist deputy to the National Assembly, later serving as deputy speaker and then as a senator. For a quarter

century after the war, Garaudy was one of the French Communist Party's leading theoreticians, a respected philosopher and authority on Hegel, and an author of dozens of scholarly works, whose views carried weight well beyond party circles.

Although a Stalinist stalwart during the 1940s and 50s, at no time in his career did Garaudy abandon his interest in theology and religion. In the 1960s his growing interest in dialogue with the Catholic Church won him international notice, while his increasing disenchantment with Soviet Communism, signaled by his support for the anarchic student upheaval of 1968 and his condemnation of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in the same year, soon led to his expulsion from the Party. He continued to teach philosophy at the university level, and to develop his interest in art and literature from around the world. In 1982 Garaudy converted from Roman Catholicism to Islam, which he had come to see as a more authentic vehicle of the divine call. In the following years he became a respected commentator on Islam in the Muslim world, and a passionate advocate of the Palestinian cause. Despite his break with Communism, he never ceased to proclaim his anti-racist, internationalist, and socialist beliefs.

After two of Garaudy's books on the Palestine question fell victim to unofficial censorship through the familiar means of intimidation and blackout, Garaudy's growing awareness of the role the Holocaust plays in silencing critics of Israel led him to examine the revisionist case. In December 1995 Marxist writer Pierre Guillaume, whose leftist "Old Mole" house had published Robert Faurisson and other French revisionists, brought out Garaudy's *Les mythes fondateurs de la politique israélienne* (reviewed in the March-April 1996 *Journal*, pp. 35-36).

Perhaps it should not surprise anyone that the rise of a French school of Holocaust revisionism antedates that of any other nation. The movement in France that struggles to subject to critical historical analysis the claim that millions of Jews were systematically killed on Hitler's order is closer to the French national genius than might be supposed. Despite its reflexive assignment to the right, the debunking of



Paul Rassinier

myths that have been enshrined by capitalist as well as communist powers, that have bolstered the mythologies of more than one nation, and that have been embellished with miraculous details to rival the legends of the saints, draws on a rationalist, critical, spirit that links French revisionism to such ancestors as Voltaire, Renan, and even Anatole France.

The "father" of Holocaust revisionism was Paul Rassinier, a French educator of Marxist and pacifist sensibilities who was arrested in 1943 for his underground *Résistance* activism and interned until the end of the war in the Buchen-

wald and Dora concentration camps. Like Garaudy, he was initially an admired figure in the postwar era, when he was elected to the National Assembly as a deputy of the Socialist Party (SFIO). Rassinier was an honest man, however, who — in his memoirs of wartime camp experiences — failed doubly in his duty to Holocaust "memory": he was not only unable to recall atrocities that had been fabricated after the fact, but also unable to forget the misdeeds and collaborations of certain of his fellow deportees who passed for heroes and martyrs after the war. The outspoken integrity and tenacity of Rassinier on what he had witnessed in the camps, as well as his diligent research into the alleged gas chambers, the six million claim, and wartime Germany's actual Jewish policy, resulted in his being pushed to the periphery of French intellectual society, as well as continual targeting in private lawsuits and state investigations.

Yet by the time of his death in July 1967, Rassinier had attracted a small but tenacious following in France, as well as backing from abroad that included, significantly, support from the eminent American historian, Harry Elmer Barnes, and a number of his colleagues.

In the late 1970s, university professor Robert Faurisson emerged as France's leading revisionist. After years of private research and study, this Sorbonne-educated authority on French literary texts, and specialist of document analysis, first made public his skeptical views about the Holocaust extermination story in articles published in 1978 and 1979 in *Le Monde*. Through his meticulous research, careful scholarship, writing, and tireless publicizing, and



Abbé Pierre

through the physical assaults and wearing court cases he has endured, he became the foremost French and European revisionist scholar. The "Holocaust" revisionist content of *Founding Myths*, and the scandal that its publication unleashed in France, would be inconceivable apart from Faurisson's contribution.

The appearance of a revisionist book on the Holocaust by an ex-Communist celebrity would have been scandal enough for France's ingrown intellectual community, many of whose members are Jewish. The appearance of Garaudy's *Founding Myths* provoked not only their shrill denunciations, it brought legal complaints under France's notorious 1990 Gayssot law, which makes it a crime to "contest" the "crimes against humanity" as defined by the Nuremberg Tribunal of 1945-46. (See "French Courts Punish Holocaust Apostasy," March-April 1998 *Journal*, pp. 14-18.)

It was the involvement on Garaudy's behalf, however, of an octogenarian Capuchin friar whose well-publicized engagement on behalf of the homeless and other unfortunates has made him one of the most popular men in France, that converted the Garaudy affair into a nationwide event rather than just another spat among the literati. Abbé Pierre, as the Frenchman born Henri Grouès became known during his underground work with the *Résistance* in smuggling Jews out of France, has the national charisma and presence that a Mother Theresa might have had in America had she been working in Harlem rather than Calcutta. A longtime friend of Garaudy, who had come to share his sympathy for the Palestinians, the Abbé made headlines in April 1996 by seeming to endorse the book. (See: R. Faurisson, "On the Garaudy/ Abbé Pierre Affair," July-August 1997 *Journal*, pp. 26-28.)

The Garaudy affair was soon enough the Abbé Pierre affair, and the baying pack of intellectuals dogging Garaudy was soon joined by the popular media and by France's most influential religious leaders, including the Archbishop of Paris, the Jewish convert to Catholicism Daniel Lustiger, and the chief rabbi of France, Joseph Sitruk. The controversy was not without its droll aspects: the Abbé Pierre seemed in constant retreat — acknowledging that he hadn't actually read the book, eschewing any allegiance to Holocaust revisionism, calling on Garaudy to correct any mistakes — but he accompanied each concession with a new thrust. He called for a national debate on the Holocaust — and at first got Grand Rabbi Sitruk to agree with him. He pointed out that some Holocaust claims must be wrong, and that there was room for revision. When at last the combined weight of church censure, rabbinical reprimand, the scolding of his left-wing friends, and his expulsion from the International

—Le guide des festivals de l'été

L'ÉVÉNEMENT DU JEUDI



"Holocaust: The Revisionists' Victory" proclaims the establishment French weekly magazine *L'Événement du jeudi* ("The Thursday Event") on the front cover of its issue of June 27-July 3, 1996. It appeared during the national furor over the revisionist book by French scholar Roger Garaudy on Israel's 'Founding Myths,' and the support he received from the widely respected priest Abbé Pierre (shown on the magazine's front cover).

League against Racism and Anti-Semitism (LICRA) and from the international Emmaus organization, which he had founded, led to Abbé Pierre's temporary flight from France to a monastery in Italy, he could still tell the press: "If the French church intervened to censure me, it did so only in response to the chorus of pressure from the media, inspired by an international Zionist lobby. I am absolutely convinced of that."

There was much truth to the headline that appeared, together with a photo of the Abbé Pierre, on the cover of the weekly *L'Événement du jeudi* (June 27-July 3, 1996): "La victoire des révisionnistes." As the journalist Jean-Francois Kahn had observed two months earlier, in response to Rabbi Sitruk's short-lived call for a debate among historians on the Holocaust, "Could Faurisson and [National Front chief Jean-Marie] Le Pen have hoped for more, even in their wildest dreams?"



Robert Faurisson

Two months later, in a two-part article that appeared in the newspaper *Le Nouveau Quotidien* of Lausanne, Switzerland, establishment historian Jacques Baynac described the paranoia that reigned among French intellectuals during the Garaudy affair, as accusations and denials of a secret devotion to revisionism flew in Paris salons, and Faurisson, though legally muzzled and socially ostracized, was, like a latter-day Scarlet Pimpernel, here, there, and everywhere. (See: R. Faurisson, "An Orthodox Historian Finally Acknowledges ...," July-August 1998 *Journal*, pp. 24-28.)

Many of those who frothed against *Founding Myths* gave voice to their embarrassment — real or pretended — at the French law that makes it a crime to question the Holocaust. They would prefer it to be thought that the 1990 *Loi Gayssot*, named for the French Communist deputy who sponsored it, with the blessing of the Jewish premier Laurent Fabius, makes it easy for the revisionists to maintain the moral high ground. Still, it was the mainstream LICRA and MRAP (Movement against Racism and for Friendship between Peoples) that brought the charges that caused the French state to try Garaudy for violating the Gayssot law. Leading intellectuals, moreover, offered only feeble opposition to the trial in January 1998 of a man who, in his Communist days, had once been one of their own.

Of the trial itself, it may be said that Garaudy was at best a reluctant champion of his own book's theses on the gas chambers, which had been pruned back in a second edition that appeared in 1995. He drew his strength, rather, from his stand on behalf of the Palestinians, and from the extraordinary support and acclamation that began to flow his way from the Arab and other Muslim countries. This did

nothing to deter the Paris court from deciding on a guilty verdict. On February 27, 1998, it fined Garaudy 240,000 francs (\$40,000).

Whereas the appearance of *Founding Myths* had made Holocaust revisionism a sensation in France, the trial of its octogenarian author made Holocaust revisionism a byword throughout the Middle East. In the course of just a few weeks, social, political and intellectual leaders throughout the Arab and Muslim world expressed support for Garaudy and their outrage at his treatment. From the Persian Gulf to the Nile, lawyers, writers and politicians protested publicly. At the trial's outset, for example, Sheikha Zayed ibn Sultan Al-Nahayan, the wife of the president of the United Arab Emirates, donated to Garaudy's defense \$50,000 — the equivalent of the maximum fine for violating the Gayssot Law.

Nowhere did Garaudy's star shine brighter than in Egypt, cultural center of the Arab world. Egyptian Nobel laureate in literature Naguib Mahfouz wondered at a society in which one was punished for denying the Holocaust, but free to deny God. As a guest of the country's Minister of Culture, Garaudy lectured and participated in symposiums associated with the annual Cairo Book Fair. His hero's welcome in the most populous Arab country included backing from an array of social and intellectual leaders. "Every Muslim should support Garaudy's thought and stand with all cultural, religious and diplomatic efforts," declared Egypt's highest religious authority, Grand Mufti Nasr Farid Wasel. "It is a duty to defend him and stand by his side."

In Iran, 600 journalists and 160 members of parliament signed petitions backing Garaudy, and during a visit to the country, he was received by the nation's supreme leader, Ayatollah Khamenei, who congratulated the French scholar.

In the months since the Garaudy trial, Holocaust revisionism has continued its advance in the Islamic world. Impelled by the continuing persecution or repression of revisionists in the West, it has graduated from a novelty among Arabs and Muslims to an intellectual fashion and an ideological weapon. One consequence is that western revisionists are now regularly broadcast to Europe over Radio Iran.

Given this, it is not surprising that Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and such American-based Jewish-Zionist support groups as the Simon Wiesenthal Center and the Zionist Organization of America have designated such books as Garaudy's *Founding Myths* as the "number one threat to Israel."

Perhaps the best testimony to the service the Garaudy book has done in spreading revisionism to Muslims was given by German-Canadian revisionist publicist Ernst Zündel. During a taxi ride in

snow-bound Ottawa, he relates, he had this exchange with the cabbie:

[the] driver, an Iraqi, within a few sentences of our conversation, said, with a smile from ear to ear: "So, you have studied the Holocaust? Then you must be familiar with the work of Roger Garaudy!"

The success of *Founding Myths* in spreading the Holocaust revisionist thesis in the Muslim world — propelled by Garaudy's great prestige and the injustice done to him — is not without its ironies for revisionists. For all his courage, Garaudy, who has not hesitated to invoke Zündel, David Irving, and Fred Leuchter, was inhibited by fear or odd scruple from mentioning the name of Robert Faurisson, without whose influence Garaudy's treatment of the Holocaust would scarcely have been imaginable. Ironical, too, is the fact that in the tumult over the book, the numerous garbled or misattributed citations in the original, above all in the section on the operations of the Zionist lobby in America, seem to have escaped the notice of critics and defenders alike. In this edition, care has been taken to restore, in conformance with the original sources, the numerous citations that give this book its unique character.

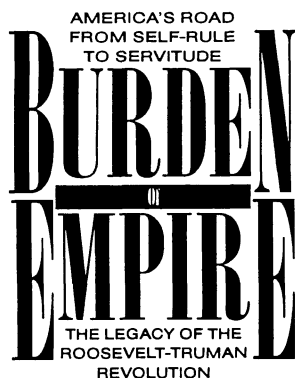
For all that *Founding Myths* reveals of its author's frailty and fallibility, whoever reads it with an open mind and heart must marvel at the breadth of spirit, learning, and intellect that propels



"No, not child pornography videos. They're revisionist periodicals." In this cartoon, from the French weekly *National Hebdo* (June 26-July 2, 1997), "Konk" wryly comments on the legal persecution by French authorities of "thought criminals" who reject the orthodox Holocaust extermination story.

Garaudy onward in unending quest. That the Faustian striving and the humanist ideals of this old Marxist and recent Muslim have come to encompass the struggle for establishing the truth about the Jewish "Holocaust" attest to the power and magnetism of a vital and unstoppable intellectual movement.

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'Political Correctness' in Germany

The Social Danger of Stifling Free Expression

CLAUS NORDBRUCH

Political Correctness, derived from an essentially well-intentioned "Code of Conduct," has become an instrument of moralistic terror in Germany. The self-appointed "politically correct" think of themselves as the sole possessors of the truth, and refuse anyone else the right to differ. As [German writer] Martin Walser has pointed out, this applies particularly to the best-known German taboos: Germany's National Socialist history, women and foreigners. When one attempts to deal with any of these themes, even in the most open-minded way, one is beaten down unmercifully with the "fascism club," a term coined by political scientist Helmut Knütter. Whenever, by means of this deadly method of argument, someone is successfully labeled a racist, fascist or sexist, he is degraded to the status of a leper, with no further opportunity to present his view.

The unfortunate thing about Political Correctness is that, as a result, disputations or discussions often either do not take place at all, or only in the form of a campaign of defamation or a show trial. This prescribed thought control has led to a stunting of intellectual freedom in the former "land of thinkers." Political Correctness reveals itself as the instrument of intellectual coordination, and, in modern cultural history, sets an extraordinary precedent for censorial manipulation of the process of building public political consensus.¹

Assault on Differentiation

Some telling examples will illustrate this manipulation: For some time now in Germany, presumably motivated by a rejection of discrimination, it is

Claus Nordbruch is the author of two books on freedom of expression in today's Germany: *Sind Gedanken noch frei? Zensur in Deutschland* ("Still Free to Think?: Censorship in Germany"), published in 1998 by Universitas (Munich), and *Der Vefassungsschutz: Organisation, Spitzel, Skandale* (Tübingen: Hohenrain, 1999). Dr. Nordbruch lives in Pretoria, South Africa. This essay is translated from the text that appeared in the prestigious Swiss daily *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, June 12, 1999, under the title "Die selbsternannten Tugendwächter im Visier: Schaltet Political Correctness das einstige Volk der Denker gleich?" A lengthier version of this essay, with footnotes, appeared in the quarterly journal *Deutschland in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Postfach 1629, 72006 Tübingen, Germany), June 1999, pp. 12-15.



no longer proper to speak of Gypsies [*Zigeuner*]. In German now the politically correct term is "Roma and Sinti." But this term is actually incorrect because these are merely the two main Gypsy branches or tribes. In reality, the generalized term "Roma and Sinti" is itself racist, inasmuch as it ignores, and thereby discriminates against, the smaller Gypsy branches, such as the Lallers, the Manusch, the Joneschti, the Polatschia, the Sikligars, the Boschi or the Calé.

In the Spring of 1996, officials of the Lutheran missionary organization *Evangelische Missionswerk*, in their journal *Eine Welt* ["One World"], advocated human rights for apes! They based this demand on the fact that humans and chimpanzees are genetically very similar. On this basis the theologian Martin Brückner concluded that there is an "incredible similarity," and contended in all seriousness that the denial of human rights to apes was essentially no different than racism or the denigration of women. Today no idea seems too absurd to be considered as a new and generally valid guide to behavior. The price we pay for this is absurdity and

undermining of a sense of self-worth.

The direct consequence of enforcing politically correct modes of behavior, which can be observed daily in much of the German media, is the creation of a sexless, inexpressive and uniform mode of speech, one driven by political calculation. In this way those who were once referred to as alien workers [*Fremdarbeiter*] became guest workers [*Gastarbeiter*], and then as foreign employees and foreign fellow citizens, and are now regarded as immigrants. In the course of socialist equalization, the apprentice [*Lehrling*] became a trainee [*Auszubildender*], a term that quickly atrophied into the infantile “Azubi.” The cleaning woman [*Putzfrau*] has become a virtual “shooting star,” rising to room cultivator [*Raumpflegerin*] and then to parquet beautician. She no longer cleans, but rather devotes herself to the care of inner architectural beauty.

Fighting Against Thought Control

Today it is especially important to fight against restrictions of free thought in scholarship, research and education. Especially in these fields Political Correctness often impedes serious work by tabooizing from the outset certain research projects and problem areas, thereby putting them off-limits to investigation.

Politically correct or “anti-fascist” publications are by no means the only ones to denounce “political incorrectness.” The self-appointed guardians of morality have succeeded in extending their influence to high-level government agencies and positions. Not surprisingly, the Office for Defense of the Constitution [*Amt für Verfassungsschutz*] succumbs to this jargon. In its questionable view, those who “defend against Political Correctness seek to immunize themselves from criticism of their own extremist viewpoints.”² This denunciatory statement sweepingly categorizes as extremist not only political opponents and critical scholars, but every unprejudiced contemporary who seeks to make use of his right to freedom of information and expression. Imposing such a stigma extinguishes a free exchange of views.

Certainly the “Historian’s Dispute” [*Historikerstreit*] of the mid-1980s showed that for some time scholarship had been divided into political spheres of influence. What Ernst Nolte and other prominent historians demanded was nothing less than the beginning of a revisionist view of history.³ This does not mean anything disreputable or offensive. The critical re-examination of previous research is essential to all scholarship. The word “revision” is derived from the Latin word “*revidere*,” meaning “to look at again.” To examine the facts is the foremost and most natural task of any scholar. Historians as well are thus obliged continually to reevaluate and,



Ernst Nolte

if necessary, correct the writing of history on the basis of new insights, discoveries and research. This is the one and only tool of serious scholarship.

Revisionism in the Physical Sciences

At this point it seems appropriate to comment in a basic way about revisionism, because this is the target *par excellence* of the Politically Correct. One may perhaps still recall one of the many “historical facts” of this century that needed revising. Until rather recently millions of God-fearing pilgrims admired Christ’s “Shroud of Turin” — until laboratory tests established that it dated from the Middle Ages. To my knowledge the Pope did not excommunicate the scientists — revisionists! — who conducted the tests, nor were they accused of dishonest methods.

Almost daily new insights are gained, not only in the political and social sciences, but even more in the physical sciences and in technical fields. Here is a representative example from paleontology: most readers of these lines probably believe that the largest and earliest carnivorous prehistoric reptile was *Tyrannosaurus rex*. In September 1995, however, Argentine paleontologists uncovered in northern Patagonia the petrified remains of a previously unknown kind of dinosaur (*Giganotosaurus carolinii*), which was larger than *Tyrannosaurus rex* and lived 70 million years ago in the Cretaceous period. Yet those who then thought they were in possession

of "the truth," that *Giganotosaurus* was the largest carnivorous reptile, learned better in May 1996 when, in Morocco, scientists discovered a creature 20 million years older and even larger, *Carcharodontosaurus saharicus*, a discovery that of course entailed inevitable revisionist consequences. What is valid for paleontologists, genetic scientists or nuclear physicists is naturally also valid for social science scholars. When he begins his scholarly work, the historian questions or reexamines the starting premises, the previous findings and the current state of research. Today, however, if he proceeds to conduct research on this basis, he is already suspect in the eyes of the politically correct. But scholarly research cannot be conducted except by investigating existing premises and by not assuming existing conclusions to be correct. Otherwise we would still be thinking that the earth is flat.

Barriers to Thought Instead of Discussion

Defaming revisionists out-of-hand as right-wing extremists has nothing to do either with an objective appraisal of their work nor with the necessary critical discussions within scholarship and research. In my opinion it is, instead, politically motivated. The operating motto is as simple as it is effective: "Make your political opponents contemptible instead of respecting them with counter-arguments, and thereby establish your position in a broad spectrum as the single force to be taken seriously." What is left laying on the ground, of course, is the often-praised "democratic basic order," which guarantees a free development of political opinion. Horst Mahler, who was once the defense attorney of the Red Army Faction terrorists, said recently: "In France it is estimated that today in Germany there are more political prisoners than there were in the DDR [Communist East Germany] in the year before it collapsed."⁴ This is a shocking indicator of freedom of expression as it is practiced in this country.

Political Correctness sets up rigid barriers to thought that block an open discussion aimed at solving problems, and thus impedes further intellectual development.⁵ Freedom of research must not be restricted by any power that prescribes in advance what may be considered true. Otherwise research threatens to become the ideological instrument of an opinion cartel, and thus of a power cartel, and in so doing to lose its standing as a precondition of intellectually robust and creative people. Political Correctness is a threat to a politically free state, because ultimately it will produce a state of like-minded conformity and ideological uniformity. As the writer Reiner Kunze has put it, political correctness is nourished by the merciless ideological refashioning of intellectual life in Germany. Steffen Heitmann, Saxony's Minister of Justice, regards

this as the symptom of a spiritually sick people. One need not be a psychoanalyst to recognize in this the source of German self-alienation.

Notes

1. Ethnologist Hans Peter Duerr regards Political Correctness as a flight from reality. Its exponents, he writes, create "a dualistic view of the world, an infantile Disney fantasy of good and evil people." Source: "Ein Lügengespinst," *Der Spiegel*, No. 28/ 1994, p. 162.
In the book *Die Diktatur der Guten: Political Correctness* (Munich: 1996, p. 9), Klaus J. Groth writes that "Political Correctness means, in fact, incorrectness, and comes close to being a liturgy of inhuman thought and struggle stereotyping, of leftist pressure for conformity, and finally, of censorship."
2. See the interview with Ernst Nolte, professor emeritus of contemporary history (Free University of Berlin), in the Jan.-Feb. 1994 *Journal*, pp. 15-22, and, in the same issue, the review of his 1993 book *Streitpunkte* (pp. 37-41). See also Nolte's remarks about Auschwitz in history in the March-April 1999 *Journal*, p. 36.
3. Source cited: *Verfassungsschutzbericht Nordrhein-Westfalen 1995*. This is the 1995 annual report of the "constitutional protection" agency of the German state of North Rhine-Westphalia.
According to the *Verfassungsschutzbericht Baden-Württemberg '96*, (p. 113), "The goal of 'revisionism,' which has become one of the most important areas of agitation for right-wing extremists, is the rehabilitation of National Socialism by making it once again socially acceptable."
Revisionism, according to the *Verfassungsschutzbericht Brandenburg '97*, p. 137, is a "detestable expression of right-wing extremism."
4. Horst Mahler, "Der Geheimagent des Weltgeists," *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (München), Sept. 30, 1998.
5. See also: Ludwig Römbild, *Politisch nicht korrekt* (Bielefeld: 1998), p. 11.

Truth

"I believe in the truth. To seek and search for it, in and around ourselves, must be our highest goal. In doing so we serve the past, the present and the future. Without truth there is no security and no survival. Do not be afraid when the mob cries out, for nothing is hated and feared more than truth. In the end, every resistance to it will vanish, like night before day."

— Theodor Fontane, German novelist, poet and critic (1819-1898)

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Your web site is incredible! You've greatly helped motivate me to learn all I can about historical truth. I've recently returned to school to study social science, with an emphasis on history, political science and economics.

N. K.
[by e-mail]

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R. P.
Derry, New Hamp.

The Buchanan Challenge

In his new book, *A Republic Not an Empire*, Pat Buchanan argues that Hitler posed no threat to the United States in 1940. What is remarkable about this assertion is that a prominent public figure is making it in 1999. In 1940 this was the view of the great majority of Americans, as well as of such knowledgeable individuals as Charles Lindbergh, the pioneer aviator, and Joseph Kennedy, US ambassador to Britain (and father of the President). During the 1940 re-election campaign, President Roosevelt pledged, "again and again and again," that "your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars." In November 1941, shortly before the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and America's direct involvement in the war, a Gallup poll showed that a staggering 85 percent of the American people still wanted to stay out of the conflict then raging in Europe.

Today, of course, almost no one is willing to say that our war against Nazi Germany was a mistake, let alone someone who is

seeking to be elected President.

An important reason for this complete about-face in public sentiment is the impact of the Nuremberg Tribunal of 1945-46, which, through its dramatic revelations, seemingly proved the wartime Allied propaganda portrayal of the Hitler regime as both uniquely evil and a threat to world peace.

Also important in shaping public opinion in this regard is the relentless decades-long "Holocaust" campaign. Of the litany of Nazi horrors, none is more important than "the Holocaust" in stifling doubts about the righteousness of America's war against Third Reich Germany, and of the farsightedness of Roosevelt's secretive and illegal efforts to push a reluctant United States into the war. The "Holocaust" campaign also greatly intimidates free debate about Israel, and its well-documented record of expulsion and subjugation of the native Palestinians, and more generally, of United States support for the Zionist state.

"The Holocaust" provides essential justification for the US role in World War II, and for the postwar record of Zionism. Subtact "the Holocaust" from our view of 20th century history, and much of the moral legitimacy of the Allied cause in World War II, and of Israel in the decades since, evaporates.

Because so much depends on the "official" view of World War II history, and especially "the Holocaust," it is no surprise that challenging it is a crime in a host of countries, and that those who do are so ruthlessly denigrated, persecuted and even legally penalized.

If there is one thing that all sides in the still-raging debate on

20th century history agree on, it is that the stakes are indeed high — nothing less than the legitimacy of the entire postwar social-political order. The Establishment, and its court journalists and historians, attack Pat Buchanan so intensely because they regard him, correctly, as a threat to their interests.

M.J.
Great Neck, New York

Dangerous Perpetrators

I very much like your site. I'm with you, and I'm sure we'll see more sites like yours in the future. The Holocaust is a fraud, a cynical hoax that must be exposed. Those who perpetrate it are very dangerous, and we cannot permit them to continue with their lies. Count on me.

H.L.
Ponce, Puerto Rico
[by e-mail]

Causing Change

We are causing change worldwide. Thanks for being there.

J.G.
August, Ga.

Remembering World War II Outbreak

September 3, 1999, marks the 60th anniversary of the outbreak of the Second World War, one of the greatest tragedies in history. One of the war's most important lasting effects has been the continuing psychological and political debilitation of European man.

The origins of this war were complex, and involved a number of nations. The Versailles Treaty (1919), which the victors dictated to a defeated and starving Germany, not only split the country in two but also subjected large parts of Germany (notably the "Polish Corridor") to the control of the newly reconstituted Polish state. Millions of Germans lived in these

areas, and were so badly oppressed that even as early as 1926 hundreds of thousands of them had left to escape ethnic oppression. In addition, the large and almost purely German city of Danzig was detached from the Reich and established as a "Free City."

In spite of these circumstances, in 1939 Germany proposed a compromise with Poland that would have involved the return of Danzig, a plebiscite in the "Polish Corridor" area, and a rail and motorway line connecting the detached East Prussia province with the main part of Germany. The Poles haughtily rejected this peace proposal because they were confident that their large armed forces could defeat Germany (as they had defeated Communist Russia in 1920), and because they relied on assurances of support given by Britain in March 1939.

On September 1, 1939, German forces attacked Poland, invading formerly German lands that had been taken over by the Polish state in the aftermath of the First World War. Three days later, Britain and France declared war against Germany, thereby converting the limited conflict between Poland and Germany into a world war. When, two weeks later, Soviet forces similarly invaded Poland, neither Britain nor France issued a declaration of war against the USSR. Unlike Germany, the Soviet Union was not a significant economic competitor with Britain for export markets, especially for manufactured goods.

So confident were the Poles that they would defeat Germany that some of them (including Polish military personnel) brutally murdered tens of thousands of ethnic Germans. No doubt the perpetrators were confident that they would never be punished for these crimes. These well-documented atrocities, often referred to as the "Bromberg Bloody Sunday," doubtless had an influence on the further conduct and prolon-

gation of the war.

Germany's attack against Poland, an action to protect the ethnic German minority living in the Polish state, was only a pretext for the Anglo-French declaration of war against Germany. This was demonstrated by the fact that in 1945 Britain and France cynically abandoned the Poles, along with the other nations of eastern Europe, to Communist tyranny.

Charles E. Weber
Tulsa, Okla.

John Demjanjuk: Victim of Injustice

In 1993 the Israel Supreme Court ruled that John Demjanjuk was, after all, not the notorious guard of Treblinka known as "Ivan the Terrible." And last year a US federal judge restored his US citizenship.

Now the Justice Department's "Office of Special Investigations" has revived the 22-year-old case by bringing a new legal complaint against the Ukrainian-born Cleveland retiree. Commenting on the matter, an official of the Jewish-Zionist "Anti-Defamation League" recently called the renewed OSI campaign a "matter of justice and the integrity of American citizenship."

What's really behind this campaign? The worldwide advance of Holocaust revisionism is a dire threat to Jewish-Zionist power and influence. Jewish groups accordingly have used the trial of Demjanjuk and other alleged "Nazi war criminals" to counter this danger to their interests.

Israel's Attorney General, Yitzhak Zamir, publicly admitted as much when he stated: "At a time when there are those who even deny that the Holocaust ever took place, it is important to remind the world of what a fascist regime is capable of ... and in this respect the Demjanjuk trial will fulfill an important function." (*Cleveland Jewish News*, March 21, 1986, p. 16)

Similarly, in April 1993, as the case against Demjanjuk was falling apart, an Israeli prosecutor close to the case acknowledged a

political motive for continuing the campaign. "So the important thing now," he said, "is at least to prove that Demjanjuk was part of the Nazi extermination machine ... otherwise ... we will be making a great contribution to the new worldwide movement of those who deny the Holocaust took place." (Quoted in: Y. Sheftel, *Defending Ivan the Terrible*, 1996, p. 402.)

When Jewish goals are laid out frankly, they understandably don't receive much support from non-Jews. That's why they are nearly always presented in terms of lofty-sounding, universal principles. As California psychology professor Kevin MacDonald has demonstrated, Jews often deceitfully frame their purely parochial interests and goals in universalist terms. (*Separation and its Discontents*, esp. p. 193.)

Accordingly, Jewish groups present their self-serving campaign against Demjanjuk and other "war criminals" as a cause for "justice." But if the ADL and similar Jewish groups were genuinely concerned about this universal principle, they would support efforts to bring Jewish criminals to justice. American-Jewish journalist John Sack has documented the torture and murder of large numbers of Germans by Jewish officials of the postwar Polish regime. Many of these criminals later moved to the United States. (J. Sack, *An Eye for an Eye*, 1993, p. 150.) Why the double-standard?

In reality, further legal action against John Demjanjuk will only prolong the undeserved sufferings of an elderly man and his family, and could even exacerbate tensions between Jews and non-Jews.

Paul Grubach
Lyndhurst, Ohio

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Shermer, editor-publisher of *Skeptic* magazine, makes one startling concession after another. He acknowledges that numerous Holocaust claims — once "proven" by eyewitnesses and courts — are obviously not true. Shermer concedes, for example, that an execution "gas chamber" at Majdanek — shown to thousands of trusting tourists yearly — is a fraud. (At Nuremberg the Allies "proved" that the Germans murdered *one and half million* people at this one camp.)

This two hour clash — at a special IHR meeting on July 22, 1995 — dramatically gives the lie to the often-repeated claim that the Holocaust story is "undebatable."

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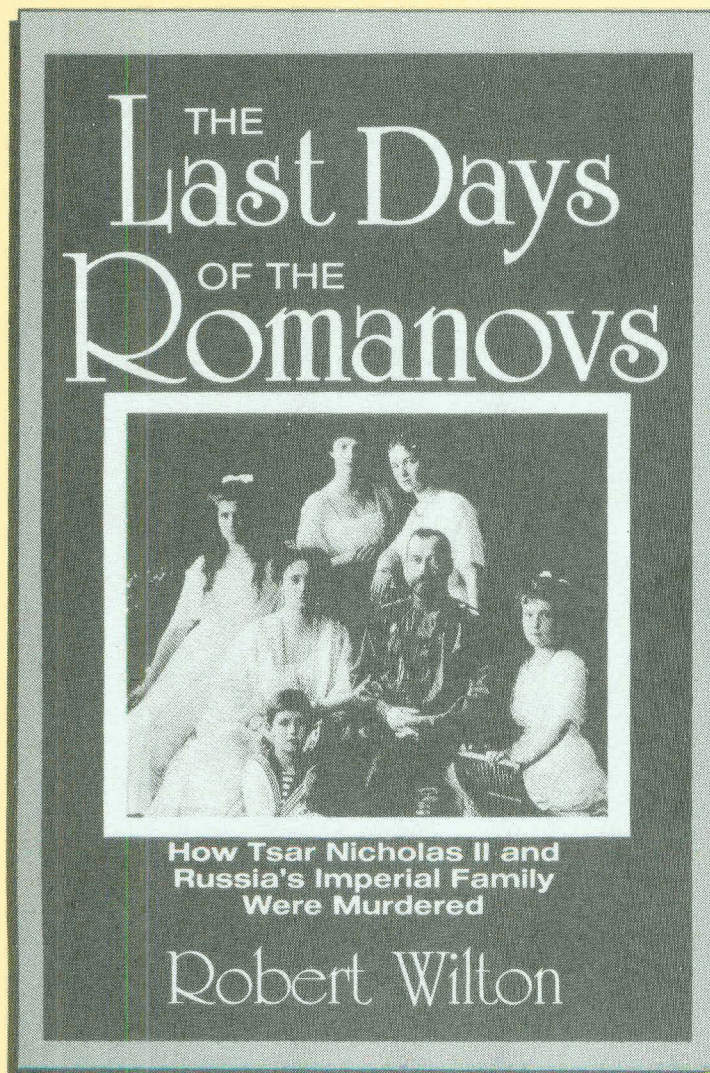
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September/December 1999



**Opportunity and Challenge
in a New Era**

**How the Wiesenthal Center
Falsifies History**

Fraud Exposed in German Exhibition

Mark Weber

The Auschwitz I 'Gas Chamber'

Robert Faurisson

Zionist Myths about Palestine

Roger Garaudy

13th IHR Conference Scheduled

David Irving in London Court Battle

The Party in the Third Reich

Lothrop Stoddard

— Review —

Fred Leuchter in 'Mr. Death'

Greg Raven

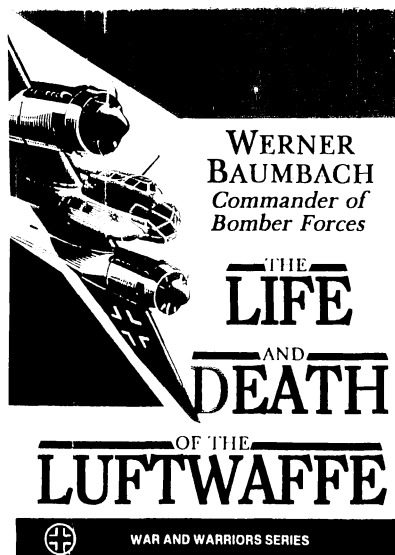
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All of the Luftwaffe's celebrated campaigns are here: the blitzkriegs

against Poland, France and the Low Countries; the Battle of Britain; the massive invasion of Soviet Russia and the hard-fought retreat; the air wars over the Atlantic, the Arctic, and the Mediterranean; and the desperate defense of the Reich against merciless attack by British and American bombers.

Baumbach was one of the most successful fighter pilots of the Second World War, and the first to earn the coveted Knight's Cross of the Iron Cross with Oak Leaves and Swords. He was also a major figure in the fateful decision-making that shaped Germany's desperate struggle against the combined Allied forces. He played a key role in reorganizing the Luftwaffe's bomber arm.

In addition to memorable descriptions of dangerous combat missions, in this memoir he gives a frank and often critical inside account of Germany's air war. He provides an inside look at the heated disputes among the Reich's top military figures over strategy and tactics, with first-hand assessments of Hitler, Göring, Goebbels, Speer and other high-ranking Third Reich officials.

Baumbach played an important role in the development of Germany's "wonder weapons," some of which he tested himself. Here he tells of German jet fighters, guided missiles, the V-1 "buzz bomb," the V-2 rocket, and other path-breaking armaments that laid the basis for and modern air war and space exploration.

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After the war Baumbach barely escaped trial as a "war criminal," even as British newspapers were calling him "the German Lawrence of the Second World War."

Essential reading for anyone interested in the German Luftwaffe and World War II.



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by Werner Baumbach

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On the Cover: Fred Leuchter addresses the Tenth IHR Conference, October 1990, in Washington, DC.

The Journal of Historical Review (ISSN: 0195-6752) began publication in 1980. It upholds and continues the tradition of Historical Revisionism of scholars such as Harry Elmer Barnes, A.J.P. Taylor, William H. Chamberlin, Paul Rassinier and Charles Tansill. *The Journal of Historical Review* is published six times yearly by the **Institute for Historical Review**, P.O. Box 2739, Newport Beach, CA 92659. Subscription price: \$40 per year, \$65 for two years, and \$90 for three years. For foreign subscriptions, add \$10 per year. For overseas airmail delivery, add \$30 per year. Remittances for subscriptions must be payable in US dollars drawable on a US bank. Donations to the IHR are tax-deductible.

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Opportunity and Challenge in a New Era

With the dawning of a new century, Holocaust revisionism is making headlines everywhere. Around the globe there is real ferment, a new surge of media attention on Holocaust skepticism, and growing criticism of the oppressive impact of the powerful “Holocaust industry.”

“Holocaust deniers” are, of course, still widely portrayed as misguided or malevolent. But we are seeing more and more “mainstream” concessions to historical truth, and open acknowledgment of “Holocaust” manipulation and exploitation. More than ever, the iconic facade seems to be cracking.

In late December, a much-discussed documentary film about American gas chamber expert Fred Leuchter was released for public showing, to the accompaniment of commentary in nearly every major American daily paper. (In 1988 Leuchter carried out a forensic examination of the alleged homicidal gas chambers at Auschwitz and Birkenau, and concluded that they were never used to kill people as alleged.) The film “Mr. Death” attempts, of course, to discredit Leuchter’s findings; it portrays him as both arrogant and self-deluded; it completely ignores the investigations and studies of other specialists that impressively corroborate the results of his on-site investigation. The director Errol Morris portrays as quite natural and unexceptional the outrageous campaign that destroyed Leuchter’s career as the country’s foremost execution hardware specialist, and even presents without criticism the hateful comments of two of the perpetrators. (Greg Raven’s review of “Mr. Death” appears in this *Journal* issue.)

But on balance, the film has the merit of focusing renewed public attention on the Holocaust debate, prompting at least a few independent observers to say the unsayable. Film critic Godfrey Cheshire, for one, in the weekly *New York Press*, told readers that “‘Mr. Death’ is the closest thing we’re likely to get to a film that questions Holocaustolatry, a mild form of which is now firmly established as part of our official culture.” The Holocaust, Cheshire went on, has become a “myth” of “supernatural character,” and “an untouchable, quasi-religious event fraught with a Significance quite beyond anything that mere history might support.”

Another indicator of the changing climate is a recent front-page *Los Angeles Times* article, “Dan-

ger in Denying Holocaust?” For the first time ever, a major American daily newspaper highlighted the fact that in France, Germany, and some other European countries, scholars are jailed, fined and forced into exile for questioning government-ordained Holocaust history.

Written by veteran journalist Kim Murphy, the lengthy January 7 piece begins by citing the persecution of a young German chemist, Germar Rudolf, for concluding — on the basis of a detailed on-site forensic examination — that no one was killed, or could have been killed, in the alleged homicidal gas chambers of Auschwitz and Birkenau. As the article goes on to note, this doctoral candidate at Stuttgart University lost his job at the respected Max Planck Institute, saw his doctoral degree put on hold, was sentenced to 14 months in prison, and finally was forced into exile — all because of his carefully considered evaluation of Holocaust “gas chamber” claims.

More than a few readers of the *Times* article must certainly wonder: Just what kind of “historical truth” is it that must be protected by the armor plate of police, lawsuits, fines and imprisonment? Because the report suggests that revisionists might at least have a point about the issue of academic freedom, the Jewish lobby lost no time in furiously attacking both the *Times* and Murphy for this “immoral” article.

Even more important in terms of public awareness is something that happened in London on January 11. On that day began the libel trial brought by British historian David Irving against American Jewish activist Deborah Lipstadt. In his opening statement to the court (reprinted elsewhere in this *Journal* issue), Irving charges that Lipstadt and her British publisher severely damaged his reputation and career through her book, *Denying the Holocaust*, a strident work that also attacks professors Robert Faurisson and Arthur Butz, revisionist activist Bradley Smith, and the Institute for Historical Review.

Further complicating this already complex case, authorities in Germany announced shortly after the trial began that they would try to extradite Irving to that country on the basis of a fine imposed on him by a German court for having told a meeting in Munich in 1990 that the “gas chamber” at

Auschwitz, shown to hundreds of thousands of tourists yearly, is a postwar dummy. Amazingly, one of the witnesses for Lipstadt in the London trial, Robert-Jan van Pelt, has acknowledged the truth of precisely this point in his detailed 1996 study of Auschwitz. (For more on this, see "The 'Gas Chamber' of Auschwitz I" in this *Journal* issue.)

Irving, a literal and figurative David, faces a Goliath. Day after day he sits alone on one side of the courtroom; arrayed against him sits a legal team of some 20 lawyers and para-legal specialists (not to mention the phalanx of support staff posted outside the courtroom). Each day he walks alone into the court house, carrying his own books and documents.

Win or lose, Irving is a marked man, a pariah — more than ever, a target of his enemies' implacable hatred. Independent observers marvel at his unflagging confidence and verbal skill in the courtroom. But even an Atlas would falter under the great emotional and psychological burden of this ordeal — especially because so much of the court battle focuses on a field of history that, as Irving concedes, "is not my patch."

Whatever the outcome, and whatever wavering or waffling the strain of battle might occasion, Irving is performing a great public service by heightening public awareness of the international debate on this much abused chapter of history.

In a recent essay about the trial published in a major British daily, a prominent Jewish Holocaust historian, David Cesarani, writes with concern about what he calls "the growing backlash against the so-called 'Holocaust industry'." He cites as evidence the new book by Jewish-American writer Peter Novick, *The Holocaust in American Life*, and a forthcoming book, *The Holocaust Industry*, by another Jewish scholar, Norman Finkelstein. This "intellectual backlash," Cesarani continues, "is taking hold in mainstream and media circles."

Perhaps the most remarkable fallout thus far from the Irving-Lipstadt case is "The Holocaust on Trial," a front-cover feature article in the current *Atlantic Monthly* (Feb. 2000), written by London-based American-Jewish writer D. D. Guttenplan. This 19-page essay begins by conceding that "political calculation" has "influenced our knowledge of the Holocaust from the very beginning," and that "what everybody knows about the Holocaust isn't always true" — a point that this *Journal* has been making for 20 years.

Guttenplan notes that no one was ever gassed at Dachau and Belsen, but says nothing about the far-reaching implications of such concessions. Though he implicitly acknowledges that a mass of historical "evidence," including court judgments and many

"eyewitness testimonies," is worthless, he can neither acknowledge nor publicly regret that men were put to death on the basis of such bogus "evidence."

"Though it is considered impolite to mention them in public," Guttenplan writes, "there are still a number of 'live questions' about the Holocaust," among them the "delicate ... question of survivor testimony." Much of this "testimony," he acknowledges, is just plain wrong.

Particularly eyebrow-raising is what Guttenplan tells readers of this leading intellectual/literary magazine about the decades-long efforts by organized Jewry to suppress historical scholarship, even by Jewish academics. As a result of such efforts, "certain aspects of the Holocaust and its aftermath... became not just controversial but unmentionable."

As long ago as the early 1960s, Guttenplan shows, Jewish historian Raul Hilberg was accused of "impiety" and "defaming the dead" in the pages of *Commentary*, the American Jewish Committee monthly, because he had taken note of the extent to which wartime German authorities relied on Jews to assist in the "final solution." Officials at Yad Vashem, Israel's central Holocaust memorial center, even refused Hilberg access to their archives.

Also in the 1960s, Jewish historian Barbara Tuchman attacked Hannah Arendt for her much-discussed book, *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, accusing the German-born Jewish intellectual of "a conscious desire to support Eichmann's defense." The Anti-Defamation League similarly condemned Arendt's "evil book," hurling charges at her that, as Guttenplan notes, were "not just false but the reverse of the truth."

Another Jewish historian, Princeton professor Arno Mayer, was, in Guttenplan's words, "practically excommunicated" by organized Jewry for concluding, in his 1989 work on the "final solution," that Hitler was far more concerned with annihilating Communism than he was with decimating Jews. "It isn't only Holocaust deniers who twist facts, obscure the truth and, in Deborah Lipstadt's phrase, create 'immoral equivalencies'," writes Guttenplan. "... Time and time again those who insist on the truth in all its 'complex, unsentimental,' paradoxical, and ambiguous detail are shouted down."

Another indication of the general worldwide trend is a column about the London trial in the weekly *New York Press* (Jan. 18). "Irving is right to be upset that an influential minority with a political agenda succeeded in destroying his career," comments George Szamuely.

(Continued on page 5)

How the Simon Wiesenthal Center Falsifies History

Photographic Fraud by a Major Holocaust Organization

A doctored wartime photograph of the Auschwitz-Birkenau camp displayed by the Simon Wiesenthal Center on its "educational" web site is a good example of how the influential Holocaust organization falsifies history.

The Center posts the photograph on its "Multimedia Learning Center Online" web site under the heading "Photo Gallery: Hungarian arrivals after the 'Selektion' at Auschwitz" (<http://motlc.wiesenthal.com/gallery/pg22/pg0/pg22035.html>). Dated "June 0, 1944," the photo is captioned: "As these prisoners were being processed for slave labor, many of their friends were being gassed and burned in the ovens in the crematoria. The smoke can be seen in the background."

The photograph has been altered by adding

phony "smoke" to the background, apparently to support survivor testimony about smoke billowing from Birkenau crematory chimneys. The fraud is obvious with a glance at the original photo, which is published in *The Auschwitz Album* (New York: Random House, 1981), page 126 (photo No. 143).

The 185 photos of Auschwitz-Birkenau camp in this album appear to have been taken by German SS camp officials in 1944 — that is, during the supposed high point of the alleged extermination program there. The original album was confiscated by a Jewish inmate, Lili Jacob Meier, who brought it to the United States after the war.

In none of the album's many photos — several of which show Birkenau crematory facilities — can one see any trace of smoke. Similarly, there is no

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Photo Gallery
Hungarian arrivals after the
"Selektion" at Auschwitz



As these prisoners were being processed for slave labor, many of their friends and families were being gassed and burned in the ovens in the crematoria. The smoke can be seen in the background.

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The original photo, from *The Auschwitz Album* (1981), shows no trace of smoke.

trace of crematory smoke in any of the Allied aerial reconnaissance photos taken of Auschwitz and Birkenau on random days in 1944. Cremation specialists affirm that crematories do not produce visible smoke. In short, the available evidence does not support the “billowing smoke” claims of many former inmates.

The Simon Wiesenthal Center, based in Los Angeles, is one of the world’s foremost Holocaust organizations, as well as a major Jewish-Zionist pressure group. Reflecting its considerable media influence and political clout, accommodating lawmakers have diverted at least \$10 million in taxpayer funds to the Center. The Center claims more than 350,000 dues-paying members, each of whom receives its glossy magazine, *Response*. Over the years the Center has repeatedly attacked the Institute for Historical Review.

In 1991 its *Response* magazine broadcast the outrageous lie that Iraq was killing Iranian prisoners of war “in gas chambers specially designed for the Iraqis” by a German firm, using German-manufactured Zyklon B gas.

(This doctored “smoking chimney” photograph was brought to our attention by Canadian geologist and aerial photo specialist John Ball, who reported on this on his web site: http://www.air-photo.com/english/1999_mark.html Author of The Ball Report, he also addressed the 1994 IHR Conference.

For more about the Wiesenthal Center, see the detailed report in the July-August 1995 *Journal*, pp. 2-7. For information about the well-known personality for whom the Center is named, see “Simon Wiesenthal: Fraudulent ‘Nazi Hunter’,” July-August 1995 *Journal*, pp. 8-16.)

From the Editor

(continued from page 3)

After pointing out that the epithet “Holocaust denier” is an elastic one, the columnist writes:

In *Denying the Holocaust*, Lipstadt wrote that Pat Buchanan’s “attacks on the credibility of the survivor testimony are standard elements of Holocaust denial.” Yet, a few years ago [August 1986] the director of Yad Vashem’s archive [Shmuel Krakowski] told a reporter that most of the 20,000 testimonies it had collected were unreliable: “Many were never in the places where they claim to have witnessed atrocities, while others relied on secondhand information given them by friends or passing strangers.” Is he also then a “Holocaust denier”?

“We now know,” Szamuely continues, “that many of the most lurid stories of the Holocaust are not true ... Whether Irving wins or loses his libel case, we will probably find out that our current knowledge of the Holocaust is much flimsier than we had believed.”

Here at the IHR, we are generally pleased with the overall trend and guardedly optimistic about the future. To be sure, we still face powerful enemies who, to paraphrase Guttenplan, are determined to “shout down” those who insist on the truth. At the same time, our adversaries are slowly but inexorably being forced to make ever more grudging concessions to truth.

With a recently expanded staff, we’re working hard to bring new books into print, prepare for the next full-scale IHR Conference (May 27-29 in southern California), and get the *Journal* back on schedule (which is why this issue is a combined one). Through greater and more solid awareness of the past, we’re doing our best to build a better future for us all.

— January 24, 2000

Thanks

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

Fraud Exposed in Defamatory German Exhibition

Photo Exhibit of German Army Atrocities Shut Down

MARK WEBER

A highly publicized German exhibition of atrocities allegedly carried out by regular German army forces during the Second World War has been closed down in the wake of revelations that many of the harrowing photographs it displayed are deceitful. The organizers of "War of Annihilation: Crimes of the German Armed Forces, 1941-1944," announced the shutdown on November 5, 1999, after ever more evidence had come to light proving that much of the controversial exhibit is fraudulent.

Since 1995 hundreds of thousands of visitors had viewed the exhibition, which appeared in more than 30 German and Austrian cities. Numerous secondary school classes were guided through it. Many of Germany's most prominent social, political and business personalities endorsed the exhibit, which was designed to prove that regular German army (Wehrmacht) troops, and not just SS soldiers, carried out "Holocaust" killings of Jews and others.

"The Wehrmacht exhibition," declared a leading Socialist party (SPD) politician in the German parliament, "is an important contribution to enlightenment. It gives a voice to the victims and, hopefully, to our consciences as well." To applause from the entire body, a representative of the "moderate" CDU party declared: "I ask that such an exhibition about crimes committed by the German army be accepted with humility, in the spirit of the words of Ignatius, who said: truth against ourselves, that is humility."

Most of the approximately 800 photographs in the exhibition are from Soviet-era Russian sources. More than half of the total are non-incriminating, while most of the 34 photos proven to be fraudulent or misrepresented actually show victims of the Soviets, and of other non-German forces. Exhibition organizer Hannes Herr also admitted that some of the photographs had been retouched. In some instances, photos taken from different angles of the same event or scene were displayed at different places in the exhibition with captions telling viewers that they showed atrocities at different locations. Also presented in the exhibition were documents that included phony confessions by Germans that had been extracted under torture from Soviets.

The shutdown postponed indefinitely the scheduled debut of an English-language version of the exhibition in New York City. Organizers announced their intention to re-open the exhibition after re-checking each of the hundreds of photographs.

A Polish Historian Speaks Out

A few "right-wing" German periodicals — including the weekly *National-Zeitung* and the quarterly journal *Deutschland in Geschichte und Gegenwart* — established early on that at least some of the photos in the anti-Wehrmacht exhibition were deceitful. Many examples of such deceit were also cited in a book published in 1999 by the FZ-Verlag of Munich: *Bilder, die Fälschen: Dubiose "Dokumente" zur Zeitgeschichte* ("Pictures that Falsify: Dubious 'Documents' of Contemporary History").



Bogdán Musiał

However, it was only after two non-German scholars — one Polish and one Hungarian — incontestably identified misrepresentation and deceit among the exhibit photographs that "establishment" Germans felt emboldened to voice criticisms. Prof. Hans Moeller, for one, director of the Institute for Contemporary History in Munich, acknowledged that the exhibition was full of errors, adding that it would be irresponsible to show it in the United States.

Especially important in this process was the role of Bogdán Musiał, a youthful Polish historian who works at the German Historical Institute in Warsaw. In an article published in the prestigious Munich historical quarterly, *Vierteljahreshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, he established that some of the exhibit's most gruesome photographs — allegedly depicting German army killings of Jews — in reality showed victims of mass killings by the Soviet security police (NKVD).

Just after the German invasion of the USSR in June 1941, Soviet authorities summarily shot many thousands of political prisoners, hastily burying their bodies in shallow graves or dumping them down well shafts. As Musiał put it: "Beria's order [by Stalin's secret police chief Lavrenti Beria] was clear: no 'mortal enemy of Communism' should be freed by the Germans. Tens of thousands were liquidated by shots to the back of the neck or by beatings with sledge hammers. In some cases, the murderers threw hand grenades among the hapless victims,

who had been herded together into prison courtyards ... The perpetrators literally waded in blood ..." In the town of Lutsk, for example, the Soviets killed about 2,000 people.

"... Before their flight from [the western Ukraine city of] Lviv [Lvov] in late June 1941," wrote Musial, "the Soviets murdered some 3,000 to 4,000 prison inmates, most of them in the Brygidki prison. The victims were Ukrainians, Poles and Jews, as well as Soviet and even captured German soldiers." After the Soviet withdrawal, Lviv residents went to the city's main prison to search for missing relatives. "In the prison cellars," relates Dr. Musial, "they saw layers upon layers of corpses ... In the prison courtyard they found two mass graves."

After Soviet forces fled from Lviv, the people of this ethnically mixed city took bloody revenge on the Jews (who generally had been ardent supporters of the Soviet regime). Many perished in this outburst of murderous rage. "There is, however, no indication that this pogrom was provoked by the Germans," Musial notes.

What happened in the western Ukrainian town of Zloczów (Galicia) was typical of many others in the region. Following the Red Army takeover in late 1939, Soviet authorities arrested hundreds of "enemies of the people" there and deported them to Siberia and Kazakhstan. Then, in late June 1941, in the face of advancing German forces, Soviet security forces hastily rounded up 700 more allegedly anti-Soviet Zloczów inhabitants, and killed them over a five-day period with shots to the back of the neck. After German forces drove out the Red Army on July 1, 1941, they cooperated in digging up the mass graves of the victims.

In some places in this region, Musial notes, the Germans arrived just in time to rescue people who were about to be killed. "Altogether some 13,000 prisoners were liberated by the Germans."

Musial compares the "Wehrmacht crimes" exhibit to the propaganda of the Communist regime in Poland. "The strength of this exhibition," he has said, "lies in the weakness of its critics."

As Musial explains, photographs of unearthed mass graves of Ukrainians and Poles killed by the Soviets were found by Red Army troops on the bod-



These two Wehrmacht crimes exhibition photographs purport to show German soldiers standing amid the bodies of Jews they had killed. In fact, these victims — most of them Ukrainians — had been killed in the town of Zloczów (Galicia) in late June 1941 by Soviet security police. The bodies were disinterred after German forces drove out the Soviets.

ies of German soldiers who had fallen on the eastern front. These included some taken at Zloczów by a junior officer, Richard Worbs, who fell in 1944. Soviet authorities publicized such photographs as evidence of German atrocities. These same photos, with their deceitful misrepresentations, were acquired by the organizers of the German Wehrmacht crimes exhibition for display to hundreds of thousands of credulous viewers.

In one exhibition photo, Musial explains, the corpses shown were actually Ukrainians who had been killed by the Soviet security police in Borislav (in Galicia, western Ukraine). The German soldiers



"Wehrmacht crimes" exhibition organizers Bernd Boll (left) and Hannes Herr (right), at its opening in the Kiel regional parliament in January 1999, with parliament president Heinz-Werner Arens in the middle.

seen in the photograph had helped unearth the bodies for identification. Another exhibition picture allegedly shows victims of a German massacre in Kraljevo (Serbia) in October 1941. In fact, the victims were Ukrainians and Poles killed by the Soviet NKVD in late June 1941 in a Lviv prison courtyard. "The victims were Ukrainians, Poles, Jews, Russians and German prisoners of war," said Dr. Musial.

Among other apparently damning exhibition photos are some that show German soldiers standing among corpses "at a pogrom in Tarnopol." In this case as well, the bodies are actually those of Ukrainian and Polish victims of the Soviet NKVD, which had been unearthed after the area came under German occupation.

"It is known that the regular German army carried out crimes," Musial said in an interview. "It is impossible that among a million soldiers, and above all in the circumstances of that war, there would not have been crimes. But there were also countless decent soldiers."

When Dr. Musial first made public his criticisms, the Wehrmacht exhibition organizers sought to silence him with a lawsuit and to discredit him with a smear campaign.

A Bold Hungarian Historian

Along with Musial, Hungarian historian Krisztián Ungváry played a major role in discrediting the "Wehrmacht crimes" exhibition. The 31-year-old Budapest scholar, who was named "military historian of the year" in 1998 by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, identified additional misrepresentations in a scholarly article.

In an interview with a Berlin newspaper, Ungváry spoke of "false photographs" and "false attributions." He said that "90 percent of the exhibition must be altered." Perhaps ten percent of the exhibition's pictures showed German atrocities, he estimated, while another ten percent showed atrocities by Ukrainians, Finns, Hungarians or the Soviets. The remaining photos (about 80 percent of the total), he went on, showed no atrocities or crimes of any kind.

One of the exhibit's most often cited photographs purports to show a German army execution squad preparing to shoot several young men. In fact, as Ungváry established,

this photo depicts a Hungarian firing squad in the town of Stari Becej (in Vojvodina, which at the time belonged to Hungary) in the fall of 1941. At the time there were no German troops in the area. The doomed men are Communists who had been sentenced to death by a Hungarian military court for treason, murder and sabotage.

"The crimes of the Wehrmacht were dreadful," says Ungváry, "but they were not unique. The Hungarian, Romanian and Soviet armies also carried out terrible crimes. This is also true of anti-Jewish excesses."

Missing Context

Apart from its overt deceit by misrepresenting authentic photographs, the exhibition is a propagandistic fraud on a more fundamental level because it makes sweeping generalizations and fails to provide adequate historical context. A good example is the exhibit's most familiar photograph (reproduced on the front cover of Germany's leading news magazine, *Der Spiegel*), which shows German soldiers at an execution of several men in April 1941 in Panchevo, Serbia (Vojvodina region).

What exhibition visitors were not told is that this was an execution of 18 Yugoslav army fighters who, disguised as civilians, had been involved in shootings of German soldiers. They were sentenced to death by a military court. This execution, however grim, was in conformity with internationally recognized military law. (Also unmentioned is the fact that when Yugoslav forces retreated from Panchevo, they took with them nine ethnic German civilians as hostages, who were then murdered in a nearby forest.)

Double Standard

The controversy over the exhibition once again underscores the double standard by which wartime Germany is routinely regarded. In contrast to the heavy stress by politicians and the media on victims of the Third Reich, especially Jewish Holocaust victims, there is comparative silence about victims of the Allies, especially those of America's wartime partner, the Soviet Union.

No one demands, or expects, self-abasing apologies from America's political leaders for the massive US support for Stalin during the Second World War.

While the public is constantly exhorted to "never forget" the victims of the Holocaust, we hear no such admonition for the vastly more numerous victims of Communism.

The scholars who identified falsifications in the Wehrmacht exhibition are — to use the pejorative label that is routinely applied to those who point out false Holocaust claims — "deniers." Historians such as Musial and Ungváry "deny" the atrocities "proven" by the exhibition.

Jewish groups have often criticized Germans for their alleged failure adequately to come to terms with their Nazi past. But it is doubtful that political and social leaders in any other country would give their support to an exhibition that, in effect, indicts their grandfathers as criminals.

In today's Germany, statements that call into question the official view of the Holocaust story can bring legal persecution. And truth is no defense. Several years ago, for example, German courts fined best-selling British historian David Irving 30,000 marks (about \$21,000) for publicly saying what is now authoritatively conceded. He was punished for having told a Munich meeting that the structure in Auschwitz that has been portrayed for decades to tourists as an extermination gas chamber is a "dummy" (*Attrappe*).

Irving was found guilty of thus "disparaging the memory of the dead," a German criminal code provision that effectively "protects" only Jews. The judge refused to consider any of the evidence presented by Irving's attorneys, including a plea to permit the senior curator and archives director of the Auschwitz State Museum to testify in the case.

It is, of course, very unlikely that those responsible for the Wehrmacht exhibition will ever be charged, much less punished, for violating German



5. Opfer des Massakers in Kraljevo, Oktober 1941.

"Victims of the massacre in Kraljevo, October 1941," is the description given to this photo in the "Wehrmacht crimes" exhibition. It allegedly shows victims of a German massacre in Serbia. In fact, as Polish historian Musial established, these victims—mostly Ukrainians and Poles—had been killed by the Soviet NKVD in late June 1941 in a prison courtyard in Lviv (Lvov), western Ukraine.

laws against "insulting the memory of the dead" or against "popular incitement," two of the criminal code sections that are routinely applied to "Holocaust deniers."

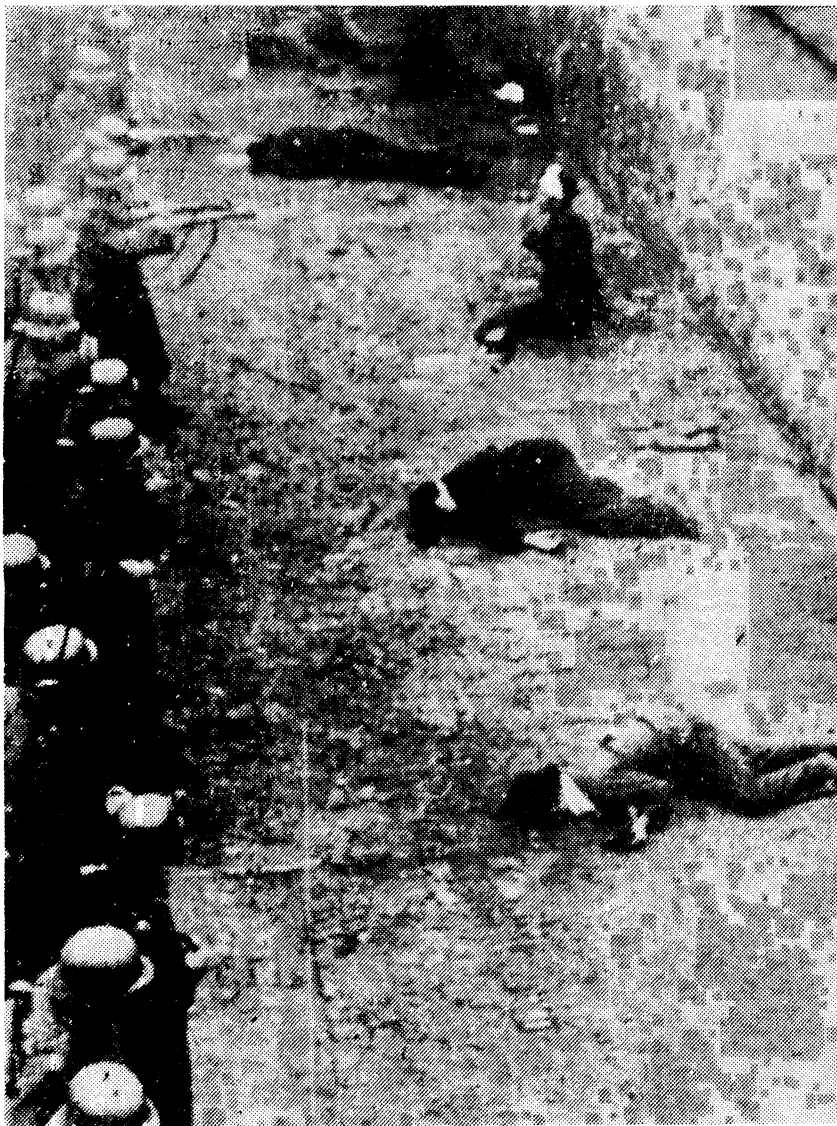
One can be sure that organizers of a comparable exhibition of Allied or Zionist crimes, no matter how factually accurate, would doubtless have to reckon with criminal indictment and prosecution.

American newspaper reports about the exhibition's revelations have tended to play down the scope of its misrepresentations, stressing that only a small portion of the photographs have been proven to be fraudulent. This is at least misleading, though, given that 70-80 percent the exhibition photos portray nothing at all sinister or criminal.

In an article about the exhibition revelations, the London *Times* warned: "The danger now is that Holocaust revisionists, who seize on all research blunders to bolster their arguments minimizing or denying the Holocaust, will try to argue that the German army was innocent of all war crimes."

Germany's Climate of Intimidation

This deceitful and defamatory traveling exhibition could only have attained the stature it did with the thoughtless or cowardly cooperation of German historians and politicians. They knew, or should have known, how fundamentally mendacious this



One of the most harrowing photos in the "Wehrmacht crimes" exhibition supposedly shows German troops executing civilians in Serbia in the fall of 1941. Hungarian historian Krisztián Ungváry has established that this picture actually shows an execution by Hungarian troops in Stari Becej (which at the time belonged to Hungary) of Communists who had been sentenced to death by a Hungarian military court for treason, murder and sabotage.

exhibit was, but many Germans today keep their mouths shut out of fear of being labeled a "revisionist," "nationalist," or "right-winger."

This is a consequence of a climate of intellectual repression, in which scholars are obliged to abide by a restrictive "political correctness," or risk public defamation or even legal persecution for daring to write or publish anything that might seem to "exonerate" the Third Reich regime.

As Budapest historian Ungváry has pointed out:

It is certainly not easy for a German scholar to

present substantive criticisms on this topic without immediately being labeled a right-winger or being suspected of supporting the wrong side. I find this very worrisome, and it is unfortunate that no one does anything about this in Germany. Criticism of the exhibition has largely been left to the right-wing extremists.

The influential German daily *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* wrote that the revelations highlighted the "intellectual climate" in today's Germany, which made possible a propagandistic enterprise with such prestigious backing. On another occasion the daily newspaper commented: "The abundance of the exhibition organizers' errors, mistakes and negligence, proven by researchers, is devastating. One is at a loss for words, considering that this is about such a serious subject. One comes across something comparable only in government-organized disinformation campaigns."

"Why didn't German historians expose the many mistakes and misrepresentations in the Wehrmacht exhibition?" wrote the editor of the German news magazine *Focus*. "History professors provide an answer only when we promise not to reveal their names: 'Every historian immediately saw just how shoddy and slanted the exhibition was set up, but who has any desire to allow himself to be publicly ruined?' The persecution of dissident thinkers has had quite an impact."

Commenting on the exhibition controversy, Dr. Musial expresses

some hope for the future:

I have the impression that the Germans have difficulties dealing with certain realities. A climate of consternation dominates, and this is certainly good for people such as Hannes Heer or Daniel Goldhagen. One does not really dare to question their views on scholarly grounds. Whoever dares to tackle these things without qualms, as I have, risks being labeled a revisionist. On the other hand, the tremendous response to my work gives me hope that finally

in Germany people will begin to discuss, substantively and unhampered, this chapter of contemporary history.

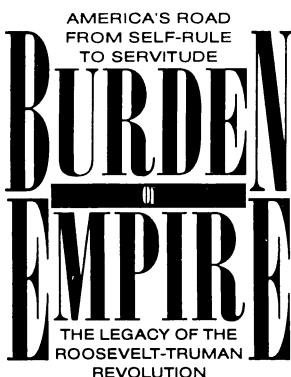
(Sources: W. Hackert, "Diffamierung der deutschen Wehrmacht," *Deutschland in Geschichte und Gegenwart* [Tübingen], Feb. 1998, pp. 22-29; "Leichen im Obstgarten," *Der Spiegel*, Jan. 25, 1999, pp. 52-53; Klaus Sojka, Hrsg., *Bilder, die Fälschen: Dubiose "Dokumente" zur Zeitgeschichte* [Munich: FZ-Verlag, 1999]; Ungváry interview in *Berliner Morgenpost*, June 14, 1999; "Geschichtsverzerrung," *Deutschland in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Sept. 1999, p. 14; Musial interview, "Die Spitze eines Eisbergs," *Welt am Sonntag*, Oct. 24, 1999; "Reemtsmas Spukhaus bricht zusammen," *National-Zeitung* [Munich], Oct. 29, 1999, pp. 3-4; R. Boyes, "Photo errors arm German neo-Nazis," *The Times* [London], Nov. 2, 1999; "Mörder-Wehrmacht: Die Lüge stirbt," *National-Zeitung* [Munich], Nov. 5, 1999, pp. 1, 4, 11; Beweismittel gefälscht, Urteil richtig," *National-Zeitung* [Munich], Nov. 12, 1999, pp. 3-6; "Wehrmacht: Neue Fälschungen," *National-Zeitung* [Munich], Nov. 19, 1999, pp. 1, 6.

A Munich publisher, FZ-Verlag, recently issued a 416-page German-language book about the Wehrmacht exhibition, *Die Wahrheit über die Wehrmacht: Reemtsmas Fälschungen widerlegt* ("The Truth about the Wehrmacht: Reemtsma's Frauds Debunked"). It is available from Deutscher Buchdienst, Postfach 60 04 64, 81204 Munich, Germany.



Perhaps the most widely-reproduced photograph in the anti-Wehrmacht exhibition is this one, which shows an execution by German troops in April 1941 in the town of Panchievo in the Vojvodina region. This was an execution of 18 Yugoslav army fighters who, disguised as civilians, had been involved in shootings of German soldiers. They were sentenced to death by a military court. As grim as it was, this execution was entirely in accord with internationally-sanctioned military law.

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The 'Gas Chamber' of Auschwitz I

ROBERT FAURISSON

Since 1948, the year of the founding by Polish Communist authorities of the Auschwitz State Museum, millions of tourists — 500,000 visitors per year in the early 1990s — have visited the crematory building of the main camp (Auschwitz I) with its “gas chamber” room.

Museum guides present this crematory structure (*Krema*) and its “gas chamber” as genuine, but skeptical visitors who ask impertinent questions are told, since my own visits of 1975 and 1976, that this is, in fact, a “reconstruction,” which we are further informed is an identical replica of the original. In reality, the whole is neither authentic nor an identical replica of the original. In 1941-42, the *Krema* was a very conventional crematory facility with, notably, a cool morgue room for temporary storage of corpses, and an incineration block with six ovens. In 1943-44, the six ovens were done away with and the morgue room, along with other parts of the building, were transformed into an air-raid shelter with a surgical operating room serving the nearby SS hospital.

I made these discoveries in 1975-76, and published the results between 1978 and 1980.

Eric Conan

Fifteen years later, a reporter-historian named Eric Conan, although quite hostile to revisionism, published in the January 19-25, 1995, issue of the large-circulation French weekly news magazine *L'Express* a lengthy essay, “Auschwitz: the Memory of Evil” (*Auschwitz: la mémoire du mal*), in which

Robert Faurisson is Europe's foremost Holocaust revisionist scholar. Born in 1929, he was educated at the Paris Sorbonne, and served as a professor at the University of Lyon in France from 1974 until 1990. He was a specialist of text and document analysis. His writings on the Holocaust issue have appeared in several books and numerous scholarly articles, many of which have been published in this *Journal*. A four-volume collection of many of his revisionist writings, *Écrits Révisionnistes (1974-1998)*, was published in 1999.

This essay is translated and adapted from a version that first appeared in the French periodical *National Hebdo*, February 19, 1998, under the title “Aveux Méritoires” (“Commendable Admissions”).



Robert Faurisson

he denounced the falsifications of the crematory and its “gas chamber.” [See “Major French Magazine Acknowledges Auschwitz Gas Chamber Fraud,” in the Jan.-Feb. 1995 *Journal*, pp. 23-24.]

On this point, here are the findings of his inquiry (p. 68), to which I have added emphasis to certain words:

In 1948, when the Museum was created, Crematory I was reconstructed [*reconstitué*] in its supposed original state. *Everything in it is false* [*Tout y est faux*]: the dimensions of the gas chamber, the locations of the doors, the openings for the pouring in of Zyklon B, the ovens (rebuilt according to the recollections of some survivors), the height of the chimney. In the late 1970s, Robert Faurisson exploited these *falsifications* all the better as the Museum officials balked *then* at acknowledging them.

Conan questioned a Museum official about what he calls a “misrepresentation” and about what, he reports, Théo Klein, former president of the CRIF, the “representative council of Jewish organizations of France,” calls an “artifice.” As Conan writes (p. 68):

Krystyna Oleksy, whose director's office, which occupies the former SS hospital, looks straight out on to Crematory [building] I, has not resigned herself [to telling the truth about the "gas chamber"]: "For the time being we're going to leave it in its present state, and not give any specifics to visitors. It's too complicated. We'll see later on."

This person's reply amounts to saying: "We have lied. We are lying. We shall continue to lie ... until further notice."

Debórah Dwork and Robert-Jan van Pelt

In 1996 a 443-page study of the history of Auschwitz, from the year of the town's founding to the present, was published by W.W. Norton (New York). *Auschwitz: 1270 to the Present* was written by two historians of Jewish origin, the American Debórah Dwork and the Canadian Robert-Jan van Pelt. They report that Auschwitz State Museum authorities have made alterations, transformations, and falsifications of the Auschwitz I camp site, with regard both to the detainees' reception building and to Crematory I with its "gas chamber." The authors use the following words: "postwar obfuscation," "additions," "deletions," "suppression," "reconstruction," "largely a postwar reconstruction" (p. 363), "reconstructed," "usurpation," "re-created" (p. 364), "falsified" (p. 367), and "falsifying" (p. 369).

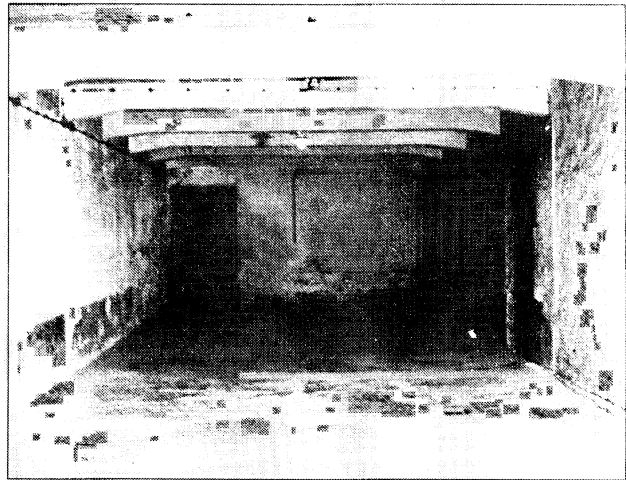
On the subject of the "gas chamber" they write (p. 364): "[After the war] four hatched openings in the roof, as if for pouring Zyklon B into the gas chamber below, were installed."

As they further point out (p. 364), there is no sign or plaque to call the public's attention to any changes, about which "... the guides remain silent ... when they take the visitors through this building that is presumed by the tourist to be the place where it happened."

Appeal to UNESCO

The entire Auschwitz complex is registered as a protected world heritage site by UNESCO — the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. Some Islamic countries, where there has been considerable indignation over the February 1998 punishment by a Paris court of French scholar Roger Garaudy for having questioned the "gas chambers," could bring an action at UNESCO regarding the emblematic "gas chamber" at Auschwitz.

They might, on this occasion, demand an impartial forensic examination of the remains of the "gas chamber" at Auschwitz-Birkenau's crematory building (*Krema*) II. The caved-in roof of this supposed mass extermination "gas chamber" has visibly

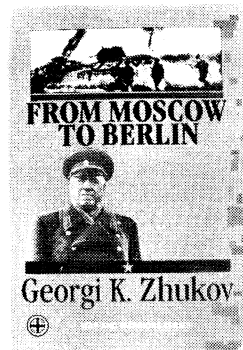


For decades this room in the crematory building at the Auschwitz main camp has been shown to many hundreds of thousands of tourists as an execution "gas chamber" in its "original state." In fact — and as now authoritatively acknowledged — this "gas chamber" is actually a postwar reconstruction.

never had any of the four special holes (25 by 25 cm, or 9 7/8 sq. in.) through which, we are told, Zyklon B pellets were poured in.

This being the case, how, simply, could an execution gassing operation have even begun here at Birkenau, the core of the so-called "Holocaust"?

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Thirteenth IHR Conference Set for May

Leading Revisionist Historians and Activists to Meet in Southern California

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

A lot has happened since the last full-scale IHR Conference, and leading activists will have much to say about the major breakthroughs, as well as the formidable new efforts of our enemies, in the international campaign for greater historical awareness about the most hyped and taboo-laden chapters of history. In addition, scholars will report on new documentary and investigative discoveries that further shatter the icons of "official" history.

The full Conference program, including the names and topics of the dozen speakers, is still being worked out. But already the line-up includes:

- Robert Faurisson, Europe's foremost revisionist scholar, will provide another of his witty and thought-provoking presentations that never fail to delight audiences.

- John Sack, author and veteran journalist, will detail the furor provoked by the publication of *An Eye for an Eye*, his headline-making exposé of the brutal mistreatment of ethnic Germans by Jewish Communist authorities in postwar Poland.

- Ernst Zündel, Canada's leading revisionist activist, and prominent German-Canadian civil rights figure, will report — in his typically irrepressible and upbeat style — on the latest in his courageous international campaign for greater awareness of suppressed history, and to restore the honor and good reputation of his people.

- Ted O'Keefe, IHR book editor, will present a bombshell dissection of the influential "Schindler's List" legend.

- Mark Weber, IHR Director, will deliver the keynote address, as well as an iconoclastic scholarly presentation.

- Greg Raven, IHR associate editor, will serve as MC.

- Bradley Smith, veteran free-speech activist, will tell how his student outreach work has shaken up one campus after another across the country.

Details about additional speakers will be announced soon.

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

Register Now!

Previous IHR Conference attendees can reserve a place simply by remitting the registration fee, and indicating a lodging preference.

Those who have not previously attended an IHR Conference should first fill out and submit an application form (which accompanies this Journal issue).

The special early registration fee (until March 31) is just \$150. The regular registration (after until March 31) is \$195. Attendees can bring a family member (spouse or child) for the reduced fee of \$120 (early) or \$155 (regular). For students (with valid ID) the rate is \$50.

The registration fee — payable by personal check, money order or Visa or MC credit card — covers all lectures and events, two buffet breakfasts, and the banquet dinner.)

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

For those flying in from out of town, transportation to and from the Orange County airport will be available. There is ample parking for those driving in.

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

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

Questions? Phone us at 949 - 631 1490. Fax: 949 - 631 0980.

British Wartime Propaganda Lies

During the Second World War, Britain's main "dirty tricks" propaganda agency was the Political Warfare Executive (PWE), a unit of the British Foreign Office. This psychological warfare agency invented and distributed "black" propaganda disinformation to boost morale among anti-German British and Americans, and to promote anti-German sentiment in neutral countries. Its work also included manufacturing and distributing bogus German documents.

Some of the PWE's most bizarre falsehoods were distributed on phonograph records as part of a secret "Special (Venom)" campaign directed to Arabs. These fables included reports that Hitler hated Arabs, and that a Jewish doctor had cut off the German leader's testicles. Epithets applied to Hitler in this report included including "pig," "swine" and "bastard." Such exotic propaganda was considered necessary, the PWE advised, because Hitler's prestige was "tremendous in Arab countries."

The Arab-oriented campaign also included stories suggesting that the Germans were using mosques as brothels in Axis-ruled Tripoli. According to another PWE story, "Germans [were] so short of cloth they are training agents to disinter bodies in Muslim cemeteries and seize shrouds for use as machine rugs in Germany."

One of the most malicious PWE "black" reports was this April 1943 story: "On entering Tunis Allied troops found dead children cut up as butchers' meat in the German army store. Portions of them had already been used as pork ration. Typically enough, the Germans had filed their identity cards."

Some British officials were skeptical of this campaign's effectiveness. For example, a PWE story that Goebbels had enriched himself during the war, and had hidden away a private fortune, said one official, "would evoke admiration and envy rather than disapprobation."

This "Special (Venom)" campaign was first made public in 1994 when the relevant files were declassified from Britain's Public Records Office (and then reported in *The Guardian* newspaper, London, September 8, 1994, p. 22).

During the war years, British agencies produced and disseminated a wide range of anti-German propaganda lies. According to one suggested story, the Germans were using poison gas to secretly kill off their own wounded soldiers. This manufactured "rumor," designed to mislead and demoralize the German public, was proposed by Britain's Joint Intelligence Sub-Committee in October 1941. (A facsimile of the secret wartime document confirming

this is published in facsimile in the Sept.-Oct. 1993 *Journal*, p. 43.)

Even some of the more bizarre propaganda stories have proven remarkably durable over the years. A good example is the wartime fable that the Germans were manufacturing oil and soap from the bodies of murdered Jews, a report that became an important feature of Jewish and Allied war propaganda. Two major Jewish agencies, the World Jewish Congress and the American Jewish Congress, energetically promoted this lie. (See: M. Weber, "Jewish Soap," Summer 1991 *Journal*, pp. 218, 234.)

Unpunished War Crimes

"The American people should not be surprised at reports of cruelty by American soldiers during the Korean War, the war in Vietnam and World War II ... During World War II in Italy, we had captured four German soldiers. I ordered one of my men to take them back to battalion headquarters, about five miles to the rear. He returned five minutes later without the prisoners. When questioned, he explained, without remorse, that he was too tired to walk back the five miles, and so, I quote, 'I killed them.'"

"In another incident, we were off the lines for a rest and were taking target practice at an improvised firing range. In the distance, a lone farmer was tending to his crop, when I saw him suddenly drop. A fellow platoon member shouted, 'I got him.' Most of my platoon members were disgusted by these unprovoked acts of cowardice and cruelty."

— Marvin Haas, of Banning, California, in a letter published in the *Los Angeles Times*, October 8, 1999.

If the People Understood

"I've never seen a President — I don't care who he is — stand up to them [the Israelis]. It just boggles the mind. They always get what they want. The Israelis know what is going on all the time. I got to the point where I wasn't writing anything down. If the American people understood what a grip those people have got on our government, they would rise up in arms. Our citizens certainly don't have any idea what goes on."

— Admiral Thomas Moorer, former Chairman of the US Joint Chiefs of Staff. Quoted by former US Congressman Paul Findley in *They Dare to Speak Out* (1989), p. 161.

A British Historian Defends His Livelihood and Honor

Opening Statement in the London Libel Trial

DAVID IRVING

In 1993 a 278-page book called Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory began appearing in book stores across the United States. In this fervent polemic, author Deborah Lipstadt lashes out against those who dispute Holocaust extermination claims. An entire chapter, packed with distortions and factual errors, is devoted to the Institute for Historical Review. (Journal reviews of the book appeared in the Nov.-Dec. 1993 and Sept.-Oct. 1995 issues.)

Lipstadt also took aim at British writer David Irving — author of some two dozen works of history, several of them best-sellers — calling him a “Holocaust denier” and “one of the most dangerous spokespersons for Holocaust denial.” Her attack against him included demonstrably false statements.

Not confining her anti-revisionist activism to this book, Lipstadt wrote and spoke frequently about the alleged danger to truth itself posed by Holocaust skeptics. She played a role in the vicious campaign that ended with the announcement in early April 1996 by St. Martin’s Press that it was cancelling its scheduled publication of Irving’s eagerly-awaited biography, Goebbels: Mastermind of the Third Reich.

Irving had had enough. Now effectively black-listed among “mainstream” publishers, he brought a libel suit in London against Lipstadt and Penguin Books, the British publisher of Denying the Holocaust. While such a lawsuit would be virtually unthinkable in the United States, where there is an almost unlimited right to smear any “public figure,” Irving is on much more solid ground in Britain, where libel laws are far tighter.

On January 11, 2000, the trial opened before the High Court of Justice in London. Whereas the 61-year-old Irving appeared representing himself, on opening day some 20 men and women on the defendants’ legal team were present in the courtroom.

“At times during his legal battle in the high court, David Irving, a man of natural military bearing, resembles a beleaguered Wehrmacht general in some God-forsaken pocket on the Eastern front, desperately trying to beat off the Jewish-Bolshevik hordes,” remarked one Jewish observer. “He stands or sits alone on one side of the courtroom, while the large defense team occupies most of the rest of it.”



David Irving was in good form as he addressed a special IHR meeting in southern California on April 29, 1999. In addition to his scheduled lecture on “Winston Churchill and Charles de Gaulle: The Murderous Friendship,” the British historian also spoke about the international campaign to silence him, and on preparations for his forthcoming libel suit against the author and British publisher of *Denying the Holocaust*.

Expected to last three months, the non-jury trial is widely regarded as a major battle about “Holocaust denial” and, more broadly, the Holocaust extermination story. Whereas Irving seeks to keep the trial focused on the narrower issue of libel under British law, the defendants want to make Irving himself, and “the Holocaust,” the central issues. (Much more about the trial, including news reports and texts of important documents, can be found on Irving’s web site: <http://www.fpp.co.uk>)

The stakes in this case are enormous, not least because the loser almost certainly will be ordered to pay the costs of the winner. The defendants, together with their associated law firms and allied Jewish organizations, have already invested enormous time and money in the case. If Irving loses, he faces complete financial ruin. But a victory by him would be a tremendous boost for freedom of historical inquiry

and expression, and an embarrassing setback for the international Holocaust lobby and, more generally, for Jewish-Zionist interests worldwide.

In his opening statement, Irving said that Denying the Holocaust had generated "waves of hatred" against him and gravely harmed his livelihood as a writer. He charged that Lipstadt has been active in an "organized international endeavor" to destroy his career and reputation. Irving has also contended that Lipstadt's book, far from being the careful work of a serious scholar, is actually the "product of a research contract funded by an Israeli agency."

Defense attorney Richard Rampton responded by telling the court that Irving "is not an historian at all, but a falsifier of history. To put it bluntly, he is a liar."

In keeping with its long-standing support for free speech and free historical inquiry, the Institute for Historical Review supports Irving in this legal battle. At the same time, though, we do not necessarily endorse all his views on history — views that, anyway, he has modified over the decades.

Here is the complete text of Irving's opening statement in the trial. Brief explanatory or elucidating remarks have been added in brackets.

— The Editor

May it please your Lordship, this is my Opening Statement in the matter of David Irving vs. Penguin Books and Deborah Lipstadt. I appear as a litigant in person, and the Defendants are represented by Mr. Richard Rampton and Miss Rogers of counsel and by Mr. Anthony Julius. There were originally three other Defendants, who can be characterized here as booksellers; but your Lordship will observe that they no longer figure in this action, a settlement having been reached.

This is an action in libel arising from the publication by the First Defendant of a book, entitled *Denying the Holocaust*, written by the Second Defendant, Professor Lipstadt.

As your Lordship is aware, the work complained of has attracted considerable attention, both in this country and in the United States and elsewhere since it was first published in 1993. Your Lordship will have before you my Statement of Claim in which I set out the grounds for my complaint, the consequence of which I am asking that the Defendants be ordered to pay damages of an amount which I will venture to suggest, and I will invite your Lordship issue an injunction against further publication of this work and that the Defendants should make the usual undertakings.

It is almost 30 years to the day since I first set foot in these Law Courts and I trust that your Lordship will allow me to digress for two or three minutes, being (in my submission) something of an his-

torian, on the history of those events; because they are not without relevance to the proceedings upon which we are about to embark.

The occasion of that visit to this building, was an action heard before Mr. Justice Lawton, which became well known to law students as *Cassell vs. Broome and Another*. It too was a libel action, and I am ashamed to admit that I was the "Another," having written a book on a naval operation, *The Destruction of Convoy PQ.17*.



Deborah Lipstadt

That was the only actively fought libel action in which I became engaged in 30 years of writing. There were two reasons for this abstinence: first, I became more prudent about how I wrote; and second, I was taught to turn the other cheek.

The man who taught me the latter lesson was my first publisher. He had signed up my first book, *The Destruction of Dresden*, which was eventually published in 1963.

I had been approached in about 1961 by a well known English publisher, Mr. William Kimber. When I visited him in his offices — which were on a site which has long since been buried by a luxury hotel, the Berkeley, in Belgravia — I found him surrounded by files and documents, rather as we are all in this court room today. He wore an air of exhaustion.

Your Lordship may remember that Mr. Kimber and his author Mr. Leon Uris had become involved through a book which Uris had written, entitled *Exodus*, in a libel action brought by a London doctor who had been obliged to serve at Auschwitz. That case was also heard before Mr. Justice Lawton. There was one other similarity that closes this particular circle of coincidence: like me now, Mr. Kimber was in consequence also obliged to spend two or three years of his life wading, as he put it, "knee-deep" through the most appalling stories of atrocities and human degradation.

That day he advised me never, ever, to become involved in libel litigation. I might add that, with one exception that I shall later mention, I have heeded his advice.

There have since then been one or two minor



Attendees at the special IHR meeting with David Irving, April 29, 1999.

legal skirmishes, which have not involved much "bloodshed": there was an action against an author, which I foolishly started at the same time as the *PQ.17* case and, having lost the latter, was obliged for evident reasons to abandon on relatively painless conditions; and a more recent action against a major London newspaper, who put into my mouth, no doubt inadvertently, some particularly offensive words which had in fact been uttered by Adolf Hitler; that newspaper settled out of Court with me on terms which were eminently acceptable.

I have often thought of Mr. Kimber's predicament since the 1960s, and more particularly the last three years. I have been plunged into precisely the same "knee-deep" position, ever since I issued the originating writs in this action in September 1996. If I am late with the bundles and papers upon which this Court relies, I can only plead this in mitigation.

I have never held myself out to be a Holocaust expert, nor have I written books about what is now called the Holocaust: if I am an expert in anything at all, I may be so immodest as to submit that it is in the role that Adolf Hitler played in the propagation of World War II and in the decisions which he made, and the knowledge on which he based those decisions.

As a peripheral matter to that topic, on which I have written a number of books, I inevitably investigated the extent to which Hitler participated in or

had cognizance of the Holocaust. That was the sum total of my involvement as a book author up to the launching of these writs.

Since then, because of the tactics chosen by the Defendants, I have been obliged, willy nilly, to become something of an expert, through no desire of my own. To my utmost distaste it has become evident that it is no longer possible to write pure history, untrammelled and uninfluenced by politics, once one ventures into this unpleasant field.

I have done my best to prepare the case that follows, but I respectfully submit that I do not have any duty to become an expert on the Holocaust; it is not saying anything unknown to this Court, I remind those present that, the Defendants having pleaded justification, as they have, it is not incumbent upon me as the Claimant to prove the wrongness of what they have published. It is for them to prove that what they wrote was true.

I intend to show that far from being a "Holocaust denier," I have repeatedly drawn attention to major aspects of the Holocaust and have described them, and I have provided historical documents both to the community of scholars and to the general public, of which they were completely unaware before I discovered these documents, and published and translated them.

It will be found that I selflessly provided copies of the documents, that I had at great expense myself

unearthed foreign archives even to my rival historians, as I felt that it was important in the interests of general historical research that [they] should be aware of these documents (I am referring for example to the Bruns Report, which we shall shortly hear; and to the dossier on Kurt Aumeier in British files, a dossier which even the Defense Experts admit is one of the most important historical finds, since the writings of Rudolf Höss, the commandant of Auschwitz, were published after the war.

There is one essential plea that I wish to make of this Court; I am aware that the Defendants have expended a considerable sum of money in researching all over again the harrowing story of what actually happened in what they call the Holocaust.

I submit that, harsh though it may seem, the Court should take no interest in that tragedy. The Court may well disagree with me, and show a profound interest in it; but in my submission, we have to avoid the temptations of raking over the history of what happened in Poland or in Russia 50 years ago: what is moot here is not what happened in those sites of atrocities — but what happened over the last 32 years, on my writing desk in my apartment off Grosvenor Square.

To justify her allegations of manipulation and distortion, it will not suffice for Professor Lipstadt to show, if she can, that I misrepresented what happened, but the following: that I knew what happened; and that I perversely and deliberately, for whatever purpose, portrayed it differently from how I knew it to have happened.

That is what manipulation and distortion means, and the other, though fundamental, story of what actually happened is neither here nor there. In effect, this inquiry should not leave the four walls of my study: it should look at the papers that lay before me — and not before some other, magnificently funded researcher or scholar — and at the manuscript that I then produced on the basis of my own limited sources.

My Lord, if we were to seek a title for this libel action, I would venture to suggest “Pictures At An Execution.”

Your Lordship may or may not be aware that I have had a reputation as an historian and as an investigative writer arising from the 30 or so works which I have published in English and other languages over the years since 1961. I am the author of many scores of articles in serious and respected newspapers, including over the years in this country *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Sunday Telegraph*, the *Jewish Chronicle*, the *Sunday Express*, the *Evening Standard*, *Encounter*, and publications of similar repute in Germany, my articles have appeared in newspapers ranging from *Die Welt*, *Die Welt am Sonntag*, and magazines and journals like *Stern*,

Der Spiegel, *Neue Illustrierte*, and *Quick*.

My books have appeared between hard covers under the imprint of the finest publishing houses. I might mention in this country the imprints of William Kimber, Ltd., Cassell & Co., Ltd., Macmillan, Ltd., Hodder & Stoughton, Penguin and Allen Lane and others. As the Second Defendant is, I understand an American citizen, it might be meritorious for me to add that my works have also been published by her country's leading publishing houses, too, including the Viking Press; Little, Brown; Simon & Schuster; Holt, Reinhardt, Winston; St Martin's Press; and a score of no less reputable paperback publishing houses.

Each of those published works by me contained in or near the title page a list of my previous publications and frequently a sample of the accolades bestowed on my works by the leading names of literature and historiography on both sides of the Atlantic.

This happy situation, namely having my works published in the leading publishing houses of the world, ended a year or two ago under circumstances which I shall venture, if your Lordship permits, to set out later in my remarks. Suffice it to say that this very day the *Australia/Israel Review* has published in Sydney a presumably well-informed article, coming as it does from their corner, which provides one missing link in the circumstances under which St. Martin's Press finally terminated their contract to publish my book *Goebbels: Mastermind of the Third Reich*:

... One of the catalysts for the case was Irving's experience with American publisher St. Martin's Press, which, after being warned by Lipstadt and others about Irving's approach to history, then cancelled its agreement to publish Irving's book *Goebbels: Mastermind of the Third Reich* in the US.

So these Defendants have done very real damage to my professional existence. May I first of all set out the very real pecuniary damage which can be done to an author by an attack on his reputation. It is not merely that he suffers injury and hurt to his feelings from unjustified attacks, whatever their nature.

An author, by virtue of his trade, lives a precarious financial existence. A tenured professor or other scholar can look forward to a brief career, lengthy vacations, high rewards, and eventually a pension. Perhaps some members of the legal profession enjoy the same fortunate expectations.

A writer leads a much lonelier and more hazardous existence. When he first embarks on his career he may write a string of works that are never pub-

lished. I was fortunate in this respect; when I first started advertising in *The Times* in 1961, inviting British airmen who had taken part in the principle operations of Royal Air Force Bomber Command to come forward, among those who contacted me was Mr. William Kimber, a publisher of great repute who himself felt deeply about the ethical questions raised by these saturation bombing operations.

I therefore did not have the usual problem that faces most first-time authors, namely that of crossing the difficult threshold from being an unpublished, to a published author. My first book, *The Destruction of Dresden*, was serialized by *The Sunday Telegraph* and attracted much critical acclaim. It was only then that I took the, perhaps fateful, decision to become a writer.

If I may now advance rapidly some 20 or 30 years — and I sense the Court's relief — I would repeat a brief conversation I had with my accountant, at a time when I was earning more than £100,000 in royalties per year. My accountant, no doubt with his eye on the commission involved, asked what steps I had taken in anticipation of retirement. My immodest reply was that I did not intend to retire, and when he murmured something about pensions, I replied that my books were my pension fund.

If I may explain that remark: if an author has written a good book it will be published and republished, and on each occasion a fresh ripple of royalties reaches the author's bank account. Admittedly the ripples become smaller as the years recede, but if he has written enough books in his 30 or 40 years of creativity then the ripples together make waves large enough to sustain him into and beyond the years of retirement. Indeed, they should also provide something of a legacy for his children, of whom I still have four.

That situation no longer obtains.

By virtue of the activities of the Defendants, in particular of the Second Defendant, and of those who funded her and guided her hand, I have since 1996 seen one fearful publisher after another falling away from me, declining to reprint my works, refusing to accept new commissions and turning their backs on me when I approach.

In private, the senior editors at those publishing houses still welcome me warmly as a friend, invite me to lunch in expensive New York restaurants — and then lament that if they were to sign a contract with me on a new book, there would always be somebody in their publishing house who would object. Such is the nature of the odium that has been generated by the waves of hatred recklessly propagated against me by the Defendants.

In short my "pension" has vanished, as assuredly as if I had been employed by one of those companies

taken over by the late Mr. Robert Maxwell.

I am not submitting that it is these Defendants alone who have single-handedly wrought this disaster upon me. I am not even denying that I may have been partly to blame for it myself.

Had I written books about the Zulu Wars, as the Air Ministry earnestly advised me in 1963, when my book *The Destruction of Dresden* was first published, I would no doubt not have faced this hatred.

Unfortunately, World War II became my area of expertise; I generated a personal archive of documents, a network of sources and contacts, a language ability, and a facility to research in foreign archives, and eventually a constituency of readers who expected and wanted me to write only about the Third Reich and its criminal leadership.

What obliges me to make these sweeping opening remarks, is that I shall maintain that the Defendants did not act alone in their determination to destroy my career, and to vandalize my legitimacy as an historian. They were part of an organized international endeavor at achieving precisely that. I have seen the papers. I have copies of the documents. I shall show them to this Court. I know how they did it, and I now know why.

Nearly all of these villains acted beyond the jurisdiction of these Courts. Some of them however acted within, and I have on one disastrous occasion tried to proceed against them too.

I mention here and, only in a few words, that one example: as the Court will no doubt hear, I was expelled in the most demeaning circumstances from Canada in November 1992. I need not go into the background of that event here, but I shall certainly do so later if in their attempts to blacken my name further, the Defendants indulge in that exercise in this Court.

Seeking to establish why Canada — a friendly government — a country which I had entered unhindered for 30 years or more, should suddenly round upon me as savagely as a rottweiler, I used all the appliances of Canadian law to establish what had gone on behind closed doors.

I discovered in the files of the Canadian government, using that country's Access to Information Act, a mysterious and anonymous document blackening my name which had been planted there for the purpose of procuring precisely the ugly consequence that had flowed from it in 1992.

Among the stupid lies that this anonymous document contained about me, was the suggestion that I had married my first wife because she was "the daughter of one of General Francisco Franco's top generals," in order to ingratiate myself with the Spanish fascist regime. Another suggestion was that I lived too well for an author (I have lived for over 32 years in the same house off Grosvenor

Square in Mayfair) — that to sustain such a level of living purely from my income as an author was impossible; the implication being that I was receiving secret checks from Nazi fugitives in South America.

I telephoned my first wife to ask her what her father had been, and she reminded me that he was an industrial chemist, a dedicated enemy of the regime after two of his brothers had been shot by Franco's men.

It took over a year to establish beyond doubt who was the author of this infamous document. Eventually it turned out to have been provided secretly to the Canadian government by an unofficial body based in London, whose name I do not propose to state in this Court here, as they are not formally represented in this action [identified out of court as the Board of Deputies of British Jews].

Suffice it to say that when I applied to a judge in chambers for leave to take libel action out of time, the culprits made no attempt to justify their libels, but pleaded that the Statute of Limitations had run; which plea was allowed, though with regret, by Mr. Justice Toulson. The mendacious body concerned then had the temerity to pursue me to the threshold of the Bankruptcy Court for the legal costs that it had incurred in that one day hearing, amounting to over £7,500. It is a rough life, being an independent author.

This brings us to the present case. In 1993 the First Defendant, as they allow in their witness statements, published *Denying the Holocaust*, the work complained of, within the jurisdiction, written by the Second Defendant.

The book purports to be a scholarly investigation of the operations of an international network conspiracy of people whom the Second Defendant has dubbed "Holocaust deniers." It is not. The phrase itself, which the Second Defendant prides herself on having coined and crafted, appears repeatedly throughout the work, and it has subsequently become embedded in the vernacular of a certain kind of journalist who wishes to blacken the name of some person, where the more usual rhetoric of neo-Nazi, Nazi, racist, and other similar epithets is no longer deemed adequate. Indeed, the phrase appears over 300 times in just one of the Defendants' experts reports!

It has become one of the most potent phrases in the arsenal of insult, replacing the N-word, the F-word, and a whole alphabet of other slurs. If an American politician, like Mr. Patrick Buchanan, is branded even briefly a "Holocaust denier," his career can well be said to be in ruins. If a writer, no matter how well reviewed and received until then, has that phrase stuck to him, then he too regard his career as rumbling off the edge of a precipice.

As a phrase it is of itself quite meaningless. The word "Holocaust" is an artificial label commonly attached to one of the greatest and still most unexplained tragedies of this past century.

The word "denier" is particularly evil: because no person in full command of his mental faculties, and with even the slightest understanding of what happened in World War II, can deny that the tragedy actually happened, however much we dissident historians may wish to quibble about the means, the scale, the dates and other minutiae.

Yet meaningless though it is, the phrase has become a part of the English language. It is a poison to which there is virtually no antidote, less lethal than a hypodermic with nerve gas jabbed in the neck, but deadly all the same: for the chosen victim, it is like being called a wife beater or a pædophile. It is enough for the label to be attached, for the attachee to find himself designated as a pariah, an outcast from normal society. It is a verbal Yellow Star.

In many countries now where it was considered that the mere verbal labelling was not enough, governments have been prevailed upon to pass the most questionable laws, including some which can only be considered a total infringement of the normal human rights of free speech, free opinion and freedom of assembly.

Germany has not had an enviable reputation in any of these freedoms over the last century. True to form, in Germany it is now a criminal offense to question the mode, the scale, the system, or even the statistics of the Holocaust. No defense is allowed. Some good friends of mine, I have no hesitation in allowing to this Court, are sitting at this very moment in German prisons for having ventured to voice such questions.

In France the situation is even more absurd: any person found guilty in France, under a new law aptly named an "amendment of the law on the freedom of the Press" finds himself fined, or imprisoned, or both. This law, passed in 1991, makes it a criminal offense to challenge (the French word is *contester*) any war crimes or crimes against humanity "as defined by the Nuremberg Statute" of 1945.

Fifty years on, it has become a criminal offense to question whether Nuremberg got it right. History is to be as defined by the four victorious powers in the Nuremberg trials of 1945-1946.

I respectfully submit and would, indeed, hope that your Lordship would find such laws, if enacted in this country, to be utterly repugnant. For that same reason I have no hesitation in saying that some more good friends of mine have been fined under precisely this French law. Indeed, in 1993 or 1994, I myself was fined the sum of £500 by a Paris court under this law: I had given an interview to a

French journalist in the study of my home in London; this interview was published in a reputable journal, there were complaints in Paris; and I was summoned before the French magistrates, and fined along with the publisher, editor and journalist concerned for having given this interview. It is indeed a very sorry state of affairs.

We may hear the word “conspiracy” uttered during the next few days and weeks. If there has been a conspiracy, it is a conspiracy against free speech.

I might mention that my father fought as an officer in the Royal Navy in both wars, both in the Battle of Jutland in 1916 and in the Arctic convoys of 1942, and that both my brothers have served in the Royal Air Force. My father was an arctic explorer between the wars, and admiralty charts show two island points in the South Sandwich Islands named after him and his first officer, my uncle.

I come from a service family and I find it odious that at the end of the twentieth century writers and historians going about their own respective businesses, writing books that may indeed have been completely wrong have found themselves suddenly and vicariously threatened with imprisonment or with crippling fines for having expressed opinions on history which are at variance with these new freshly enacted laws, which have been introduced at the insistence of wealthy pressure groups and other enemies of the free speech for which we fought two World Wars in this country.

Your Lordship will undoubtedly hear from the Defendants that I was fined a very substantial sum of money by the German government under these witless new laws. It is no matter of shame for me, although it has had catastrophic consequences, as it now makes me *de facto* “a convict,” with a criminal record, and as such liable to a concatenation of further indignities and sanctions in every foreign country which I now wish to visit.

The circumstances: I may say here quite briefly that on April 21, 1990, nearly ten years ago, I delivered an address, quite possibly ill-judged, to an audience at a hall in Munich.

When one agrees to attend such functions, one has little way of knowing in advance what kind of audience one will be addressing, and one has no control over the external appearance of the function. I make no complaint about that.

Your Lordship will hear, that in the course of my speech, of which apparently no full transcript in survives, I uttered the following remark:

“We now know that the gas chamber shown to the tourists at Auschwitz is a fake built by the Poles after the war, just like the one established by the Americans at Dachau.”

This may well raise eyebrows. It might be found

to be offensive by sections of the community, and if they take such offense, I can assure this Court that I regret it and that such was not my intention. The fact remains that these remarks were true, the Poles admitted it (in January 1995) and under English law truth has always been regarded as an absolute defense.

We shall hear, indeed from the Defense’s own expert witnesses, though perhaps the admission will have to be bludgeoned out of them, that the gas chamber shown to the tourists at Auschwitz was indeed built by the Polish Communists three years after the war was over.

I do not intend to go into the question of whether or not there were gas chambers at Birkenau, some five miles from Auschwitz, in these opening remarks. By the time this trial is over we shall probably all be heartily sick of the debate, which has little or no relevance to the issues that are pleaded.

So what are the issues that are pleaded and how do I propose to address those issues in opening this case?

First, let me emphasize that I also have no intentions, and neither is it the purpose of this trial, to “refight World War II.” I shall not argue, and have never argued, that the wrong side won the war, for example; or that the history of the war needs to be grossly rewritten. I must confess that I am mystified at the broad thrust which the Defendants have taken in the vast body of documentation which they have served upon this Court — another 5,000 pages were delivered to me on Friday evening, and more last night.

It is all something of an embarrassment to me, and I am being forced into positions that I have not previously adopted. I have never claimed to be a Holocaust historian. I have written no book about the Holocaust. I have written no article about it. If I have spoken about it, it is usually because I have been questioned about it. On such occasions, I have emphasized my lack of expertise, and I have expatiated only upon those areas with which I am familiar. In doing so, I have offended many of my friends, who wished that history was different. But you cannot wish documents away, and it is in documents that I have always specialized as a writer.

Your Lordship will find upon reviewing my various printed works that I have very seldom used other peoples’ books as sources. I have found it otiose and tedious, not only because they are ill-written, but also because in reading other peoples’ books you are liable to imbibe the errors and prejudices with which those books are beset.

If however, you go to the original documents, you will often find to your joy that the weight of documents you have to read is, pound for pound, or indeed ton for ton, less than the weight of books that

you might otherwise have to read upon the same subject. And you are kilometers closer to the original real history.

As for the nature of documents: I remember that in 1969 I visited Professor Hugh Trevor Roper, who is now Lord Dacre and I am glad to say still with us. He very kindly made available to me his collection of several thousand original intelligence documents for my biography of Adolf Hitler, but in doing so he advised me as follows: when considering new documents, you should ask yourself three questions: and if I remember correctly, those three criteria were,

1. Is the document genuine? (possibly, in the light of the "Hitler Diaries" scandal, an unfortunate pre-requisite in this case)
2. Is the document written by a person in a position to know what he is talking about? and
3. Why does this document exist?

The latter is quite interesting, as we have all experienced, in the archives, coming across documents obviously written for window-dressing or for buck passing purposes.

It is the documents in this case which I think the Court will find most interesting and illuminating. And by that I mean documents at every level. The Court will have to consider not only the documents originating in World War II on both sides, but also the documents that have been generated by that painful process known as Discovery.

It will not escape the Court, my Lord, when the time comes, that like many personalities, I have kept the most voluminous records throughout my career as a writer, and indeed even before it. Along with my writing career I kept a diary; sometimes I wondered why, but I think that the reason was basically this — if you are a writer, and self-employed, you need the discipline that a diary imposes upon you. You cannot in conscience enter in a diary at the end of the day: "I did nothing all day."

Your Lordship will be amused no doubt to hear that at one stage in the Discovery process in this action, at the request of Mr. Julius, I readily agreed to make available to the Defense my entire diaries, in so far as they still exist (a few pages are missing); and that Mr. Julius only then learned that these diaries occupy a shelf eight feet long; and that in them there are approximately there are probably 10 or 20 million words to be read.

Mr. Julius and his staff have, however, risen most nobly to the challenge that these pages presented, and I am sure that over the next few days and weeks we shall be hearing more than one morsel that they have dredged out of these pages. They will hold it aloft, still dripping with something or other, and read it to this Court with a squeal of delight, proclaiming this to be the Philosopher's Stone that they needed to justify their Client's libels

all along. We shall see.

But that is not what this trial is all about.

This trial is not really about what happened in the Holocaust, or how many Jews and other persecuted minorities were tortured and put to death. This Court will, I hope, agree with me when the time comes that the issue before us is not what happened, but how I treated it in my works of history: it may be that I was totally ignorant on some aspects of World War II (and I hasten to say that I do not believe I was). But to be accused of deliberate manipulation, and distorting, and mistranslating is perverse: the Defendants must show, in my humble submission,

1. that a particular thing happened or existed,
2. that I was aware of that particular thing, as it happened or existed, at the time I wrote about it, from the records then before me;
3. that I then wilfully manipulated the text or mis-translated or distorted for the purposes that they imply.

I will submit that in no instance can they prove this to be the case. They certainly have not done so in the documents so far pleaded.

I readily concede that what I have read of the reports submitted by the Defendants' experts, particularly those of the historians, is of the utmost interest. I have to congratulate Professor Jan van Pelt, for the literary quality of his lengthy report on Auschwitz, which will no doubt eventually see general circulation in the bookstores: indeed, I congratulated him three years ago already on the first book that he published on this topic.

I admit too that there are documents contained in the expertise of Professor Browning of which I was not aware, and which have changed my own perception of some aspects of the Nazi atrocities on the Eastern front: for example, I was not aware that the SS Obergruppenführer Reinhard Heydrich had issued instructions to his commanders in the Baltic States, after Operation Barbarossa began in June 1941, not only to turn a blind eye upon the anti-Jewish pogroms started by the local populations in those countries, but also actively to initiate them and to provide assistance.

This document, however, emerged only recently from the Russian archives and there can surely be no reproach against me for not having known that when I wrote my biography of Hitler, published in 1977, or in my later works. That cannot be branded as manipulation or distortion.

What is manipulation or distortion of history would be, in my submission this: knowing of the existence of a key document and then ignoring it or suppressing it entirely, without even a mention.

If, for example, it should turn out, and be proven in this very Courtroom, that in the spring of 1942

the Nazi leader Adolf Hitler was quoted by a senior Reich Minister, in writing, as repeatedly saying that he “wanted the final solution of the Jewish problem postponed until the war is over”; and if the document recording those remarkable words has been found in the German archives; it would surely be classifiable as manipulation or distortion if a historian were to attempt to write the history of the Holocaust without even mentioning the document’s existence? Would it not, my Lord?

The Defendants have, as said, arbitrarily and recklessly decided to label me a “Holocaust denier” — their motivation for doing so we shall shortly hear about. My Lord, before I continue to address this point in my opening statement, may I take this opportunity to read to the Court, and into the public records, a two-page document, which I shall refer to as the Walter Bruns interrogation. I do so because perceptions matter, and I want at this late afternoon hour to leave a firm perception in the minds of all those present. It is a document which first came into my hands some time before 1985.

I should say, my Lord, by way of introduction, that this document, which is in my Discovery, was originally a British Top-Secret document. Top Secret is only one rung lower than Ultra Secret, the classification given to the British decoded intercepts. It was Top Secret, because it is the record of an interrogation which was obtained by methods that were illegal, I understand, under the Conventions.

Enemy prisoners of war were brought into British prison camps, treated lavishly, well-fed, reassured by their relaxed surroundings, and gradually led into conversation, unaware that in every fitting and appliance in the room were hidden microphones capable of picking up. (That was the illegality: you are not allowed to do that under the [Geneva] Conventions.) Released to the British archives only a few years ago were all of these reports, but I had already obtained several hundred 15 or 20 years earlier. I consider these transcripts to be a historical source which, if properly used and if certain criteria are applied, can be regarded as part of the bedrock of real history.

I would say further by way of preamble, my Lord, that the speaker whose recorded voice we are about to hear, as reproduced in this typescript, was on November 30, 1941, the day of the episode he narrates, a Colonel in the German Army Engineers force (the sappers, or Pioniere); he was commanding a unit based at Riga, the capital of Latvia. He had learned to his vexation that it was intended by the local SS unit to round up all the local Jews, including “his Jews” in the next day or two and to liquidate them.

I read from the document itself. It is headed: “Top secret. CSDIC (UK)” which is Combined Services Detailed Interrogation Center UK. “GG Report. If the information contained in this report is required for distribution, it should be paraphrased so that no mention is made of the prisoners’ names, nor of the methods by which the information has been obtained” because, of course, it was illegal.”

“The following conversation took place between General-Major Bruns,” his full name was Walter Bruns. At this time he was at the Heeres-Waffenmeisterschule which was an army school, an armament school, in Berlin, “captured at Gottingen on April 8th 1945, and other Senior Officer Prisoners of War whose voices could not be identified.” In other words, it is a conversation between this General and various other prisoners overheard by hidden microphones on April 25th, 1945. “Information received: 25 April 1945,” in other words, the war is still running.

Translation: “Bruns: As soon as I heard those Jews were to be shot on Friday, I went to a 21-year-old boy and said that they had made themselves very useful in the area under my command, besides which the Army MT park had employed 1500 and the ‘Heeresgruppe’ 800 women to make underclothes of the stores we captured in Riga; besides which about 1200 women in the neighborhood of Riga were turning millions of captured sheepskins into articles we urgently required: ear protectors, fur caps, fur waistcoats, etc. Nothing had been proved, as of course the Russian campaign was known to have come to a victorious end in October 1941!” Sarcasm there. “In short, all those women were employed in a useful capacity. I tried to save them. I told that fellow Altenmeyer(?) whose name I shall always remember and who will be added to the list of war criminals: ‘Listen to me, they represent valuable manpower!’ ‘Do you call Jews valuable human beings, sir?’” That was the answer. “I said: ‘Listen to me properly, I said valuable manpower. I didn’t mention their value as human beings’. He said: ‘Well, they’re to be shot in accordance with the Führer’s orders!’ I said: ‘Führer’s orders?’ ‘Yes’, whereupon he showed me his orders. This happened at Skiotawa(?) eight kilometers from Riga, between Siaulai and Jelgava, where 5,000 Berlin Jews were suddenly taken off the train and shot. I didn’t see that myself, but what happened at Skiotawa(?) — to cut a long story short, I argued with the fellow and telephoned to the General at HQ, to Jakobs and Aberger(?) and to a Dr. Schultz who was attached to the Engineer General, on behalf of these people.” It is a bit incoherent the way that people talk when they are gossiping with each other. “I told him: ‘Granting that the Jews have committed a crime against the other peoples of the world, at least let

them do the drudgery; send them to throw earth on the roads to prevent our heavy lorries skidding'. 'Then I'd have to feed them!' I said: 'The little amount of food they receive, let's assume 2 million Jews — they got 125 grams of bread a day — we can't even manage that, the sooner we end the war the better'. Then I telephoned, thinking it would take some time. At any rate, on Sunday morning," that is November 30th 1941, "I heard that they had already started on it. The Ghetto was cleared. They were told: 'You're being transferred: take along your essential things.' Incidentally, it was a happy release for those people, as their life in the Ghetto was a martyrdom. I wouldn't believe it and drove there to have a look." The person he is talking to says: "Everyone abroad knew about it; only we Germans were kept in ignorance."

Bruns continues his narrative: "I'll tell you something: some of the details may have been correct, but it was remarkable that the firing squad detailed that morning — six men with tommy-guns posted at each pit; the pits were 24 meters in length and three meters in breadth — they had to lie down like sardines in a tin with their heads in the center', like that in the pit.

"Above them were six men with tommy-guns who gave them the *coup de grace*," who shot them. "When I arrived those pits were so full that the living had to lie down on top of the dead; then they were shot and, in order to save room, they had to lie down neatly in layers. Before this, however, they were stripped of everything at one of the stations — here at the edge of the wood were the three pits they used that Sunday and here they stood in a queue one and-a-half kilometers long which they approached step by step — a queuing up for death. As they drew nearer they saw what was going on. About here they had to hand over their jewellery and suitcases. All good stuff was put into the suitcases and the remainder was thrown on a heap. This was to serve as clothing for our suffering population — and then a little further on they had to undress and, 500 meters in front of the wood, strip completely; they were only permitted to keep on a chemise or knickers. They were all women and small two-year old children. Then all those cynical remarks! If only I had seen those tommy-gunners, who were relieved every hour because of over-exertion, carry out their task with distaste, but no, nasty remarks like: 'Here comes a Jewish beauty!' I can still see it all in my memory: a pretty woman in a flame-coloured chemise. Talk about keeping the race pure: at Riga they first slept with them and then shot them to prevent them from talking.

"Then I sent two officers out there, one of whom is still alive," in April 1945, "because I wanted eye-witnesses. I didn't tell them what was going on, but

said: 'Go out to the forest of Skiotawa(?), see what's up there and send me a report'. I added a memorandum to their report and took it to Jakobs myself. He said: 'I have already two complaints sent me by Engineer "Bataillone" from the Ukraine'. There they shot them on the brink of large crevices and let them fall down into them; they nearly had an epidemic of plague, at any rate a pestilential smell. They thought they could break off the edges with picks, thus burying them. That *loess* there" — that is a kind of ground — "was so hard that two Engineer 'Bataillone' were required to dynamite the edges; those 'Bataillone' complained. Jakobs" — he was the engineer general in charge of the pioneer corps — "had received that complaint. He said: 'We didn't quite know how to tell the Führer', Adolf Hitler. "We'd better do it through Canaris', the Chief of the German Intelligence. "So Canaris had the unsavoury task of waiting for the favourable moment to give the Führer certain gentle hints. A fortnight later I visited the Oberbürgermeister, or whatever he was called then, concerning some over business. Altenmeyer(?)" who was the SS man on the spot "triumphantly showed me: 'Here is an order just issued, prohibiting mass shootings on that scale from taking place in future. They are to be carried out more discreetly'. From warnings given me recently, I knew that I was receiving still more attentions from spies."

Then his interlocutor says to him: "It's a wonder you're still alive." Bruns says: "At Göttingen, I expected to be arrested every day."

My Lord, permit me a word about the credentials of that particular document. It is authentic. It comes from the British archives. A copy can be found in the Public Record Office this very day if anyone wishes to go and see it. First: is the General describing something he had really seen?

I mention this because later, on his sworn oath in the Witness stand in Nuremberg, he claimed only to have heard of this atrocity. Yet there can surely be no doubt of the verisimilitude: it does not take university level textual analysis to realize that if a General says, "I can see her in my mind's eye now, a girl in a flame-red dress," this is a man who has been there and seen it with his own eyes.

This document has in my submission considerable evidentiary value. It is not self-serving. The General is not testifying in his own interest. He is merely talking, probably in a muffled whisper, to fellow prisoners at a British interrogation center, and he has no idea that in another room British experts are listening to and recording every word. We also have the original German text of this document I might add, my Lord.

To what purpose do I mention this? Well, firstly

because I shall, later on in these proceedings, add further unknown documents, from the same superb British archives — that is, the Public Records Office — to the events of this one day, documents which show Hitler taking a most remarkable stand on this atrocity.

But I also adduce this document for the following reason:

- if an historian repeatedly refers to this document;
- if he quotes from it;
- if he immediately writes showing it to fellow historians, both Jews and non-Jews alike, and in writing draws their attention to the existence of this document, and its fellow documents, all of which were hitherto unknown to them;
- if moreover that historian reads out this document in public, with its awful, infernal descriptions of the mass killings of Jews by the Nazis on the eastern front, on multiple speaking occasions;
- if this historian, speaking to audiences even of the most extreme hues of left and right, heedless as to their anger, insists on reading out the document in full, thus “rubbing their noses in it” so to speak; and
- if he continues to do so over a period of 15 years, again and again, right up to the present date, and
- if he quotes that document in the text, and references that document in the footnotes of all his most recent works, beginning with the *Hitler’s War* biography republication in 1991, through *Goebbels: Mastermind of the Third Reich* in 1996 and *Nuremberg, the Last Battle* in 1997:

Then — is it not a libel of the most grotesque and offensive nature to brand that same historian around the world as a “Holocaust denier,” when he has not only discovered and found and propagated this document and brought it to the attention of both his colleagues and his rivals and his foes, regardless of their race or religion, and to countless audiences? [Irving cited and quoted from this document, for example, at the Eleventh IHR Conference, October 1992. See the March-April 1993 *Journal*, pp. 23-35, and the July-August 1995 *Journal*, p. 46.]

This is not an isolated example, my Lord. In the introduction to my biography of Adolf Hitler, *Hitler’s War*, which was published by The Viking Press in America and by Hodder & Stoughton in the United Kingdom and later by Macmillan, we shall find that I have drawn specific and repeated attention of the reader to the crimes that Adolf Hitler committed.

How did all this happen? I shall invite the Court to hear expert evidence on the relationship between the world’s Jewish communities and the rest of us, given by a professor of sociology at a leading Amer-

ican university who has published a number of book-length studies on the topic.

The Jewish community, their fame and fortunes, play a central role in these proceedings. It will not surprise the Court, I suppose, that among the allegations leveled against me by the Defendants and by their Experts is the adjective of “anti-Semitic.”

This adjective is both the most odious and the most overworked of epithets. Almost invariably, it is wielded by members or representatives of that community to denigrate those outside their community in whom they find disfavor.

It does not matter that the person whom they label as anti-Semitic has conducted himself towards that community in an irreproachable manner until then; it does not matter that he has shown them the same favors that he has shown to others; it does not seem to matter either that that same community who thus labels him or her, has conducted against him an international campaign of the most questionable character in an attempt to destroy his legitimacy, the economic existence upon which he and his family depends.

If he defends himself against these attacks, he is sooner or later bound to be described as anti-Semitic.

It has become a ritual. No doubt the English people, who in 1940 found it necessary to defend themselves against the Germans, would by the same token earn the title of anti-German. Is a person who defends himself, ultimately and wearily and after turning the other cheek for 20 or 30 years, *ipso facto* no better than the most incorrigible kind of ingrained anti-Semite with whom we are probably all familiar? I submit that he is not. [sic]

This Court will find that like most Englishmen, I have had dealings with both English and foreign Jews throughout my professional life.

There were to my knowledge no pupils of the Jewish faith at the minor Essex Public School that I (in common with our present Home Secretary) attended from 1947 to 1956; I was surprised when I recently heard the suggestion that there had been.

I encountered many Jewish students when I attended London University however — I would like to commemorate here the name of my flat mate at Imperial College, Mike Gorb, who died tragically in a mountaineering accident; I regarded as a good friend another senior student, Jon Bloc. True, there was one student, a Mr. Peter L., who began agitating against me for the views that I propounded while at University, views I can no longer remember; and I have to confess that I found his agitation perplexing and irritating because it all seemed rather petty and spiteful at the time.

As my own Witness Statement recalls, at the time of the Anglo-Israeli-French “police action” in

Suez in 1956, I joined student demonstrations on behalf of the Israelis, though for the life of me now I cannot remember why.

When my first book was published, *The Destruction of Dresden*, in 1963, I became uncomfortably aware that I had somehow offended the Jewish community. I did not at the time realize why and I do not fully realize why even today. Whatever the reason, their journalists were in the spearhead of the attack on me. As other books appeared, this polarization among the English critics became more pronounced. I remember the name of Arthur Pottersman, writing for a tabloid newspaper — the Daily Sketch — as being one of the few vicious critics, not of the Dresden book but of my person.

My publisher, Mr. William Kimber, to whom I have earlier referred, recommended to me the services of his lawyer, Mr. Michael Rubinstein, a name with which the older members of this Court may perhaps be familiar. Mr. Kimber said to me in his drawling, affable voice, "You will like Michael. He is Jewish, very Jewish, but a very Christian kind of a Jew — rather like Jesus Christ."

It is the kind of inexplicable sentence that one remembers even now nearly 40 years on down the road of life. I found Michael an enormously capable, energetic and likeable person — indeed very English, his advice always sound, and he stood by me as my Legal Adviser for the next two decades. He had a rhinoceros hide, as I remarked once in my diary — a remark seized upon by the Defendants as evidence of my anti-Semitism!

I also formed a long-term friendship, which exists to this day, with well-known writers like the American David Kahn, an expert on code breaking. Being an author dealing with American and British publishers I frequently came into contact with the Jewish members of the publishing profession.

The editor of *Hitler's War* for the Viking Press Inc. was Stan Hochman, who became, as the correspondence and for all I know also the diaries show, a good friend; Peter Israel, who purchased *Uprising!*, my book on the 1956 Hungarian uprising, was editorial director at Putnam's. And so on.

The Discovery documents show that there was also some kind of relationship between myself and our own George Weidenfeld which was the usual kind of love/hate relationship between authors and publishers. George published several of my books, include my biographies of top Nazis like Field Marshal Erhard Milch and Field Marshal Erwin Rommel, and I do not believe that he made a loss on those operations; behind my back, however, I learned that he made unhelpful remarks about me and I had occasion to write him one or two terse letters about that. But I believe that we are still friends, and my relations with the present Manag-

ing Director of Weidenfeld & Nicholson are of the very best.

Those however are all individuals.

Even as I speak of Weidenfeld, it reminds me that during the 1960s and 1970s I became vaguely aware of forces gathering to oppose me. George had originally bought the rights to publish my biography of Adolf Hitler. At some stage Weidenfeld's repudiated the contract. Publishers can always find an excuse to do so if they want, and I was not unhappy as it gave me the chance to offer it to an equally prestigious Publishing House, Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton, for an even larger fee.

At the Frankfurt book fair on October 13, 1973 — my diary entry relates the whole of this — George Weidenfeld sat next to me at dinner and lamented, after a few cocktails, his mistake in "tearing up" the contract for *Hitler's War*; when I asked him why he had done so, he explained, shifting uneasily, "I had to do so. I came under pressure from three Embassies. One of them was a NATO power," which I took to be Germany, "one of them was France and the other was Israel."

It is right that I should state here, and the correspondence shows, that he later denied having said this, but I took a very detailed diary note that same night, which is in my Discovery, the bundle of which (it is marked "Global") we shall look at briefly over the next few days, if your Lordship pleases.

So it became gradually evident — and I have to emphasize that I cannot pin down any particular year in which I finally realized that I was being victimized by this hidden campaign — that I was the target of a hidden international attempt to exclude me, if it could be done, from publishing further works of history.

It did not affect my attitude towards the Jews in the way that perhaps people might have expected it to. I did not go on the stump, up and down the land, vituperating against them.

I merely made a mental note that I had to be on the look-out for trouble. Such trouble had already begun in November 1963 when a three-man squad of burglars, evidently at the commission of the English body to which I earlier made reference, was caught red-handed by the police, whom I had alerted, as they raided my North London apartment, disguised as telephone engineers and equipped with stolen GPO passes.

The leader of that gang, whose name I shall not mention as he is not represented in this Court, told the police that he had hoped to find my secret correspondence with Hitler's henchman, Mr. Martin Bormann! (Perhaps I ought to add that there is no secret correspondence with Bormann.)

I mention this episode for a reason. This gentleman subsequently became editor of a left-wing

“anti-fascist” magazine called *Searchlight*, and he has made it his lifelong task over the intervening 30 years to take his malicious revenge upon me for the criminal conviction which he earned as a result of his felony.

His magazine repeatedly inveighed against me, reporting sometimes true, often part-true but usually totally fictitious rumors about my activities and alleged “Nazi” connections around the world, in an attempt to blacken my name.

I will not say that the rumors are all untrue. They never are. Mr. Winston Churchill once famously said, “The world is full of the most dreadful stories and rumors about me, and the damnable thing about them is that most of them are true!” At least, so rumor has it.

But the untrue ones about me are the ones that have a habit of surfacing again and again, with their original polish undimmed. I mention this case, as the defendants here seek to rely heavily on the outpouring of this troubled soul, the editor of *Searchlight*.

This Court might wonder why I took no action against this journal, or indeed against any of those parties who had defamed me over the years. One of the things that Michael Rubinstein, like Mr. Kimber my publisher, dinned into me very early on was to avoid at all costs taking libel action.

My Lord, I am sure I don’t need to labor the reasons why, in this opening statement. Suffice it to say that I had already realized by 1970, at the time of the *Convoy PQ.17* libel action — that is, *Broome vs. Cassell* — that libel actions are time-consuming, costly, and vexatious, and are indeed in the words of the cliché “to be avoided like the plague.”

Besides, this particular magazine had no assets, so any kind of litigation would have been pointless. I might add that only once in recent years have I been forced to take action in this jurisdiction under the Defamation Act, against a major national newspaper four or five years ago, which resulted in an immediate settlement out of Court which I can only describe as most satisfactory; the terms of this settlement are covered by the usual Court Order — though I fancy they are known to the Defendants here, who asked for, and were given, full disclosure of the relevant papers.

It will become evident to this Court from the evidence that I lead over the next few days the international community started to intensify its campaign to destroy me and to truncate my career as an author either before or at about the same time as The Viking Press and other publishers published my well-known biography of Adolf Hitler, *Hitler’s War*, in 1977.

The Court will be shown one internal document, dated April 1977, which I have identified as emanat-

ing from the Washington files of the so-called Anti-Defamation League, a part of the B’nai Brith, in the United States, which reveals quite unabashedly how they tried to pressure television producers to cancel invitations to me to discuss the *Hitler’s War* book on their programs. It failed, the program in question went ahead, and the ADL noted, aghast, in a secret memorandum, that I was well versed in the matters of history, a formidable opponent who could not however be called anti-Semitic.

I would have to be destroyed by other means.

This is a document in my Discovery. By various entirely legal means I obtained several such disturbing documents from within their files.

From them, and in particular from their details registered under the Data Protection Act in this country, it appears that these bodies, which are also embedded in our society in Britain and elsewhere, have seen their task, unbidden, as being to spy upon members of our society, maintain dossiers on us all, and to deploy those dossiers when necessary to smite those of us of whom they disapprove.

As the Court will see, the dossiers are explicitly designed to hold such material on the subjects’ personal lives, criminal records, credit delinquencies, marital difficulties, dietary habits, and even sexual proclivities. That is what we know from their details of registration.

It is not anti-Semitic to reveal this. The spying and smearing by these bodies goes on against fellow Jew and non-Jew alike. The Jewish writer Noam Chomsky relates that he found quite by chance that they were “monitoring” — for that is the word they use — him too.

Several of our own most notable personalities have already commented on this unsavory element of British life: in an article in a U.K. magazine the writer Mr. Auberon Waugh remarked upon how he too inadvertently found that such a file was being kept on him.

May I add that these “dossiers” provided by this London body to the Canadians, to the Anti-Defamation League, and to various similar bodies in Australia, South Africa and elsewhere, have been drawn upon heavily and without question by the Defendants in this action, which is my justification, I submit, for drawing your Lordship’s attention to this disturbing and sleazy background.

When I attempted to take the libel action against the London-based body that I have mentioned, its director, Mr. Michael Whine, admitted in an Affidavit that his body had taken it upon itself to “monitor” my activities — there was that word again — as he called them for many years: he also freely admitted that when secretly called upon by his Canadian associates in 1992 to provide them with a smear dossier for the purposes of destroying

my presence in Canada, by planting it in government files in Ottawa, he willingly agreed to do so.

This is how that file turned up in Canadian government resources; which in turn is how it came into my hands, years later, through lengthy "Access to Information Act" procedures. Otherwise I would never have known why I found myself being taken in handcuffs aboard an Air Canada flight in 1992, after 30 years as an honored visitor to that country, and deported, an event to which the Defendants make gleeful reference in their book *Denying the Holocaust*.

I may be rather naive, but this kind of thing offends me as an Englishman, as no doubt the idea will offend many of those present in Court 37 today. The notion that a non-governmental body, equipped evidently with limitless financial resources, can take it upon itself to spy upon law-abiding members of the community for the purpose of destroying them is one that I find discomfiting.

I have never done it to my fellow human beings, and I can think only of the wartime Gestapo and its offshoots in Nazi-occupied Europe as a body engaged in similar practices. It is offensive and ugly comparison, I warrant, and one that I have never made before; but in a legal battle of this magnitude, I consider it necessary to use ammunition of the proper caliber.

I now come to the matter of the glass microfiche plates containing the diaries of the Nazi propaganda Minister, Dr. Joseph Goebbels. Your Lordship will have seen from the Statement of Claim that the Defendants accuse me of having improperly obtained these glass plates from the Moscow archives, or damaged them.

May I set out some of the antecedents of this matter? Your Lordship will perhaps remember the widespread newspaper sensation that was caused by the revelation at the beginning of July 1992 that I had succeeded in retrieving from the former KGB archives in Moscow the long lost diaries of Dr. Joseph Goebbels, a close confidant of Hitler and his propaganda minister and successor as Reich Chancellor.

I may say here that scholars have been searching for a number of diaries ever since the end of World War II: I would mention here only the example of the diaries of Hitler's Intelligence Chief, Vice-Admiral Wilhelm Canaris, in the search for which I was concerned in the 1960s and 1970s. (The diaries offered to myself and Messrs. William Collins, Ltd. on that occasion turned out to be fake, which I established by use of the appropriate forensic laboratory in the city of London, Messrs. Hehner & Cox.)

Forensic tests are to play quite a large part in these current proceedings too.

In writing my own biographies of the leading

Nazis I have attached importance to primary sources, like the original diaries which they wrote at the time. When I have found these documents, as many scholars know, I have invariably and without delay donated them or copies of them either to the German Federal Archives in Koblenz or to the Institut für Zeitgeschichte [Institute for Contemporary History] in Munich; and, in the case of the Goebbels diaries, after I retrieved them, I additionally gave a set of copies to the archives of München-Gladbach, his home town, where they maintain a collection of Goebbels documents.

In fact the only items which I consider to be of greater source value than diaries, which are always susceptible to faking or tampering, are private letters; in my experience, once a private letter has been posted by its writer, it is virtually impossible for him to retrieve it and to alter its content.

If I may take the liberty of enlightening the Court at this point by way of an example, I would say that I had earlier also found several diaries of Field Marshal Rommel; some I retrieved in shorthand from the American archives, and had them transcribed. Those in typescript turned out to have been altered some months after one crucial battle ("Crusader") to eradicate a tactical error which the Field Marshal considered he had made in the western desert; but the hundreds of letters he wrote to his wife were clearly above any such suspicion.

On a somewhat earthier plane, while the diaries of the Chief of the SS, Heinrich Himmler, which have in part been retrieved recently from the same archives in Moscow, yield little information by themselves, I have managed to locate in private hands in Chicago the 200 letters which this murderous Nazi wrote to his mistress, and these contain material of much larger historical importance.

Until my career was sabotaged therefore I had earned the reputation of being a person who was always digging up new historical evidence; that was until the countries and the archives of the world were prevailed upon, as we shall see, to close their doors to me!

After I procured the 600 pages of manuscripts of Adolf Eichmann in Argentina in October 1991, the German Federal Archives grudgingly referred to me in a press release as a *Truffle-Schwein*, which I hope is more flattering than it sounds.

We are concerned here, however, primarily with the diaries of Dr. Joseph Goebbels of which the Defendants made mention in their book. This is the inside story on those.

I had begun the search for these diaries about 30 years earlier. In my *Discovery* are papers relating to the first search that I conducted for the very last diaries which Dr. Goebbels dictated, in April 1945 — right at the end of his life; since there was no time

bound shorthand pads buried in a glass conserving jar in a forest somewhere along the road between Hamburg and Berlin.

Chance provided me in about 1969 with the “treasure map” revealing the burial place of this glass jar, and with the permission of the Communist East German government I and a team of Oxford University experts, equipped with a kind of ground penetrating radar (a proton magnetometer in fact) mounted a determined attempt to unearth it in the forest.

We never found that particular truffle. Unfortunately, the topography of such a forest changes considerably in 20 years or more, and despite our best efforts, aided by the East German Ministry of the Interior and a biologist whose task would be to assess the age of the fungi and other biological materials found in and around the jar, we came away empty-handed. This is nothing new. Field work often brings disappointments like that.

Twenty-five years later, I had the conversation which was to lead the retrieval of the Goebbels diaries in Moscow, and indirectly to our presence here in these Courts today.

In May 1992, I invited a long-time friend, a leading historian at the Institut für Zeitgeschichte [Institute for Contemporary History], to have lunch with me at a restaurant in Munich. We had been good friends since 1964, and she is still in the Institute’s employ today. As my diaries show, this friend and colleague, Dr. Elke Fröhlich, had dropped several hints during the previous twelve months that she had traced the whereabouts of the missing Goebbels diaries.

We all knew, those of us who had engaged in research in Hitler, Goebbels, and the Third Reich, that Dr. Goebbels had placed these diaries on microfiches — photographic glass plates — in the closing months of the War, to ensure that they were preserved for posterity. But they had vanished since then. His Private Secretary, Dr. Richard Otte, whom I had questioned over 20 years earlier in connection with our search in the forest in East Germany, had told us about these glass plates. I should mention that he was one of the small burial party who had hidden the jar, but he was unable to accompany us, as at that time he was still in West German government employment. We could only presume that the glass plate microfiches were either destroyed in the last weeks of the war, or that they had been seized by the Red Army.

During this lunchtime conversation in Munich in May 1992, Dr. Elke Fröhlich revealed to me that the latter supposition was correct. She had seen them herself a few weeks previously — had held them in her hands! — on a visit to the archives in Moscow.

My recollection of the conversation at this point is, that she continued by saying that the Institute’s directors were unwilling to fund a further expedition to procure these diaries.

Now that I have seen some of the documentation provided to the defendants in this action by the Russians and by the Institute, it is possible that my recollection on this point is wrong, namely, that the Institute were not willing to pay for it.

My recollection of the following is however secure: Dr. Fröhlich informed me that the director of the Russian “trophy” archives, as they were known, Dr. Bondarev, was in a serious predicament, as he was faced with the economic consequences of the collapse of the Soviet empire; he no longer had the means necessary for the upkeep of the archives and the payment of his staff.

The plates, in my view, were seriously at risk. Dr. Fröhlich indicated that if I were to take a sufficient sum of foreign currency to Moscow, I could purchase the glass plates from Dr. Bondarev. It was clear from her remarks that Dr. Bondarev had already discussed this prospect with her.

Dr. Fröhlich added that the glass plates were in a fragile condition and needed to be rescued before they came to serious harm. I recall that she said “If you are going to this deal with the Russians, you will have to take a lot of silk paper with you from England, to place between the glass plates. The plates are just packed into boxes — with nothing between them.”

I asked how much money we were talking about, and either she or I suggested a figure of 20,000 US dollars. I immediately contacted my American publishers in New York, who seemed the most immediate source of money; I informed them of this likely windfall, and asked if we could increase the cash advance on my *Goebbels* manuscript accordingly.

My manuscript of the Goebbels biography was at that time complete, and undergoing editing by myself. It was already ready for delivery to the publishers.

The American publishers responded enthusiastically at first, and upon my return from Munich to London I began negotiations through intermediaries with the Russian archivist Dr. Bondarev. (Dr. Bondarev will not, unfortunately, be called by either party in this action; he seems to have vanished, and is certainly no longer employed by the “trophy” archives.)

The first intermediary I used was a Russian-language specialist employed by Warburg’s Bank in Moscow; he undertook the preliminary negotiations with Dr. Bondarev. I instructed him to tell Bondarev as openly as was prudent of my intention to come and look at the glass plates, and also to make it quite plain that we were coming with a substantial

sum of hard currency. Many American institutions were currently engaged in the same practice, as I knew from the newspapers.

At about this time it became plain that the German government was also keen to get its hands on these glass plates. Naturally I desired to beat them to it: first, because of professional pride, and the desire to have a historical scoop; and secondly, years of working with the German government archives had proven both to me and many scholars that as soon as high-grade documents like these dropped into their hands they vanish for many years while they were assessed and catalogued and indexed; and sometimes they were even squirreled away for later exploitation by the chief archivists themselves (the "Hossbach Papers" were one case in point).

These vital Nazi diaries would therefore vanish from the public gaze possibly for five or ten years; my fears in this respect had been amply confirmed by events, because many of those glass plates which I saw in Moscow in 1992 have since vanished into the maw of the German government and the Munich Institut für Zeitgeschichte and they are still not available even now.

I considered therefore that I should be rendering to the historical community the best service by doing the utmost that I could to extract those glass plates, or failing that copies of them, or failing that copies of the maximum number of pages possible, by hook or by crook, from the KGB archives before a wind of change might suddenly result in the resealing of all these former Soviet archives (and once again this apprehension has been largely confirmed by the attitude of the Russian archive authorities, who have resealed numbers of these files and made them once again inaccessible to Western historians).

The second intermediary upon whom I relied was the former KGB Officer, Lev Bezymenski. I have known Mr. Bezymenski for about 35 years, and over these years we have engaged in a fruitful exercise of exchanging documents: I would hasten to add that the documents which I furnished to Mr. Bezymenski were entirely of a public-domain nature: Mr. Bezymenski in return extracted from Soviet archives for me vital collections of documents, for example, their diplomatic files on Sir Winston Churchill, and the private papers of the commander-in-chief of the German Army, Colonel-General Werner von Fritsch. From the Russian archives I obtained, via Mr. Bezymenski, Fritsch's personal writings during and about the "Blomberg-Fritsch scandal" of 1938, which had historic consequences for Germany, for Hitler and ultimately for the world. I immediately donated a complete set of those Fritsch papers to the German government archives, where they can still be seen.

Dr. Bezymenski proved unfortunately to be something of a "double agent." Fearing that Dr. Bondarev was not properly getting my message, I asked Mr. Bezymenski to approach him, and to inform him that there were certain documents he held in which I was interested, and that I was coming as a representative of the *Sunday Times*, well armed with foreign currency. Mr. Bezymenski inquired what those documents were; I refused to tell him, and he replied, "You are referring to the Goebbels diaries I presume."

This I affirmed. Ten minutes after this telephone conversation from me in London to Mr. Bezymenski in Moscow, I received a telephone call from Dr. Fröhlich in Munich, complaining very bitterly that I had revealed our intentions to Mr. Bezymenski. Instead of acting as I had requested, my friend had immediately sent a fax to the Institut für Zeitgeschichte to alert them to what I was "up to." This set the cat among the pigeons, and the Institut für Zeitgeschichte left no stone unturned to prevent the Russians from providing me with the diaries or other materials, for reasons which this Court can readily surmise.

I had in the meantime approached the *Sunday Times* after my American publishers got cold feet, and I had succeeded in persuading Mr. Andrew Neil that I could obtain The Goebbels Diaries from the Moscow archives, and that I was by chance one of the very few people capable of reading that handwriting.

Two years previously, in 1990, my Italian publisher, Mondadori, had commissioned me to transcribe the hand-written 1938 diary volume of Dr. Goebbels, a copy of which they had purchased from a Russian source. I was thus acquainted with the difficult handwriting of the Nazi propaganda minister. At that time there were probably only three or four people in the world who were capable of deciphering it.

The negotiations with Andrew Neil proceeded smoothly. He did express at one stage nervousness at the prospect of entering into another "Nazi diaries" deal — his newspaper group having been made to look foolish for its purchase and publication in 1983 of the forged "Hitler Diaries." I pointed out that I had warned them in writing months ahead, in 1982, that the diaries were fakes. I added "I am offering the *Sunday Times* the chance to rehabilitate itself!"

Armed with the prestige and the superior financial resources of the *Sunday Times* I went to Moscow in June 1992, and negotiated directly with Dr. Bondarev and his superior, Professor Tarasov, who was at that time the overall head of the Russian Federation Archival System.

Dr. Bondarev expressed willingness to assist us,

although there could no longer be any talk of the clandestine purchase of the plates which we had originally hoped for, since Mr. Bezymenski had let the cat out of the bag. I say "clandestine," but I understand that the same archives sold off many other collections of papers, for example to the Hoover Institution in California, and to US publishing giants, and to my colleague the late John Costello. But my own little deal was not to be.

Professor Tarasov is one of the witnesses in this case, my Lord, and your Lordship will be able to study the documents exhibited by him to his Witness Statement; I confess that I fail to see the relevance of very many of them, but no doubt we shall see that difficulty removed by Mr. Rampton in due course.

The Moscow negotiations were not easy. We negotiated with Professor Tarasov for access to the glass plates. The negotiations were conducted in my presence by Mr. Peter Millar, a freelance journalist working for the *Sunday Times*, who spoke Russian with a commendable fluency. He will also be giving evidence in this action. With my limited "O"-level Russian, I was able to follow the gist in conversation and also to intervene, speaking German, after it emerged that Professor Tarasov had studied and taught for many years at the famous Humboldt University in Communist East Berlin.

By now both Dr. Bondarev and Tarasov were aware, if they had not been aware previously, that these Goebbels diaries were of commercial and historical value. The negotiations took longer than I had expected.

I produced to Professor Tarasov copies of the Soviet edition of my books, which had been published years earlier, and I donated to him, as well as later to the Archives staff, copies of my own edition of the biography *Hitler's War*.

This established my credentials to their satisfaction, and Tarasov gave instructions that we were to be given access to the entire collection of the 'Dr. Goebbels's diaries.'

It was quite evident to me, when I finally saw the glass plates, that the diaries had been hardly examined at all. It seemed to me, for example, from the splinters of glass still trapped between the photographic plates, that there had been little movement in the plates for nearly 50 years; the boxes were the original boxes, the brown paper around them in some parts was still the original brown paper. The plates were in total disarray and no attempt had been made to sort them. I have seen no work of history, Soviet or otherwise, that has quoted from them before I got them.

My excitement as an historian, getting my hands on original material like this, can readily be imagined.

There is now a dispute as to the nature of the Russian permission — and this alleged agreement is one of the issues pleaded by the Defendants in this action.

It is difficult for me to reconstruct seven years later precisely whether there was any verbal agreement exceeding a nod and a wink, or what the terms were, or how rigid an agreement may have been reached. There is no reference to such an agreement in my contemporary diaries. Certainly the Russians committed nothing to paper about such an agreement. Professor Tarasov's word was law, and he had just picked up the phone in our presence and spoken that word to Bondarev.

My own recollection at the time was that the arrangement was of a very free-wheeling nature, with the Russians being very happy, and indeed proud, to help us in the spirit reigning at that time of *glasnost* and *perestroika*, and extreme co-operativeness between West and East; they were keen to give us access to these plates, which they had hitherto regarded as not being of much value. Tarasov did mention that the German government were also interested in these plates, and that they were coming shortly to conduct negotiations about them.

I remember clearly, and I think that this is also shown in the diary which I wrote on that day, that Tarasov hesitated as to whether he should allow us access without first consulting the German authorities; I rather mischievously reminded Dr. Tarasov of which side had won the war, and expressed astonishment that the Russians were now intending to ask their defeated enemy for permission to show to a third party records which were in their own archives, and this unsubtle argument appears to have swayed him to grant us complete access without further misgivings.

There was no signed agreement, either between the Russian authorities and us, or at that time between the Russians and the German Authorities.

I would add here that I was never shown any agreement between the Russians and the German authorities, nor was I told any details of it; nor of course could it have been in any way binding upon me.

We returned to the archives the following morning, Mr. Millar and I, to begin exploiting the diaries.

Millar went off on his own devices. I had brought a German assistant with me to act as a scribe.

Her diary is also in my Discovery, and I admit I have not yet found time to read it (I have an odd aversion to reading other people's diaries). I must admit that I was rather perplexed by the chaotic conditions that I found there — in the Russian archives. There was no technical means whatever of reading the diaries, which the Nazis had reduced to the size of a small postage stamp on the glass plates.

Fortunately, Dr. Fröhlich had alerted me about this possibility, and I had bought at Selfridges [department store] a 12X magnifier, a little thing about the size of a nail clipper, with which by peering very hard I could decipher the handwriting. It was even more alarming to someone accustomed to working in Western archives — with their very strict conditions on how to handle documents, and cleanliness and security — to see the way that the shelves and tables and chairs were littered with bundles of papers; at one stage the Archivist brought in bottles of red wine and loaves of bread and cheese which were scattered among the priceless papers on the tables for us to celebrate the end of the week. That would have been unthinkable in any Western archive building.

My German assistant had worked with me in the US National Archives previously. We spent the first day cataloguing and sifting through all the boxes of glass plates and identifying which plates were which — earmarking, figuratively speaking, the glass plates which were on my shopping list to be read and copied.

Very rapidly, we began coming across glass plates of the most immense historical significance, sections of the diaries which I knew had never been seen by anybody else before. I was particularly interested in the Night of Broken Glass, November 1938, and the Night of Long Knives, June 1934. I also found the glass plates containing the missing months leading up to and including the outbreak of World War II in 1939, diaries whose historical significance need not be emphasized here.

Given the chaotic conditions in the Archives, I took the decision to borrow one of the plates overnight and bring it back the next day, so that we could photograph its contents. I shall argue about the propriety of this action at a later stage. I removed the plate, its contents were printed that night by a photographer hired by the *Sunday Times*, whose name was Sasha, and the glass plate was restored to its box the next morning, without loss or damage.

The *Sunday Times* editor Andrew Neil was coincidentally in Moscow at this time, and I showed him one of the glass plates at his hotel, the Metropol. He stated, “We really need something spectacular to follow the Andrew Morton book on Princess Diana, and this is it!”

The next day Dr. Bondarev formally authorized the borrowing of two more such plates anyway, so it was clear to me that nobody would have been offended by my earlier action.

I returned to London and over the next few days a contract was formalized between myself and the *Sunday Times* under which the newspaper was to pay me £75,000 net for procuring the diaries, tran-

scribing them and writing three chapters based on the principle extracts from the diaries. The contract with the *Sunday Times* contained the usual secrecy clauses — nobody was to learn of the nature of the contract, or its contents, or the price, or of the existence of the diary.

For reasons beyond my knowledge the *Sunday Times*, when it came under extreme pressure from international and British Jewish organizations, subsequently put it about that I had only been hired to transcribe the diaries — with the implication that they had obtained them on their own initiative. I was not, however, just a hired help: this was my project which I took to them and which they purchased, as the documents before this Court make quite plain.

It may be felt that £75,000 would have been a substantial reward for two weeks’ work; but my response would be that it was for “30 years plus two weeks’ work” — we are paid for our professional skills and expertise and experience and reputation. For our track-record, in short.

I returned to London, with arrangements to revisit Moscow in two or three weeks’ time.

The Court will find that I have stipulated, in what I believe is known in legal terms as an Admission, that I carried with me two of the glass plates from the Moscow archives to the *Sunday Times* in London, informally borrowing them in the same manner as previously, namely those vital records recording the 1934 Nazi “Night of Long Knives.”

The reasons for doing so I have already hinted at earlier — the fear that they would either vanish into the maw of German government, or be resealed by the former Soviet archives, or be sold off to some nameless American trophy-hunter, and thus never see the light of day again.

I took these two borrowed plates straight to Munich, to the Institute, where I knew that they had a microfiche printer and reading machine; together with the Institute’s Dr. Zirngiebel, who was their expert in the archives, we inserted the appropriate lenses in the microfiche printer for a microfiche of this magnification, and I printed out two copies of each of the 100 or so documents on those two microfiches.

There was no secrecy about this. I at once sent two of these pages upstairs to the experts in the Institute itself, and two more to the German Federal Archives, with the written request that they formally identify these pages as being in the handwriting of Dr. Joseph Goebbels. This was a necessary part of agreement with the *Sunday Times*, who were being no less cautious than I.

The other principal reason that I had borrowed these two glass plates temporarily from the Russian archives was in order to put them to London foren-

archives was in order to put them to London forensic experts for the purposes of authentication; in the same manner that others had tested the "Adolf Hitler diaries" and I the Canaris diaries, the *Sunday Times* quite properly wished to have final proof that the glass plates were indeed of wartime manufacture: namely, that the glass was of wartime origin, and that the photographic emulsion was of wartime chemicals.

The Court may marvel at these precautions that we as, as non-scholars, took; but it seemed perfectly natural to me and to the officials of the *Sunday Times*. After all, not only were large sums of money involved but also the reputations of myself and a major international newspaper group. We wished to be absolutely certain.

On my return from Moscow and Munich to London, in June 1992 therefore the two glass plates were sent their separate ways, heavily wrapped and protected; one to an Agfa photographic laboratory which tested the age of the emulsion, in a non-destructive manner, and the other to the Pilkington Glassworks, whose laboratory specialists carried out similar tests on the age of the glass. Their reports are part of my Discovery, and these confirm that the tests were appropriate under the circumstances.

My Lord, if I may just anticipate by a few paragraphs what happened to those two glass plates: I returned to Moscow at the end of June, the glass plates were brought out to Moscow personally by a courier of the *Sunday Times* as soon as the tests on them were complete, and handed to me, standing outside the archives building, as my diary records; and within three minutes I had taken them back into the Archives building and replaced them in the box where they had been for the last 47 years.

What follows is not strictly relevant to the glass plates, but it is relevant to this case and it is best inserted here because of its chronology. When I returned to London with the remaining diaries which the *Sunday Times* had requested, an awkward situation had developed. Our secrecy had been compromised by an astute reporter of *The Independent*, a Mr. Peter Pringle, who was based in Moscow at the time that I was using the archives. He too has submitted a witness statement, for the Defendants. He stalked me into the archives, confronted me and learned from Dr. Bondarev of my work on the Goebels diaries.

The resulting scoop in the *The Independent* set the press world about its ears, and before I returned to London on July 4, 1992, the entire Fleet Street press and the broadcast media fell over themselves to print stories about the diaries and my own participation. In order to blacken the name of the *Sunday Times* and its unpopular editor, I was described with

every possible epithet.

It is of relevance to this action, in my submission, because the same organizations which had gone to great lengths to furnish the Defendants with the material they needed to blacken my name in the book, *Denying the Holocaust*, now applied heavy pressure to Andrew Neil and to Times Newspapers, Ltd., to violate their contract with me, and to pay me nothing of the monies which were due to me under the contract.

Under this pressure, which Mr. Neil described to me at the time as the worst that he had ever experienced in his life, the *Sunday Times* (having in fact paid me the first installment), welshed on the rest of the payments. I was forced to sue them in these courts for breach of contract. The financial consequences of this violation of the contract, in round terms about £65,000, were serious for me.

When I reviewed all the press clippings, and read all the statements made by these various bodies, boards, campaigns, agencies, and organizations attacking my name both during my absence in Moscow and upon my return, I could only say, sadly, from a lengthening experience: "The gang's all here."

The same gang, whom I loosely describe as the traditional enemies of free speech, were to be seen on the following days behind the metal police barricades thrown up outside my apartment, screaming abuse at myself and other leaseholders in our building, spitting, harassing passers by, and holding up offensive placards and slogans including one reading, in the most execrable taste, "Gas Irving" — it can be seen in the newspaper photos. From the photographs of this demonstration, it appears that representatives of every ethnic and other minority were present in these. It was the most disagreeable experience.

On my second visit to Moscow, as your Lordship will find from the relevant passages of my diary, I found a frostier atmosphere. The boxes with which I had so readily been provided on my previous trip, were said to be "missing" and not found. For three or four days I was unable to do anything, and then one box was released to me, which I devoured rapidly.

On the last day but one it became plain that I had jealous and envious rivals in Munich to thank for the difficulties that the Russians were now making. Dr. Bondarev's secretary came into the reading room and said that there were allegations that I had "stolen" the glass plates. I assured her that while I had borrowed some, every glass plate which had been in my custody was at that moment back in the Archives and that nothing was missing — which was true. I also voluntarily wrote a Statement, which was handed to Dr. Bondarev.

Your Lordship will find that this document in

both Russian and English, in my handwriting, is in the Discovery both of myself and of the Defendants, as an exhibit to the report by Professor Tarasov. Professor Tarasov is to be giving evidence before your Lordship, and I shall examine him with particular pleasure.

Dr. Bondarev's secretary came back a few minutes later, and said that this was just what they required. She now vouchsafed to me the information: "The information came from Munich."

Your Lordship will see from the "information" which came from Munich, which is in the Defendants' Discovery, that the Institut für Zeitgeschichte had faxed to Moscow a particularly hateful letter about me in an attempt to destroy my relationship with the Russians.

However I already had all the documents that had been on my shopping list. Either in longhand, or by dictating them on to a hand-held tape recorder, or typed onto my portable typewriter, or as photocopies of a few pages of November 1938, or as photographic prints obtained from the glass microfiches, I had collected several hundred pages of the most important Goebbels diary entries that had been missing ever since the end of the war, and I see no reason not to be proud of this achievement.

It is indicative of the general attempt to blacken my name, and to silence me, that when I spoke to a meeting organized by my private "supporters' club," the Clarendon Club, on the evening of July 4, 1992 — my return from Moscow — the hall in Great Portland Street was subject to violent demonstrations outside which required a very large police presence to protect the members of my audience. This will be one of the photographs in the bundle that I shall shortly be submitting to your Lordship.

Later on that year when I addressed a further meeting in a West End Hotel, there even more violent demonstrations.

Such demonstrations do not occur spontaneously. Somebody has to pay for the printing and the bill posting and the bus rentals. I might mention that on one of the days that followed I was violently attacked by three men who identified themselves to me as Jews when I was having a Sunday lunch at a public restaurant in Mayfair with my family. They had laid an ambush for me.

I only recently learned that on the Monday morning after my return from Moscow, July 6 [1992], my long-time publishers, Macmillan, Ltd., seeing the clamor and coming under pressure from unnamed members of the Jewish community, panicked and issued secret instructions for the destruction of all remaining stocks of my books, without ever informing me that they had done so.

This particularly repulsive act by a publisher, reminiscent of the Nazis in 1933, cost me of course

many tens of thousand of pounds in lost royalties. At the same time as they were taking these secret decisions to destroy all my books, at the cost to themselves of hundreds of thousands of pounds, my editor at Macmillan continued to write me ingratiating letters expressing interest in the early delivery of my *Goebbels* biography.

It was altogether a most unhappy period.

My Lord, I am coming toward the end as you can see. I can add one further brief example of how different is my attitude to such documents as the Goebbels diaries from the attitude of my rivals and the scholars.

Dr. Ralf Günther Reuth approached me, saying that he was preparing a five-volume abridged edition of the other Goebbels diaries for Piper Verlag in Germany and had nothing for 1938. There were large gaps in the other years too. I foolishly allowed him to have photocopies of some of the most important passages which until that moment had been exclusive to myself and my as-yet-unpublished Goebbels biography. The thanks that I received for this generous act were scant indeed.

I provided copies to the German Federal Archives of the entire Goebbels diary extracts that I had brought back from Moscow on July 1, 1993. Ten minutes later the director of the Archives informed me, in extreme embarrassment, that on the instructions of the Federal Ministry of the Interior I was permanently banned from the selfsame Archives forthwith and in perpetuity, which is to my knowledge the only time that such a sanction has been ever been applied to a historian. He explained that this decision had been taken "in the interests of the German people."

I mention these facts, my Lord, to show that it was not just one single action that has destroyed my career but a cumulative, self-perpetuating, rolling onslaught, from every side — engineered by the same people who have propagated the book which is the subject of this action.

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Historical Myth Justifies Golan Heights Occupation

Israeli, Syrian and United States negotiators have recently been meeting to work out an agreement by which Israel will return to Syria the Golan Heights, a portion of territory seized by Israeli forces in 1967.

According to Israeli diplomatic sources and Israeli newspaper reports (early January 2000), the Jewish state's price for the turnover is \$20 billion in additional United States military and civilian aid. Much of this aid is to be in the form of sophisticated military equipment, including the Tomahawk cruise missile. (So far Britain is the only foreign country to receive this powerful weapon, which has a range of up to 2,000 kilometers.) Israel is also asking for funding for further weapons systems development, and to offset the cost of resettling 18,000 Jews who have been living on the Heights.

For three decades Israel has cited vital security concerns to justify its seizure of the Golan Heights. Israelis have claimed that from 1948 to June 1967, Syrian military forces repeatedly used the Heights to shell Jewish settlements and installations below. These artillery bombardments, in the widely accepted Israeli and American view, justified Israel's conquest of the Heights in 1967, and its occupation ever since.

Actually, Israel's seizure and occupation of this territory is based on a historical lie. This was frankly acknowledged by Israel General and cabinet minister Moshe Dayan in an interview given in 1976, but which was not made public until April 1997. Dayan, who died in 1981, was a key organizer of Israel's victory in the June 1967 Israel-Arab war.

"I made a mistake in allowing the [Israeli] conquest of the Golan Heights," he said, "As defense minister I should have stopped it because the Syrians were not threatening us at the time." The seizure went ahead, he added, not because Israel was threatened, but in response to pressure from Jews who coveted Syrian land, and from army commanders in northern Israel. "Of course [war with Syria] was not necessary. You can say the Syrians are bastards and attack when you want. But this is not policy. You don't open aggression against an enemy because he's a bastard but because he's a threat."

"At least 80 percent" of the border clashes over nearly two decades associated with the Syrian shellings were initiated by Israel, Dayan continued. "We would send a tractor to plow some [disputed] area ... and we knew in advance that the Syrians would start to shoot. If they didn't shoot, we would tell the tractor to advance further, until in the end the Syrians would get annoyed and shoot. And then we would use artillery and later the air force also, and

that's how it was."

"So," a *Washington Post* columnist recently summed up, "on the authority of what you could call an impeachable source, the situation is very different from what is commonly portrayed. Israel, with an appetite for land, for political profit and for strategic depth, was in the Golan instance — not in all instances — an aggressor, not the victim of aggression." (S. Rosenfeld, "Israel and Syria: Correcting the Record," *The Washington Post*, Dec. 24, 1999.

Now, it appears, American taxpayers are once again being called upon to generously reward the Zionist regime for aggression and occupation based on a historical lie.

Israel Given Unique Status in US Satellite Photo Access Policy

The US Congress, in a move that further underscores its deferential support for Jewish-Zionist interests, has given Israel a unique security consideration — one that is not given even to the United States of America.

Two years ago Congress formally approved a law making it illegal for American firms to take high-resolution satellite images of the Zionist state. Israel is the only country in the world to be given this protection by US legislation. John C. Baker, a space policy expert at the Rand Corporation, noted that the ban on satellite photos of Israel is the only exception to the US government's "policy of open skies permitting satellite imagery of the entire earth."

A Colorado firm, Space Imaging, Inc., launched its Ikonos satellite in September 1999, enabling it to provide pictures for sale to the public that will come closer than ever to the quality of US intelligence photographs. The pictures are so good that US intelligence agencies are expected to be among the company's major clients. Its satellite digital color images will be able to depict objects as small as one meter wide from a vantage point 423 miles in space, enabling specialists to distinguish tanks from jeeps on a highway.

(Source: V. Loeb, "Spy Satellite Will Take Photos for Public Sale," *The Washington Post*, Sept. 25, 1999, p. A3.)

Holocaust as Political Industry

Peter Novick [author of the new book, *The Holocaust in American Life*] asserts that the Holocaust has desensitized us to other genocides, but stops short of asking who invented the Holocaust in the first place. Who decided to capitalize the noun "Holocaust" and transform genocide into a political weapon and fund-raising tool?

In America, which had little to do with the event itself, there is an ever-growing Holocaust industry in academia. There is a Holocaust publishing industry and a Holocaust Hollywood. There are Holocaust museums and memorials trying to make concrete what might otherwise become dated and ephemeral. And there is the Holocaust-promoting chorus of wealthy and influential American Jews who make sure we never forget.

"Never forgetting" is the best way to intensify the collective guilt on the part of America's Christian majority and boost the Holocaust industry's favorite political cause — the state of Israel. Guilt, laced with liberally dispensed charges of anti-Semitism for opponents and sweetened with a heavy sprinkling of PAC money, has made the Israel-firsters masters of the executive and legislative branches. Easy and often exclusive access to the media shapes public opinion. And at the end there is a pot of gold: unlimited political and military support plus \$6 billion in US taxpayer-provided annual aid to a country that is one of the richest on earth.

Nazis killing Jews has become the paradigm for modern-day genocide, but the Holocaust is hardly unique in the 20th century, which affords numerous examples of mass killing. The politics of mass murder nowadays, as practiced by dictators and democrats alike, all about killing people with words before you actually shoot them. Perversely, the Holocaust is used to justify killing yet more people, i.e. to "prevent another Holocaust."

As Novick notes, George Bush didn't really cite the Holocaust to "disabuse us of Enlightenment illusions about man." He wanted to suggest that men can be evil to justify the bloodshed in the war against Iraq. Nor was George Will debunking the Renaissance illusion that "... man becomes better as he becomes more clever." George is a realist who appreciates the use of *force majeure*, as long as it is not used against him or his friends. And then there's Elie Wiesel, the Nobel laureate high priest of the Holocaust. Never once has Wiesel spoken out against Israel's deplorable treatment of the Palestinians. It's okay to kick an Arab, but never a Jew, and if we keep on reminding the world that the Nazis killed a lot of Jews, we can continue to kick Arabs and no one will say anything.

Rwandans, Biafrans, and Somalis are even lower on the scale than Arabs, and there are fewer journalists standing around watching how you treat them. Why intervene to save them? The Third World is descending into chaos, and they'll only be fighting again before the week is out.

In short, how can anyone deny that most invocations of the Holocaust are cynical and bogus? The Holocaust promoters understand that if you keep saying the same thing over and over again everyone will eventually believe it; i.e., that the Holocaust is the greatest evil in history and justifies special breaks not only for its survivors, but also for their descendants and co-religionists.

Perhaps what is truly unique about the Holocaust is the ability of its exploiters to preemptively silence their critics. Surely within the University of Chicago community there must be many who recognize that the Holocaust industry has gone too far, that the Holocaust is far from being the central event of the century, and that its message of an exclusivity of suffering — serving to promote a Zionist agenda — is dubious at best. But the open expression of such views might be unwise. It is safer to remain silent.

— Philip M. Giraldi (Purcellville, Virginia) and John K. Taylor (Fort Worth, Texas), in a letter published in the *University of Chicago Magazine*, October 1999, pp. 4-5.

Corrections

There are a few errors in the July-August 1999 *Journal* issue.

On page 19, there is a mistake in the caption to the drawing of the "Plan of Auschwitz-Birkenau Crematory Building (*Krema*) II." Item number 5 is incomplete, and should read: "5. Corpse elevator." Only the small central part of the building, where the furnace room joined *Leichenkeller* 1 and 2, had two levels. Also, item 8 is incorrect, and should read: "8. Cellar entrance."

On page 26, note 41, the title of article cited here should be translated as "Hygienic and Physiological [or Physical] Conditions for Building Air Raid Bunkers."

On page 28, note 64 is not quite correct. Burning of rayon alone cannot generate hydrocyanic acid (HCN) because rayon contains no nitrogen (N). The flame retardants added to rayon garments do not serve as a "catalyst" in generation of HCN; rather, they provide the nitrogen.

The Myth of a 'Land Without People for a People Without Land'

ROGER GARAUDY

Immediately following its publication in late 1995, Les mythes fondateurs de la politique israélienne ("The Founding Myths of Israeli Policy"), touched off a storm of controversy. Its octogenarian Communist-turned-Muslim author had taken aim at the historical legends cited for decades to justify Zionism and the Jewish state, including the most sacred of Jewish-Zionist icons, the Holocaust extermination story. (Les mythes was reviewed in the March-April 1996 Journal, pp. 35-36.)

Roger Garaudy brought impressive credentials to this task. During the Second World War he was active in the anti-German Résistance (for which he was arrested and interned). Afterwards he joined the powerful French Communist Party, soon making a name for himself as a Communist deputy in the French National Assembly, and as a leading Marxist intellectual and theoretician. Later he broke with Communism and became a Muslim.

Soon after the publication of *Les mythes*, he was charged with violating France's notorious Gayssot law, which makes it a crime to "contest" the "crimes against humanity" as defined by the Nuremberg Tribunal of 1945-46. A Paris court found him guilty and, on February 27, 1998, fined him 240,000 francs (\$40,000). His trial and conviction for Holocaust heresy prompted wide international support, above all from across the Arab and Muslim world. (See: T. O'Keefe, "Origin and Enduring Impact of the 'Garaudy Affair,'" July-August 1999 Journal, pp. 31-35; R. Faurisson, "On the Garaudy/Abbé Pierre Affair," July-August 1997 Journal, pp. 26-28.)

In the following essay, adapted from the forthcoming IHR edition of *The Founding Myths of Modern Israel*, Garaudy takes on a key historical myth used to justify the founding of Israel, and its ongoing policies of discrimination and oppression.

— The Editor

Zionist ideology rests on a very simple postulate: it is written in Genesis (15:18): "... the Lord made a covenant with Abraham, saying, 'To your descendants I give this land, from the river of Egypt to the great river, the river Euphrates,...'"

Starting from this, without asking themselves what the covenant consisted of, to whom the promise had been made, or if the Lord's choice had been unconditional, the Zionist leaders, even the agnostics and atheists, proclaimed: Palestine was given to us by God.

The statistics, even those of the Israeli government, show that 15 percent of Israelis are religious. This doesn't stop the other 85 percent from also claiming that this land had been given to them by God ... in whom they don't believe.

The great majority of modern Israelis neither practice nor believe in a religion, while the different "religious parties," despite comprising only a small minority of the Jewish population, play an important role in the state. This apparent paradox is explained by Nathan Weinstock in his book *Le sionisme contre Israël* ("Zionism Against Israel"):

If rabbinical obscurantism prevails in Israel, it is because the Zionist mystique is coherent only in light of the Mosaic religion. Take away the concepts of a "Chosen People" and a "Promised Land," and the foundation of Zionism crumbles. This is why the religious parties paradoxically draw their strength from the complicity of agnostic Zionists. The inner cohesion of Israel's Zionist structure has compelled its leaders to strengthen the power of the rabbis. It was the social democratic "Mapai" party, not the religious parties, which, at Ben-Gurion's prodding, made courses in religious instruction an obligatory part of the school curriculum.

Weinstock, *Le sionisme contre Israël*, 1969, p. 315

This country exists as the fulfillment of a promise made by God Himself. It would be ridiculous to ask Him to account for its legitimacy. Such is the basic axiom formulated by Mrs. Golda Meir.

Le Monde, October 15, 1971

Begin restated this as:

This land has been promised to us and we have

a right to it.

**Begin's statement at Oslo, *Davar*,
December 12, 1978**

If you have the Book of the Bible, and the People of the Book, then you also have the Land of the Bible — of the Judges and of the Patriarchs in Jerusalem, Hebron, Jericho and thereabouts.

**Moshe Dayan, *Jerusalem Post*,
August 10, 1967**

Significantly, Ben-Gurion evoked the American "precedent" in which, over the course of a century, the frontier continuously advanced westward, all the way to the Pacific, where the "closing of the frontier" was proclaimed, thanks to the success of the "Indian wars" in driving off the original Americans and seizing their lands.

Ben-Gurion made it very clear:

To maintain the status quo will not do. We have set up a dynamic state, bent on expansion.

Ben-Gurion, *Rebirth and Destiny of Israel*, p. 419

Zionist policy has corresponded to this singular theory: take the land and drive out the inhabitants, as did Joshua, the successor to Moses.

Menachem Begin, the Israeli leader most profoundly imbued with biblical tradition, declared:

Eretz Israel will be restored to the people of Israel. All of it. And for ever.

Begin, *The Revolt: The History of Irgun*, p. 33

Thus, from the outset, the State of Israel places itself above all international law.

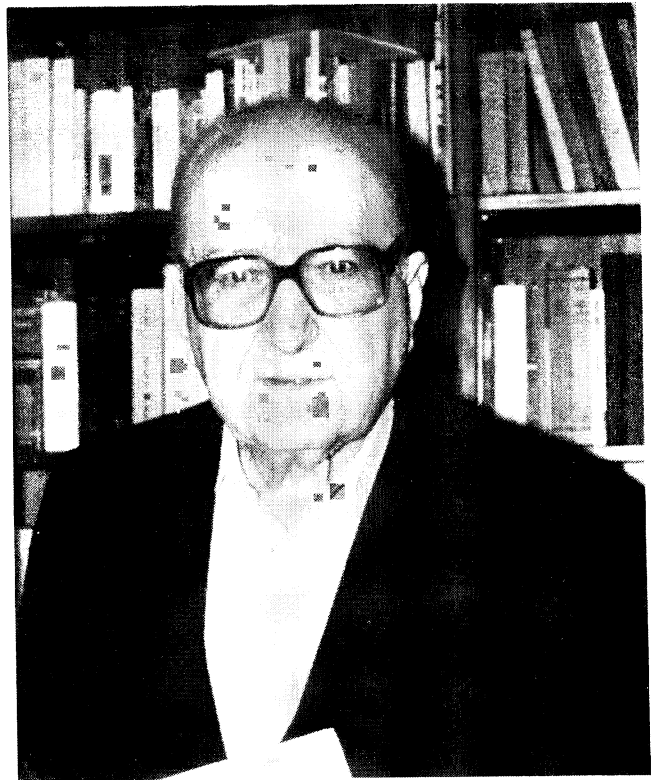
Imposed on the United Nations May 11, 1949, by the will of the United States, the State of Israel was only admitted on three conditions:

1. That the status of Jerusalem would not be tampered with;
2. That the Palestinian Arabs would be allowed to return to their homes;
3. That the borders established by the partition decision would be respected.

Commenting on the UN resolution to "partition" Palestine, adopted long before Israel's admission, Ben-Gurion declared:

The State of Israel considers the UN resolution of November 29, 1947, to be null and void.

***New York Times*, December 6, 1953**



Roger Garaudy

Echoing the concept of a parallel between American and Zionist expansion, General Moshe Dayan wrote:

Take the American Declaration of Independence. It contains no mention of territorial limits. We are not obliged to fix the limits of the State.

***Jerusalem Post*, August 10, 1967**

Israeli policy corresponds precisely to the law of the jungle: the UN resolution mandating the partition of Palestine was never honored.

The resolution on the partition of Palestine, adopted by the UN General Assembly (at that time made up almost entirely of Western nations) on November 29, 1947, signaled the West's designs on its "forward stronghold": on that date, the Jews were 32 percent of the population and owned 5.6 percent of the land. Partition awarded them 56 percent of Palestine, including the most fertile land. The terms of the partition were agreed to by the General Assembly under pressure from the United States.

President Harry Truman exerted unprecedented pressure on the State Department. Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles wrote:

By direct order of the White House every form

of pressure, direct and indirect, was brought to bear by American officials ... to make sure that the necessary majority would be at length secured.

**Sumner Welles, *We Need Not Fail*,
Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1948, p. 63**

The secretary of defense at that time, James Forrestal, confirmed:

... The methods that had been used ... to bring coercion and duress on other nations in the General Assembly bordered closely on to scandal.

**James Forrestal, *Forrestal's Memoirs*,
New York: Viking, 1951, p. 363**

The power of private monopolies was mobilized. Drew Pearson, in the *Chicago Daily News* of February 9, 1948, provided some details:

Harvey Firestone, owner of rubber plantations in Liberia, used his influence with the Liberian government ...

Beginning in 1948, the Israelis violated these pro-Zionist decisions.

The Israeli leaders took advantage of the Arabs' refusal to accept such injustice by grabbing new territories, notably Jaffa and Acre — so much so that by 1949, the Zionists controlled 80 percent of the country and 770,000 Palestinians had been driven out.

The method was terror.

The most striking instance was at Deir Yassin, on April 9, 1948: 254 inhabitants of this village (men, women, children, and the elderly) were massacred by troops of the Irgun, led by Menachem Begin, by methods indistinguishable from those the Nazis used at Oradour.

In his book *The Revolt: The History of Irgun*, Begin wrote that there would have been no security for the State of Israel without the "victory" of Deir Yassin (p. 162). He added:

Meanwhile, the Haganah was carrying out successful attacks on the other fronts ... The Arabs began fleeing in panic, shouting: "Deir Yassin!"

Begin, *Revolt*, p. 165

Any Palestinian who left his residence before August 1, 1948 was considered "absent."

In this way, two thirds of the land owned by the Arabs (70,000 hectares out of 110,000) was confiscated. When the law on landed property was passed in 1953, compensation was fixed at the value of the land in 1950; in the interim the Israeli pound had

dropped to a fifth of its value.

Moreover, from the beginning of Jewish immigration (here again in the truest colonialist style), land was bought from feudal, non-resident land-owners (the "effendis"). Through arrangements between the former masters and the new occupants, the poor peasants, the fellahin, who had no say in the matter, were evicted. Deprived of their land, there was nothing left for them but to flee.

The United Nations appointed a mediator, Count Folke Bernadotte of Sweden. In his first report, Count Bernadotte wrote:

It would offend basic principles to prevent these innocent victims of the conflict from returning to their homes, while Jewish immigrants flood into Palestine and, furthermore, threaten, in a permanent way, to take the place of the Arab refugees who have been rooted in this land for centuries.

He described

Zionist pillaging on a grand scale and the destruction of villages without apparent military necessity.

This report (UN Document A, 648, p. 14) was filed on September 16, 1948. On September 17, 1948, Count Bernadotte and his French assistant, Colonel Serot, were assassinated in the part of Jerusalem occupied by the Zionists.

It was not the first Zionist crime against someone who criticized their treachery.

Lord Moyne, the British secretary of state in Cairo, declared on June 9, 1942, in the House of Lords that the Jews were not the descendants of the ancient Hebrews and that they had no "legitimate claim" on the Holy Land. A proponent of curtailing immigration into Palestine, he was accused of being "an implacable enemy of Hebrew independence."

**In Isaac Zaar, *Rescue and Liberation:
America's Part in the Birth of Israel*,
New York: Bloch, 1954, p. 115**

On November 6, 1944, Lord Moyne was assassinated in Cairo by two members of the Stern Gang (Yitzak Shamir's group).

Years later, on July 2, 1975, *The Evening Star* of Auckland revealed that the bodies of the two executed assassins had been exchanged for twenty Arab prisoners for burial at the "Heroes' Monument" in Jerusalem. The British government deplored that Israel should honor the assassins and make heroes of them.

On July 22, 1946, the wing of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem occupied by the British civil and

military authorities for Palestine was blown up, causing the deaths of nearly a hundred people, British, Arabs, and Jews. The Irgun, Begin's group, had carried out the attack, and claimed responsibility.

The State of Israel replaced the British colonialists, then used their methods. For example, agricultural aid for irrigation was distributed in a discriminatory fashion, so that Jewish landholders were systematically favored. Between 1948 and 1969, the area of irrigated land rose, for the Jewish sector, from 20,000 to 164,000 hectares; for the Arab sector, from 800 to 4,100 hectares. The colonial system was thus perpetuated, growing even more oppressive: Doctor Rosenfeld, in his book *Arab Migrant Workers*, published by the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 1970, recognized that Arab agriculture had been more prosperous during the British mandate than it was under the Israelis.

Segregation also figures in housing policy. The president of the Israeli Human Rights League, Doctor Israel Shahak, a professor at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, relates in his book *Le racisme de l'État d'Israël* ("The Racism of the Israeli State") (Paris: G. Authier, 1975, p. 57), that in Israel there are whole towns (Carmel, Nazareth, Illith, Hatzor, Arad, Mitzphen-Ramen, and others) where non-Jews are forbidden by law to live.

In cultural matters the same colonialist spirit reigns.

In 1970, the Minister of National Education proposed two different versions of the prayer "Yizkor" for high school students. One version proclaimed that the death camps had been built by "the diabolical Nazi government and the German nation of murderers." The second version alluded more generally to "the German nation of murderers...." Both contain a paragraph ... calling on God "to avenge before our eyes the blood of the victims."

**"Ce sont mes frères que je cherche,"
Ministry of Education and Culture,
Jerusalem, 1990**

This culture of racial hatred has borne fruit:

"In the wake of Kahane, we heard more and more about soldiers who, exposed to the history of the Holocaust, were planning all sorts of ways to exterminate the Arabs," recalled education-corps officer Ehud Praver. "It concerned us very much, because we saw that the Holocaust was legitimizing the appearance of Jewish racism. We learned that it was necessary to deal not only with the Holocaust but also with the rise of fascism and to explain what racism is and what dangers it holds for

democracy." According to Praver, "... too many soldiers were deducing that the Holocaust justifies every kind of disgraceful action."

Tom Segev, *Seventh Million*, p. 407

The problem had been expressed very clearly even before the State of Israel came to be. The director of the Jewish National Fund, Yossef Weitz, wrote in 1940:

It should be clear to us that there is no room for two peoples in this country. If the Arabs leave it, that will satisfy us ... There is no other way but to remove them all; there must not be a single village left, or a single clan ... It must be explained to Roosevelt and to all the heads of friendly states that the land of Israel is not too small if all the Arabs leave and if the borders are pushed back a little to the north, as far as the Litani, and toward the east, to the heights of the Golan.

Yossef Weitz, *Diary and Letters to My Sons*, Tel Aviv, 1965

In the major Israeli newspaper *Yediot Aharonot* (July 14, 1972), Yoram Ben-Porat forcefully reminded Israelis of the Zionist objective:

It is the duty of Israeli leaders to explain clearly and courageously for public opinion a certain number of facts which time causes to be forgotten. The first of these is that there is no Zionism, colonization or Jewish State without the eviction of the Arabs and the expropriation of their land.

Here again we observe the most exacting logic of the Zionist system: How to create a Jewish majority in a country populated by a native Palestinian Arab community?

Political Zionism provided the only solution possible within the framework of its colonialist program: create a settler colony while driving out the Palestinians and promoting Jewish immigration.

Driving out the Palestinians and taking over their land was a deliberate and systematic undertaking.

At the time of the Balfour Declaration of 1917, the Zionists possessed only 2.5 percent of the land; at the time UN resolution to partition Palestine in 1947, they had 6.5 percent. By 1982, they possessed 93 percent.

The methods used to dispossess the natives of their land have been those of the most ruthless colonialism, with Zionism adding an even more pronouncedly racist taint.

The first stage bore all the hallmarks of classic

colonialism: exploitation of the local work force. This was Baron Édouard de Rothschild's metier: just as he had previously exploited the cheap labor of the *fellahin* on his vineyards in Algeria, in Palestine he simply enlarged his sphere of activity, exploiting other Arabs in his vineyards there.

A turning point occurred with the arrival from Russia of a new wave of immigrants following the failure of the Revolution of 1905. Instead of carrying on the fight there, side by side with other Russian revolutionaries, the deserters of the defeated revolution imported a strange Zionist socialism into Palestine. They created production and service cooperatives and agricultural kibbutzes, excluding the Palestinian *fellahin* in order to create an economy based on a Jewish working and agricultural class. From a classical colonialism (of the English or French type), Palestine passed to a settlement colony in the logic of political Zionism, involving an influx of immigrants "for" whom, and "against" no one (accordingly to Professor Klein), land and work had to be provided. From this point on, it was a matter of replacing the Palestinian people with another, and, naturally, of taking their the land.

The starting point of this great operation was the creation, in 1901, of the Jewish National Fund, which had a feature novel even to settler colonialism: the land which the JNF acquired could not be resold, or even rented, to non-Jews.

Two other laws concern the Keren Kayemet (Jewish National Fund; law passed on November 23, 1953) and the Keren Hayesod (Foundation Fund; law passed on January 10, 1956). "These two laws," writes Professor Klein, "permitted the transformation of these societies, which found themselves benefitting from certain privileges" (Klein, *Caractère juif*, pp. 20-21). Without enumerating these privileges, he introduces, as a simple "observation," the fact that lands obtained by the National Jewish Fund were then declared "Lands of Israel," and a law was enacted to decree the inalienability of these lands. This law is one of Israel's four "fundamental laws" passed in 1960 (elements of a future constitution, which still does not exist, fifty years after the creation of Israel). It is unfortunate that the learned lawyer, usually attentive to detail, made no comment on this "inalienability." He does not even define it: a piece of land "reclaimed" by the Jewish National Fund ("land redemption") is a land which has become "Jewish"; it can never be sold to a "non-Jew," nor rented to a "non-Jew," nor worked by a "non-Jew."

Can it be denied that this fundamental law is discriminatory?

Israel's agrarian policy is one of systematic plundering of the Arab peasantry.

The property law of 1943, on expropriation in the

public interest, is a relic from the time of the British mandate. This law is perverted from its original intent when it is applied in a discriminatory way, as, for example, in 1962, when 500 hectares were expropriated at Deir El-Arad, Nabel and Be'neh, where the "public interest" consisted of creating the town of Carmel, which was reserved exclusively for Jews.

Another procedure involved the use of "emergency laws," decreed in 1945 by the British against both Jews and Arabs. Law 124 gives the military governor the authority, this time under the pretext of "security," to suspend all civil rights, including freedom of movement. The army has only to declare an area off limits, "for reasons of state security," in order to prevent an Arab from entering his land without authorization from the military governor. If authorization is refused, the land is then declared "uncultivated" and the ministry of agriculture can "take possession of uncultivated land in order to ensure its cultivation."

When the British enacted this savagely colonialist legislation to fight Jewish terrorism in 1945, the lawyer Bernard (Dov) Joseph, protesting against this system of "arbitrary warrants," declared:

Are we all to be subjected to official terror?...
No citizen can be safe from imprisonment for life without trial ... the power of the administration to exile anyone is unlimited ... it is not necessary to commit any type of infraction, a decision made in some office is sufficient ...

The same Bernard (Dov) Joseph, after he became Israeli minister of justice, applied these laws against Arabs.

J. Shapira criticized the British emergency laws at the same protest meeting at which Joseph spoke out, on February 7, 1946, in Tel Aviv (*Hapraklit*, February 1946, pp. 58-64), declaring even more forcefully: "The order established by this legislation is without precedent in civilized countries. There were no such laws even in Nazi Germany." The self-same Shapira became the State of Israel's chief prosecutor, then its minister of justice, and enforced the same laws he had denounced, against the Arabs.

To justify the permanence of these repressive laws, "the state of emergency" has not been lifted in the State of Israel since 1948.

Shimon Peres wrote in the newspaper *Davar* (January 25, 1972):

The use of Law 125, on which military government is founded, follows directly from the struggle for Jewish settlement and immigration.

The 1948 law on the cultivation of fallow lands,

amended in 1949, is even more repressive: without so much as the pretext of “public utility” or “military security,” the minister of agriculture can requisition any abandoned land. The massive exodus of Arabs fleeing Israeli terror tactics, such as at Deir Yassin in 1948, Kafr Kassem on October 29, 1956, or the “pogroms” of “Unit 101,” created by Moshe Dayan and long commanded by Ariel Sharon, “liberated” vast areas. Cleared of their Arab owners or cultivators, they were handed to Jews.

The mechanisms for the dispossession of the *fellahin* were completed by the law of June 30, 1948; the emergency decree of November 15, 1948 on property of “absentees”; the law relating to lands of “absentees” (March 14, 1950); the law on the acquisition of land (March 13, 1953); and a whole arsenal of measures tending to legalize theft by pressuring the Arabs to leave their land in order to establish Jewish colonies, as Nathan Weinstock makes clear in *Le sionisme contre Israël*.

To obliterate even the memory of the Palestinian agricultural population and to give credence to the myth of the “desert,” the Arab villages were destroyed: their homes, their fences and even their graveyards and tombs. In 1975, Professor Israel Shahak gave, district by district, a listing of 385 Arab villages destroyed, bulldozed, out of the 475 that had existed in 1948.

To convince us that before Israel, Palestine was a “desert,” hundreds of villages were razed by bulldozer with their houses, their fences, their graveyards and tombs.

Shahak, *Racisme*, pp. 152ff.

The Israeli settlements have continued to multiply, with a new lease on life since 1979 on the West Bank, and, in accordance with the most classic colonialist traditions, the settlers are always armed.

The overall result is that after having expelled a million and a half Palestinians, “Jewish land,” — as the people of the Jewish National Fund call it — no more than 6.5 percent in 1947, today represents more than 93 percent of Palestine (of which 75 percent belongs to the state and 14 percent to the National Fund).

The outcome of this operation was remarkably (and significantly) summarized in the Afrikaner newspaper, *Die Transvaler*, well versed in matters of racial discrimination (apartheid):

What is the difference between the way in which the Jewish people struggle to remain who they are in the midst of non-Jewish populations, and the way Afrikaners are trying to

remain what they are?

Henry Katzew, *South Africa: A Country Without Friends*, quoted in R. Stevens, *Zionism, South Africa and Apartheid*

The system of apartheid manifests itself in the regulation of individuals no less than it does in the appropriation of land. The “autonomy” which the Israelis want to grant the Palestinians is the equivalent of the “homelands” for the blacks in South Africa.

Analyzing the consequences of the Law of “Return,” Klein raises a question:

If the Jewish people are a large majority in the State of Israel, inversely, one can say that the entire population of the State of Israel is not Jewish, since the country has a sizeable non-Jewish minority, mainly Arab and Druze. The question which arises is to what extent the existence of a Law of Return, which favors the immigration of one part of the population (defined by its religious and ethnic affiliation), can not be regarded as discriminatory.

Klein, *Caractère juif*, p. 33

The author wonders in particular whether the International Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (adopted December 21, 1965, by the General Assembly of the United Nations) applies to the Law of Return.

By a dialectic of which we shall let the reader be the judge, the eminent lawyer concludes with this subtle distinction: in matters of non-discrimination,

a measure must not be directed against one particular group. The Law of Return was created for Jews who want to settle in Israel; it is not directed against any group or nationality. One cannot see how this law would discriminate.

Klein, *Caractère juif*, p. 35

For the reader who might risk being led astray by this, to say the least, audacious logic — which calls to mind the famous witticism that all citizens are equal but some are more equal than others — let us make the situation created by this Law of Return very clear. The Law of Nationality (5712/1952) specifies those who are not to benefit from the “right of return” in Article 3: “any individual who, immediately before the founding of the State, was a Palestinian subject, and who didn’t become an Israeli by virtue of Article 2” (which concerns the Jews). Those referred to by this circumlocution (and who are considered to have “never had any previous national-

ity,” in other words, were stateless persons) must prove they were living in Palestine over a given period (documentary proof is often impossible because the papers disappeared during the war and the terror which accompanied the establishment of the Zionist state). Failing this, in order to become a citizen, the “naturalization” route requires, for example, “a certain knowledge of the Hebrew language.” After which, “if he judges it useful,” the minister of the interior grants (or refuses) Israeli nationality. In short, in Israeli law, a Jew from Patagonia becomes an Israeli citizen the moment he sets foot in Tel Aviv airport; a Palestinian, born in Palestine, of Palestinian parents, can be considered a man or woman without a country. No racial discrimination “against” the Palestinians here — simply a measure “for” Jews!

It therefore seems difficult to contest the UN General Assembly’s resolution of November 10, 1975 (Resolution 3379-XXX) classifying Zionism as “... a form of racism and racial discrimination.”

In actuality, only a tiny minority of those who settled in Israel have come to fulfill “the promise.” The Law of Return has had very little effect. This is fortunate, because in every country of the world Jews have played an eminent role in every area of culture, science, and the arts, and it would be deplorable for Zionism to attain the objective the anti-Semites have longed for: to remove the Jews from their respective homelands in order to insulate them in a world ghetto. The example of the French Jews is significant: after the Évian agreements of 1962 leading to the independence of Algeria, of 130,000 the Jews who left Algeria, only 20,000 went to Israel, while 110,000 went to France. This emigration was not the result of anti-Semitic persecution, for the proportion of non-Jewish French colonists who left Algeria was the same. The reason for their departure was not anti-Semitism but the end of French colonialism. The Algerian French Jews experienced the same fate as the other French people in Algeria.

To summarize: Nearly all Jewish immigrants to Israel came to escape anti-Semitic persecution.

In 1880, there were 25,000 Jews in Palestine, out of a population of 500,000.

Starting in 1882, massive immigration began in response to the great pogroms of Tsarist Russia.

From 1882 to 1917, 50,000 Jews arrived in Palestine. Then, between the two wars, came the Polish immigrants and those from the Maghreb (the Mediterranean coast of Africa), who were escaping persecution.

The greatest number, however, came from Germany as a result of Hitler’s vile anti-Semitism. Altogether, almost 400,000 Jews arrived in Palestine before 1945.

In 1947, on the eve of the creation of the State of Israel, there were 600,000 Jews in Palestine, out of a total population of 1,250,000.

And so began the systematic uprooting of the Palestinians. Before the 1948 war, about 650,000 Arabs lived in the territory which was to become the State of Israel. In 1949, only 160,000 remained. Yet, due to a high birth rate, their descendants numbered 450,000 at the end of 1970. The Israeli Human Rights League revealed that between June 11, 1967 and November 15, 1969, more than 20,000 Arab houses were dynamited in Israel and on the West Bank.

At the time of the British census of December 31, 1922, there were 757,000 people living in Palestine, of whom 663,000 were Arabs (590,000 Muslim Arabs and 73,000 Christian Arabs) and 83,000 Jews (which is to say: 88 percent Arabs and 11 percent Jews). It is to be remembered that this so-called “desert” was an exporter of cereals and citrus fruits.

As early as 1891, one of the first Zionists, Asher Ginsberg (writing under the pseudonym Ahad Haam, “One of the People”), visiting Palestine, gave this account:

Abroad, we are accustomed to believing that Eretz-Israel is currently almost all desert, without cultivation, and that whoever wants to acquire land can come here and get as much as his heart desires. But the truth is nothing like this. Throughout the length and breadth of the country, it is difficult to find any fields which are not cultivated. The only non-cultivated areas are fields of sand and rocky mountains where only fruit trees can grow, and this, only after hard work and a lot of effort in clearing and reclamation.

Ahad Haam, *Complete Works* (in Hebrew), Tel Aviv: Devir, 8th edition, p. 23

In reality, before the Zionists, the “bedouins” (who were in fact settled farmers) were exporting 30,000 tons of wheat per year. The area of Arab orchards tripled between 1921 and 1942, that of orange and other citrus fruit groves multiplied seven-fold between 1922 and 1947, and production rose ten-fold between 1922 and 1938.

So rapid was the growth of Palestine’s orange industry that in 1937 the Peel Report, presented to the British Parliament by the secretary of state for the colonies, estimated that over the next decade Palestine would grow half the world’s winter oranges, as shown in the following table (the figures refer to crates of oranges):

Palestine	15 million
United States	7 million
Spain	5 million
Other Countries (Cyprus, Egypt, Algeria, etc.)	3 million

Great Britain, Colonial Office, Palestine Royal Commission Report ("Peel Report"), (Cmd. 5479), 1937, chapter 8, § 19, p. 214

According to a US State Department study submitted to a congressional committee on March 20, 1993:

... more than 200,000 Israelis are now settled in the occupied territories (including the Golan Heights and East Jerusalem). They constitute "approximately" 13% of the total population of these territories.

Some 90,000 of them reside in 150 settlements on the West Bank, "... where the Israeli authorities control about half of the territory."

"In East Jerusalem and in the outlying Arab suburbs of the city," continues the State Department study,

... approximately 120,000 Israelis are settled in some twelve districts. In the Gaza Strip, where the Jewish State has confiscated 30 percent of an already over-populated territory, 3,000 Israelis reside in about 15 settlements. On the Golan Heights, there are 12,000, scattered among approximately 30 locations.

***Le Monde*, April 18, 1993**

Le Monde cited the following report which originally appeared in the daily newspaper *Yediot Aharonot*, which has the largest circulation in Israel:

Since the 70's, there has never been such an acceleration in construction within the territories. Ariel Sharon (Minister of Housing and Construction), is feverishly busy establishing new settlements, developing those which already exist, building roads and preparing new sites for construction.

***Le Monde*, April 18, 1993**

(Recall that Ariel Sharon was the general in command of the invasion of Lebanon, who armed

the Phalangist militias that carried out the massacres in the Palestinian refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila. Sharon turned a blind eye to these cowardly slaughters and was complicit in them, as even the Israeli commission appointed to investigate the killings determined).

The maintenance of the Jewish settlements in the occupied territories, their protection by the Israeli army and by armed settlers (like the frontiersmen of the American "Wild West" a century ago), makes any real Palestinian "autonomy" — and thus any hope for a genuine peace — impossible. They will remain impossible as long as the occupation continues.

The main thrust of colonialist settlement has been directed at Jerusalem and its environs, with the declared goal of making the decision to annex the whole of Jerusalem irrevocable — although that has been condemned unanimously by the United Nations (including the United States!).

The colonialist settlements in the occupied territories are a flagrant violation of international law, specifically the Geneva Convention of August 12, 1949, Article 49 of which stipulates:

The occupying power cannot undertake a transfer of a part of its own civil population into the territory which it occupies.

The pretext of "security," such as from the "terrorism" of the intifada, is illusory: the statistics in this regard are eloquent:

1,116 Palestinians have been killed since the beginning of the intifada ... on December 9, 1987, by shootings by soldiers, policemen or settlers. There were 626 deaths in 1988 and 1989, 134 in 1990, 93 in 1991, 108 in 1992 and 155 from January 1 to September 11, 1993. Among the victims have been 233 children under the age of 17, according to a study carried out by Betselem, the Israeli association for human rights.

Military sources give a figure of nearly 20,000 for the number of Palestinians wounded by bullets, and the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian refugees (UNRWA) gives a figure of 90,000.

Thirty-three Israeli soldiers have been killed since December 9, 1987: four in 1988, four in 1989, one in 1990, two in 1991, eleven in 1992 and eleven in 1993.

Forty civilians, mostly settlers, have been killed in the occupied territories, according to

figures provided by the Army.

According to the humanitarian organizations, in 1993, 15,000 Palestinians were being held in civil and military prisons detention centers.

Twelve Palestinians have died in Israeli prisons since the beginning of the intifada, some under circumstances which, according to Bet-selem, have not yet been clarified. This humanitarian organization also indicates that at least 20,000 detainees are tortured every year during interrogation in the military detention centers.

Le Monde, September 12, 1993

So many violations of international law, treated like a "worthless scrap of paper" — all the more so, as Professor Israel Shahak writes:

... because these settlements, by their very nature, partake of a system of plunder, discrimination and apartheid.

Shahak, *Racisme*, p. 263

Here is Professor Israel Shahak's testimony on the idolatry which consists of replacing the God of Israel with the State of Israel:

I am Jew who lives in Israel. I consider myself a law-abiding citizen. I do my time in the army every year even though I am over forty years old. But I am not "devoted" to the State of Israel or any other state or organization! I am attached to my ideals. I believe that one must tell the truth and do what is necessary to preserve justice and equality for all. I am attached to the Hebrew language and poetry, and I like to think that I modestly respect some of the values of our ancient prophets.

But make a cult of the State? I can well imagine Amos or Isaiah if they had been asked to make a cult of the kingdom of Israel or Judea!

Jews believe, and repeat three times a day, that a Jew must be devoted to God and to God alone: "You will love Yahweh, your God, with all your heart, with all your soul and with all your might" (Deuteronomy 6:5). A small minority still believes in this. But it seems to me that most people have lost their God and replaced Him with an idol, as when they worshipped the golden calf in the desert so much that they gave up all their gold to make a statue of it. The name of their modern idol is the State of Israel.

Shahak, *Racisme*, p. 93

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"There was no such thing as Palestinians ... It was not as though there was a Palestinian people in Palestine considering itself as a Palestinian people, and we came and threw them out and took their country away from them. They did not exist."

— Golda Meir, interview in *The Sunday Times*, June 15, 1969

No Punishment for Polish 'Holocaust Denier'

A Polish court has decided not to punish a history professor for a "Holocaust denial" book that presents arguments questioning aspects of the familiar Six Million extermination story.

On December 7, 1999, the regional court in Opole, in southern Poland, found that Dariusz Ratajczak supported revisionist views on the Holocaust issue in his book, *Tematy Niebezpieczne* ("Dangerous Themes"). But it decided not to punish the 37-year-old historian because the self-published volume had limited distribution and was not damaging enough to warrant punishment under a Polish statute that outlaws "public denial" of German wartime crimes. The court called the book "merely a minor social annoyance." It also took into account that the defendant had distanced himself somewhat from revisionist views in a preface to a second edition.

The public prosecutor has appealed the verdict.

In a five-page section entitled "Holocaust Revisionism," Ratajczak matter-of-factly cited the work of such revisionists as Paul Rassinier, Robert Faurisson, David Irving and Ernst Zündel, who contend that there was no German plan or program to exterminate Europe's Jews. He also cited the forensic investigations carried out at Auschwitz and Birkenau by Fred Leuchter and Germar Rudolf, and their conclusions that, for technical reasons, well-known claims of killing millions of Jews in gas chambers are impossible.

While Ratajczak did not explicitly endorse these views, he did call testimony of Holocaust "eyewitness" survivors "useless," and described establishment Holocaust writers as "followers of a religion of the Holocaust" who impose on others "a false image of the past."

As the title of the book suggests, Ratajczak understands the dangers of challenging such prevailing taboos. As he put it (on page 8):

To write about Polish-Jewish relations is a dangerous venture, especially for a Pole who holds the view that this relationship must be based on truth. Paradoxically it is accordingly easy to be accused of narrow-minded nationalism, xenophobia and "obsessive anti-Semitism." The results are often tragic: social exclusion (everyone has the friends he deserves), muzzling of journalistic and publishing activities, and, finally, professional ruin.

Ratajczak, who is popular with students, was suspended in April 1999 from his teaching post at the Historical Institute of the University of Opole after complaints were made to authorities. (See:

"Polish Professor Under Fire for 'Holocaust Denial'," May-June 1999 *Journal*, p. 31.) It was not immediately known whether he would get his position back. With a child to support, his financial situation is precarious.

Commenting on the case, Swiss educator and revisionist author Jürgen Graf writes:

There is concern that Ratajczak's acquittal will be overturned on appeal as a result of pressure from the Jewish lobby, which is extraordinarily powerful in Poland. Especially vicious in the hate campaign against him has been the Jew Adam Michnik, who was a prominent "dissident" during the Communist era.

Dr. Dariusz Ratajczak is a man of firm political and religious convictions, a man of character. Such men are disliked by the government of "liberal democratic" Poland no less than they were by the government of the Polish "peoples democracy."

At his trial in mid-November, Ratajczak said that in his book he had merely summarized arguments of revisionist scholars who dispute Holocaust claims, and that views presented in his book do not necessarily reflect his own. "Historical revisionism is a historical and social fact," he said at the opening of his trial. "My only intention was to present the problem ... with the author's commentary."

"I feel great relief after months of a witch hunt against me in the media, but physically I am exhausted," he commented in the aftermath of the court's decision.

The author of Poland's "Holocaust denial" law expressed concern about the verdict: "I am afraid that the world will get the message that denying Nazi crimes in Poland is not socially harmful." A Jewish community leader called the verdict "outrageous" and "a poor testimonial to Polish democracy," and said that Jewish groups would protest. "Theories voiced by this man [Ratajczak] are an approval of genocide," said Szymon Szurmiej, head of the Federation of Jewish Associations in Poland.

Ratajczak published 320 copies of the first edition of the book at his own expense. Only a few were sold at the university bookstore or directly to students, or were given away to friends, before police seized the remaining copies.

"Holocaust denial" is a crime in several European states, including Germany, France, and Austria. Unlike similar laws elsewhere, though, the Polish law additionally bans "denial" of Communist crimes.

The Truth Leaks Out About Kosovo

The embarrassing truth is starting to come out that the Clinton Administration lied to us about Kosovo atrocities which were supposed to justify the bombing of Yugoslavia. In five months of investigation and exhumation of the dead in Kosovo, United Nations war crimes investigators have found only 2,108 bodies. That's the figure confirmed and reported to the UN Security Council by the chief prosecutor for the UN war crimes tribunal, Carla Del Ponte. (*New York Times*, Nov. 11, 1999)

Before the bombing, Clinton and Defense Secretary William Cohen repeatedly tossed out figures of 100,000 dead, and the State Department even claimed that up to 500,000 Kosovars were feared dead. (*New York Times*, Nov. 11, 1999)

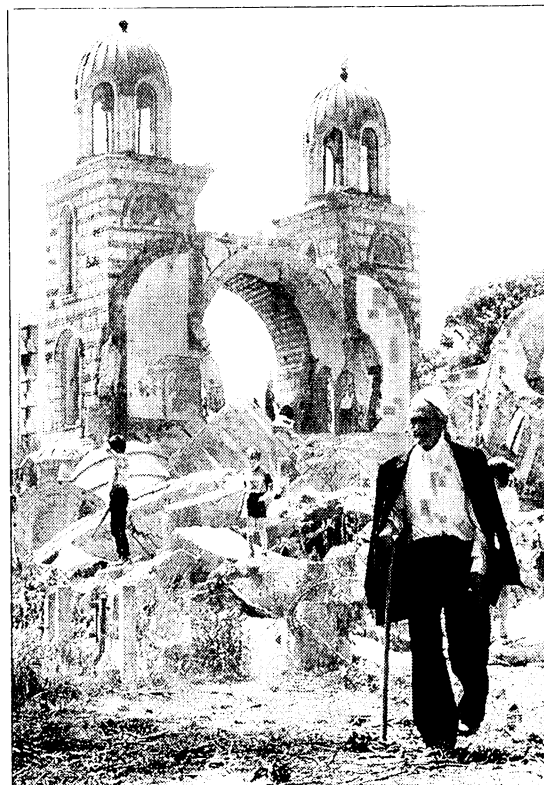
Pathologist Emilio Perez Pujol, who led a Spanish forensic team looking for bodies, found only 187, mostly in individual graves. He calculated that "the final figure of dead in Kosovo will be 2,500 at the most. This includes lots of strange deaths that can't be blamed on anyone in particular." (London *Sunday Times*, Oct. 31, 1999)

The British, who seem to be more interested in getting to the truth than Congress, are pressuring Foreign Secretary Robin Cook to answer claims that Tony Blair's government misled the public over the scale of deaths in order to justify NATO's bombing of Belgrade. Alice Mahon, the Labor MP who chairs the Balkans committee, said that the Kosovo deaths were tragic but did not justify the killing of Belgrade civilians by NATO's bombing. (London *Sunday Times*, Oct. 31, 1999)

Lacking a constitutional or national security basis for his Yugoslav adventure, Clinton relied wholly on the humanitarian argument. That rationale has fallen apart because the numbers of Milosevic's crimes in Kosovo were so grossly inflated, the indiscriminate damage done by the Clinton/NATO bombing raids was so vast, and all the people he said he was helping are far worse off than before the bombing started.

The Clinton/NATO bombing was carried on for 78 days with total disregard for human life. The bombs killed thousands of innocent civilians and even destroyed hospitals and schools. (*New York Times*, April 14, 16, 20, 1999)

The Clinton/NATO bombing decimated Yugoslavia's economic infrastructure and created an envi-



Children play in the ruins of one of many Serbian Orthodox churches destroyed in Kosovo, as an elderly ethnic Albanian walks by.

ronmental nightmare. Not only are water and power systems destroyed, but the lifeline of the region, the Danube River, is polluted and largely impassable because of destroyed bridges.

Repeated air strikes on the Serbian town of Pancevo [Panchevo] enveloped the area in clouds of black smoke and flames for ten days and unleashed tons of chemicals into the air, water and soil. The fish, produce and water are all contaminated. (*New York Times*, July 14, 1999)

What was advertised as an air war against Yugoslavia's military capabilities was really a war directed against the Serbian people. Dropping cluster bombs from 15,000 feet and firing missiles from many miles away guaranteed "mistakes" and "collateral damage" and prove that the targets were civilian as well as military. US Air Force Commander Lt. Gen. Michael Short admitted that the goal was to break the will of the Serbs and make them so miserable that they would force Milosevic to pull out of Kosovo. (London *Daily Telegraph*, May

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25, 1999, quoted in Cato Institute's *Policy Analysis*, Oct. 25, 1999)

Estimates of the cost to rebuild the damage range up to \$100 billion (you can bet that American taxpayers will ultimately be called upon to pay this bill), and the costs in human misery are incalculable.

The situation in Kosovo, the province Clinton was supposed to be protecting, is even worse. The danger from unexploded British and American cluster bombs and mines is at alarming levels, according to international aid agencies. (*New York Times*, 8/6, 1999) Before the bombing began, there was no humanitarian crisis in Kosovo. It was only after the US and NATO air strikes began that the Serbs started to expel Albanians from Kosovo.

The NATO "peacekeeping" force in Kosovo is completely unable to restrain the revenge-seeking Albanians who are beating and murdering the Serbs, even targeting grandmothers (*Washington Times*, August 13, 1999), and burning their homes and churches. (*New York Times*, August 2, 1999, Nov. 22, 1999) More Serb civilians have been slaughtered in Kosovo than ethnic Albanians before the bombing began. (David Hackworth column, August 24, 1999)

The daily violence continues even though there are now more NATO troops in Kosovo than Serbs. According to Human Rights Watch, 164,000 Serb civilians have been driven out of Kosovo. (*New York Times*, August 2, 5, 1999, Sept. 13, 1999, Oct. 29, 1999, Nov. 22, 1999)

The Clinton-Albright policy is based on the absurd fantasy that America and NATO can force the Serbs and Albanians to live together in a multi-ethnic society. Neither side wants that, and the attempt to impose our will means that US troops will play the costly roles of global cop and social worker indefinitely into the future.

The only people happy about the Yugoslavia debacle are the globalists who want America to be perpetually engaged in foreign conflicts. In a speech to the Canadian Parliament, Czech leader Vaclav Havel praised the Yugoslav war as "an important precedent for the future," saying that "state sovereignty must inevitably dissolve" and that nation-states will be transformed into "civil administrative units." (*The Responsive Community*, Summer 1999)

When Clinton's National Security Adviser Sandy Berger spoke to the Council on Foreign Relations on October 21, he described Clinton's foreign policy as grounded in the policy of "engagement." America will now be "engaged" in Yugoslavia for the rest of our lives.

Jewish Thinking

"What has happened since World War II is that the American mentality has become part Jewish, perhaps as much Jewish as anything else ... The literate American mind has come in some measure to think Jewishly. It has been taught to, and it was ready to. After the entertainers and novelists came the Jewish critics, politicians and theologians. Critics and politicians and theologians are by profession molders; they form ways of seeing."

— Walter Kerr, "Skin Deep is not Good Enough," *The New York Times*, April 14, 1968, pp. D1, D3.
Quoted in: Kevin MacDonald, *The Culture of Critique* (Praeger, 1998), p. 243.

Collapse of a Culture

"The culture we are living in becomes an ever-wider sewer. In truth, I think we are caught up in a cultural collapse of historic proportions, a collapse so great that it simply overwhelms politics ...

"... It is impossible to ignore the fact that the United States is becoming an ideological state ... Cultural Marxism is succeeding in its war against our culture ...

"I believe that we probably have lost the culture war.... Therefore, what seems to me a legitimate strategy for us to follow is to look at ways to separate ourselves from the institutions that have been captured by the ideology of Political Correctness, or by other enemies of our traditional culture ...

"I think that we have to look at a whole series of possibilities for bypassing the institutions that are controlled by the enemy. If we expand our energies on fighting on the 'turf' they already control, we will probably not accomplish what we hope, and we may spend ourselves to the point of exhaustion."

— Paul Weyrich, "Open Letter" of February 16, 1999.

"The historian is not trying the men and women of the past; he is contemplating them; he has to see them as in truth they were and to present them as such to others, and a man, as a man, cannot be seen truly unless his moral worth, his loveliness, is seen."

— David Knowles, *The Historian and Character, and Other Essays*. Quoted in Thomas C. Reeves, *A Question of Character* (1992), p. vii.

The National Socialist Party in Third Reich Germany

Himmler Talks with an American Journalist

LOTHROP STODDARD

During his lifetime Lothrop Stoddard (1883-1950) was one of America's most influential writers. He earned a doctorate from Harvard, and was the author of 15 books, including the much-discussed 1920 work, The Rising Tide of Color. He wrote numerous articles and essays, and was an editorial writer and foreign affairs expert for The Washington Star.

Shortly after the outbreak of the Second World War in Europe, he went to Germany on behalf of the North American Newspaper Alliance to report first-hand from the war-beleaguered Third Reich. During this visit he conducted interviews with such key figures as Hitler, Himmler, and Goebbels. Stoddard compiled his observations and interviews in a 300-page book, Into the Darkness, that the Dictionary of American Biography called "a fair and honest appraisal of the Nazi state." This remarkable account will soon be re-issued in an attractive new Noontide edition.

In the following essay, adapted from Chapter 20 of Into the Darkness, Stoddard presents a skeptical but open-minded look at the role of the all-embracing National Socialist Party. This chapter also includes his January 1940 interview with Heinrich Himmler — the first ever granted to a foreign journalist by the SS leader.

The Party." That is the commonest phrase in Germany today. It denotes that all-powerful organization, NSDAP (National Socialist German Workers Party) which dominates, energizes, and directs the Third Reich.

Just what is the Party, and what are its relations with the Nation, the State Administration, and those numberless organizations characteristic of German life? That was one of the first questions I put when I got to Germany. Knowing as I did the range of official literature, I supposed I would be promptly handed a neat manual setting forth the whole subject in the meticulous Teutonic Way. What was my amazement when the Propaganda Ministry informed me that no such manual existed, the reason alleged being that the system was more or less fluid and that changes were continually taking place.

Accordingly, I had to piece the current picture together, bit by bit. You never can be sure, at first glance, what is "Party" and what isn't. For instance, I at first took it for granted that all the Brown-Shirt SA and Black-uniformed SS men I saw were Party members. Presently I learned that this was not true; that many of them were candidates, qualifying themselves for membership by meritorious service. As for the organizations, some were "Party," others "State," still others are intermediate, while one or two, like the National Labor Service (*Arbeitsdienst*), were started by the Party but are now under State control. It was all very confusing. Indeed, I frankly admit that even now I haven't got a wholly clear idea of the scheme in all its complex details.

The reason for this seeming confusion appears to be that National Socialism, though a revolutionary movement, evolved as a regular political party with a complete organization of its own, until, by the time it came to power, it had become virtually a State within a State. Instead of merging itself with the State, or vice versa, this separate organization has been maintained. Of course, all branches of the State are headed by prominent Party men, and their higher subordinates are usually Party members. Indeed, a man may simultaneously hold a State and a Party office. But, in such cases, both the offices and their functions are kept consciously distinct from each other.

When Nazis try to explain to you the interactions of State and Party, they usually say the Party is like an electric motor running a lot of machinery. This motor is the great energizer. It revolves very rapidly and tries to make the machine go at top speed. The machine, however, tends to run at a regulated tempo, toning down in practice the motor's dynamic urge. The Party urges ever: "Faster! Faster!" The officials of the State Administration, however, charged as they are with actual responsibilities and faced with practical problems, act as a machine "governor," keeping progress within realistic bounds.

Dr. Robert Ley, head of the Labor Front, occupies the post of Organization-Leader for the entire Party, and on this exalted phase of his activities his views were enlightening.

"Dr. Ley," I asked him in an interview, "for a long

time I've been studying the various organizations you direct. I think I've learned considerable about them, yet I know I haven't got the whole picture. Will you explain to me briefly the basic principles underlying all of them? And will you also explain their relations to both the Party and the State?"

It was late afternoon. We were sitting in a cozy reception-room adjacent to the Doctor's study, in the restful atmosphere of tea, cakes, and sandwiches. For some moments, Dr. Ley sipped his tea reflectively.

"Let's see how I'd best put it," he said finally. "As to our basic ideas, they are very simple. First of all, the principle of natural leadership.

By this we mean the proved leader who by sheer merit has fought his way up from below to supreme command. This is best exemplified by Adolf Hitler, our Führer, whom we believe to be an inspired genius."

By this time Dr. Ley had fairly warmed to his subject. His gray eyes shone with enthusiasm.

"Our second principle," he went on, "is absolute loyalty and obedience. So long as a plan is under discussion, it is carefully weighed from every angle. Once debate is closed and a decision is made, everyone gets behind it one hundred percent. But behind both those principles is a third which is even more fundamental. This is what we call the *Gemeinschaft* — the organic unity of a people, founded on identity of blood. Germany is fortunate in being racially united. That is the ultimate secret of our harmonious strength."

"Thanks for the explanation," said I. "Now would you mind going on and telling me how, on those foundations, you have built up the various organizations you direct, and how they stand to the Party and to the State?"

"Before I do that," Dr. Ley answered, "let me make clear what the Party and the State mean to each other. The National Socialist Party, as others have doubtless told you, may be likened to a motor which supplies the energy by which an elaborate machine is run. To change the simile, we may also compare the Party to the advance-guard of a column of marching troops. Its duty is to pioneer, investigate, make everything safe. The State, on the other hand, is the main body which occupies the ground won and puts everything in final order. One of the outstanding features of the Third Reich is that the Party can, and does, make all sorts of experiments which would be impossible for State officials, tied



Lothrop Stoddard

down as they are by legal regulations and red tape."

"Would you mind making that a bit more specific?" I ventured.

"All right," he said. "Take me, for example. I'm not a State official. I'm purely a Party leader whose duty it is to prepare such experiments and set them going. Within my field, I have almost boundless freedom of action. For instance when the Führer ordered me to put through the People's Automobile (*Volkswagen*) Plan, I got the large sums needed. Of course I am held rigidly responsible for results. If I botched a job, I'd immediately be called to account. But so long as things go right, I don't have to waste my

time explaining to all sorts of people just what I'm doing. With us, it's efficiency that counts."

"Do your experiments always succeed?" I asked.

"Not always," Dr. Ley admitted. "And when, after a full and fair trial, they are found to be impracticable, we frankly give them up. Sometimes, again, we find an idea to be theoretically sound but, for one reason or another, premature. In that case we lay the idea aside, to be tried again under more favorable circumstances. But when an experiment has proved sound and workable, the Party presently hands it over to the State; which then, as it were, anchors it firmly into the national life by giving it permanent legal status. That's what has actually happened with the institution we call *Arbeitsdienst* — the universal labor service required of young men and women. It started as a social experiment run by the Party. Now, having proved itself out, it is a regular state matter."

"Which means," I suggested, "that the party is thereby free to take up still other social experiments?"

"Exactly," he nodded. "And we have so many measures, not merely for bettering life materially but for enriching it as well. We believe the more work we give men to do, the more enjoyment we must give them too. This applies to all grades of persons, with recreation furnished them according to their abilities and tastes. It is not a leveling process — rather is it a grading process, putting people in their right places."

"To each man according to his abilities?" I remarked.

"Absolutely," said Dr. Ley. "We are always on the lookout for ability; especially capacity for leadership (*Leitungsfähigkeit*). That precious quality confers upon an individual the right to an agreeable life, a

fine mansion, and many other good things. But the instant he shows himself unworthy of his position he loses them all and is cast aside. National Socialism plays no favorites. While princes and rich men have not been deprived of their titles and wealth, none of them have any prescriptive right to prominence in the Third Reich. If a prince in the Party (and we have them) shows capacity for leadership, he goes ahead. Otherwise, he stays in the background."

So much for this exposition of Party principles, from its organizational director — to be taken with the usual grain of salt between theory and practice. Now a few words as to the growth and character of Party membership, as gathered from various official spokesmen.

Down to January 30, 1933, the lists were open to all persons who cared to join. Up to that time the Party was fighting for its very life and every recruit was welcome. On that epochal date, the triumph of National Socialism became virtually assured. At the moment, its membership totaled approximately 1,600,000. These veterans, who joined while success was still doubtful and helped put it across, still enjoy a certain prestige faintly reminiscent of the "Old Bolsheviks" in Soviet Russia. The Nazi "Old Guard" hold most of the leading posts and are generally regarded as most trustworthy. This explains why one sees relatively few aristocratic types in the upper ranks of the Party today, because not many joined up before 1933.

Although a rush to get on the band-wagon began at once, the Party welcomed new members until the following May, when its ranks had swelled to 3,200,000 — just 100 percent. The list were then closed to individual joiners, but were still held open to members of certain nationalistic organizations like the *Stahlhelm* [veterans association] until 1936, when the Party had 4,400,000 adherents. Thenceforth, accessions were rigidly scrutinized. In fact, applications were discouraged; the Party sought the man, rather than the man the Party. The rule now is that membership is earned only after two or three years' faithful service in some form or other. It takes an outstanding act of merit in Party eyes for a man or woman to be admitted in lesser time. Much of the unpaid work of the country, such as volunteer service in the NSV [the national public welfare organization], Winter-Help drives, or food-card distribution, is done with this in mind. Exceptionally distinguished activity is required for such persons to rise high in the Party organization. Able technicians may soon land good jobs, but that is different from getting into the directing upper crust. I was told that less stringent rules had been in force for candidates from Sudetenland and Poland after the acquisition of those regions, and that the total

membership now approximates 6,000,000. After all, that is not a very large figure in comparison with the 80,000,000 Germans who inhabit the Greater Reich. The Party is thus still fairly exclusive, though if we add the families of members, the Nazi bloc probably numbers close to 20,000,000.

Theoretically, any young man or woman of unmixed "Aryan" blood is eligible when they come of age, and it is from the ranks of youth that the Party strives to recruit its membership. However, even here candidates must have an unblemished record, from a party standpoint, in the Hitler Youth, and must be vouched for by their local Party Group. Formal admission takes the form of a solemn oath taken in front of the swastika flag, with the right arm upraised in the Nazi salute. The oath consists of a pledge of unconditional obedience to Adolf Hitler and the party, after which the neophyte subscribes to a long list of commandments, the first one being: *The Führer is always right.*

From the rising generation, the party thus selects for membership those young men and women best conditioned for its purposes. And from this already selected group is recruited the *Schutz Staffeln* (Defense Detachments), commonly known as the SS. This is the Party's private army. Originally it was a relatively small elite section of the Brown-Shirt Storm Troopers. But after the Party assumed power the SA men were assigned mainly to routine patriotic duties such as collecting for the Winter-Help. The SS, on the contrary, became the party's mainstay in upholding its all-pervading influence and authority. I was unable to learn its precise numbers, but I understand its present strength to be at least 200,000, organized into regiments, brigades, and divisions, just like the regular army itself.

Furthermore, the SS serves as a training school for both the ordinary police force (*Schutz Polizei*) and the Political Secret Police — the dread *Gestapo*. All three allied organizations are headed by Heinrich Himmler, who built them up to their present efficiency and thus wields a power in the Reich presumably second only to that of the Führer himself.

The typical SS man is tall and blond, young or in the prime of life, with fine physique enhanced by careful athletic training. As Nora Waln aptly puts it, he has "the daily-dozen-followed-by-a- cold-shower look." As he strides along in his well-tailored black uniform with its symbolic death's-head insignia, he is clearly cock-o'-the-walk — and he knows it. It is interesting to observe how civilians instinctively give him the right-of-way on the sidewalks or in subway trains.

These SS may in many ways be compared to the Janissary Corps of the Old Ottoman Empire. To begin with they are picked men — picked for fanatic-

ical loyalty to the Party, for health and strength, and for unmixed "Aryan" blood. Before attaining full membership in the corps they undergo rigorous training, Spartan in character, which is best characterized by Nietzsche's famous dictum: *Be hard!* Well-poised hardness both to self and to others is their outstanding attitude. When discussing with foreign residents some harsh or ruthless aspect of the Nazi regime, they would often say: "That's the SS mentality coming out."

As might be expected, the SS have a strong *esprit de corps*. Their pride in themselves and their organization is unmistakable. Every aspect of their private lives must conform to strict standards and is carefully supervised. For instance, when they marry (as they are supposed to do in conformity with the Nazi eugenic program), the bride must be equally "Aryan," must pass exacting physical tests, and is expected to attend special courses in domestic and ideological training. The pair are thus deemed well-fitted to play the role required of them and to produce plenty of children for that biological aristocracy which is destined to be the natural rulers of the Third Reich. In return, SS families are well taken care of. Two of the best housing developments I was shown in the Berlin suburbs were for SS households.

I understand that the *Gestapo*, or Secret Police, are equally well disciplined and looked after, but of course they are invisible to ordinary view. I recall an amusing instance on this point. Some time after my arrival in Berlin I was chatting with a high Nazi acquaintance, who asked me casually; "By the way, how many *Gestapos* have you seen since you got here?"

"None — that I could recognize," was my reply.

He laughed heartily. "A good answer," he said. "And you never will — unless they want you to."

Well, there was one *Gestapo* that I did want to see — the Big Chief of them all — Heinrich Himmler himself. But I was told that seeing him was almost as difficult as getting an audience with the Führer, because he systematically shuns publicity and is therefore journalistically one of Germany's most inaccessible personalities. Naturally, that made me all the more eager to interview him. I finally did, the very day before I left Berlin. It was one of those by-products from my enhanced popularity which I encountered when I returned from Budapest, and which was undoubtedly due to my having strictly kept my word regarding the Hitler audience. Journalistically, this was a clear "scoop," for I was told by the Propaganda Ministry that mine was the first interview Himmler had ever given a foreign correspondent.

Like so many of my experiences in Nazi Germany, the whole affair was quite different from



Heinrich Himmler

what I had imagined. Off-hand, you would say that the redoubtable Himmler's headquarters would have a mysterious or even a sinister atmosphere. But it didn't. It is a stately old building, made over into offices. You need a special pass to enter, but I went with an official, so there was no delay. Ascending to the second story by a broad stone stairway, we were quickly shown the Chief's quarters, and passed through a suite of offices, light, airy, and tastefully businesslike. There, young men and women were busy with typewriters and filing-cabinets. If the men had not been in uniform, I might have imagined myself about to meet a big corporation executive. Certainly, there was no "police" atmosphere about the place, secret or otherwise; no obvious plainclothes-men, gimlet-eyed sleuths, or other "properties" of a similar nature.

When I finally entered the inner sanctum I was met by a brisk-stepping individual of medium height who greeted me pleasantly and offered me a seat on a well-upholstered sofa. Heinrich Himmler is a South German type, with close-cut dark hair, a Bavarian accent, and dark blue eyes which look searchingly at you from behind rimless glasses. He is only forty years of age — extraordinarily young for the man who heads the whole police force of the Reich, commands the entire SS, and has charge of the vast resettlement program whereby hundreds of thousands of Germans from the Baltic states, Russia, and northern Italy are coming back willy-nilly to their racial and cultural Fatherland.

Those are certainly three big jobs for one individual. How he does it all is hard to understand. But

you get at least an inkling when you meet and talk with him. The longer you are in his presence, the more you become conscious of dynamic energy — restrained and unspectacular, yet persistent and efficient to the last degree. Also you begin to glimpse what lies behind his matter-of-fact exterior. At first he impresses you as a rather strenuous bureaucrat. But as he discusses his police duties, you notice that his mouth sets in a thin line while his eyes take on a steely glint. Then you realize how formidable he must be professionally.

It was this aspect of these activities that I first broached. "I certainly am glad to meet one of whom I have heard so much," was my opening remark. "Perhaps you know that, in America, we hear rather terrible things about the *Gestapo*. Indeed," I added with a smile, "it is sometimes compared to the Russian Cheka, with you yourself, Excellency, as a second Dzerzhinsky!"

Himmler took this in good part. He laughed easily. "I'm sure our police organization isn't half as black as it's painted abroad," was his reply. "We certainly do our best to combat crime of every sort, and our criminal statistics imply that we are fairly successful. Frankly, we believe that habitual offenders should not be at large to plague society, so we keep them locked up. Why, for instance, should a sex-offender who has been sentenced three or four times be again set free, to bring lasting sorrow to another decent home? We send all such persons to a detention-camp and keep them there. But I assure you that their surroundings aren't bad. In fact, I know they are better fed, clothed, and lodged than the miners of South Wales. Ever seen one of our concentration-camps?"

"No," I answered, "I wasn't able to get permission."

"Too bad I didn't know about it," said Himmler. "There you'd see the sort of social scum we have shut away from society for its own good."

That was all very fine, but I felt that Himmler was hedging a bit. So I proceeded: "You refer there to criminals in the general sense of the term. But how about political offenders — say, old-fashioned liberals? Is any political opposition tolerated?"

"What a person *thinks* is none of our concern," shot back Himmler quickly. "But when he acts upon his thoughts, perhaps to the point of starting a conspiracy, then we take action. We believe in extinguishing a fire while it is still small. It saves trouble and averts much damage. Besides," he continued, "there isn't any need for political opposition with us. If a man sees something he thinks is wrong, let him come straight to us and talk the matter over. Let him even write me personally. Such letters always reach me. We welcome new ideas and are only too glad to correct mistakes. Let me give you an exam-

ple. Suppose somebody sees traffic on a busy corner badly handled. In other countries he could write a scathing letter to the newspapers saying how stupidly and badly the police run things. A hundred thousand people who may never have even seen that corner might get all excited, and the prestige of both the police and the State itself might suffer in consequence. With us, all that man has to do is to write us, and I assure you the matter will be quickly righted."

Feeling this traffic simile was a bit ingenuous, I tried to lead him back to the point he knew I had in mind. I nodded sympathetically and said, "That sounds reasonable. But how about a political matter? For instance, take a man like Pastor Niemoeller?"

I felt that ought to bring some reaction, because the Pastor is poison-ivy to most Nazis. Only a few days before, one fairly prominent member of the Party had grown red in the face at the mention of Niemoeller's name and had hissed: "The dirty traitor! If I had my way, I'd order him put up against a wall and shot!"

Himmler took it more calmly. He merely raised a deprecating hand, replying: "Please understand, it was political controversy which got him into trouble. We never interfere with matters of religious dogma." Then, after a moment's pause, he added: "If foreign attacks upon us in this affair would cease, perhaps he could be more leniently dealt with."

It was clear that Himmler didn't wish to discuss the subject further. His eyes narrowed slightly and a frown appeared above the bridge of his nose. Seeing there was nothing more to be gained on that line, I took another tack.

"Tell me something about the basis of the SS organization?" was my next question.

"The *Schutz-Staffel*," answered Himmler blandly, "represents the best and soundest young manhood of the race. It is founded on the ideals of self-sacrifice, loyalty, discipline, and all-round excellence. Besides being soldiers, the SS has many cultural sides. For instance, we have our own porcelain factory, make our own furniture, and do much scholarly research. When you leave me, I shall have you taken to the barracks of the *Leibstandarte* here in Berlin, the elite regiment which guards the Führer. There you will see the type of young manhood of which the SS is so justly proud."

"And now, Excellency," I went on, "a few words, if you will, about your resettlement policy?"

"That policy," replied Himmler, "can best be expressed in the words of our Führer: 'To give lasting peace to our eastern borders.' For centuries, that region and others in eastern Europe have been chronically disturbed by jarring minorities hopelessly mixed up with one another. What we are now

trying to do is to separate these quarreling elements in just, constructive fashion. We have voluntarily withdrawn our German minorities from places like the Baltic states, and we shall do the same in northern Italy. We are even marking out a place for the Jews where they may live quietly unto themselves. Between us and the Poles we seek to fashion a proper racial boundary. Of course, we are going about it slowly — you can't move multitudes of people with their livestock and personal belongings like pawns on a chessboard. But that is the objective we ultimately hope to attain."

Himmler talked further about his resettlement policies, carefully avoiding the tragic aspects that they involve. He then returned briefly to the subject of his SS. At that point, a smart young aide entered and saluted.

"The motor [car] is ready, sir," he announced.

"To see the Life-Guards," explained Himmler. "I certainly want you to get a glimpse of my men before you leave."

So saying, the redoubtable head of the *Gestapo* gave me a muscular handshake and wished me a pleasant homeward journey.

It was a wretched day in late January, cold as Greenland and with swirling spits of snow to thicken the blanket already on the ground. As Himmler's car reached the suburbs, it swerved and swayed ticklishly in hard-packed snow-ruts. However, the SS man at the wheel was a splendid driver and got us to our destination safely and with celerity.

Hitler's Life-Guards occupy the former Prussian Military Cadet School. The buildings are old, though well kept up. The one exception is the swimming-hall, a magnificent new building with a pool so large that I judged nearly a thousand men could bathe together without too much crowding. The Commandant — a hard-bitten old soldier, small, wiry, and dark-complexioned, in striking contrast to his young subordinates who were all blonds of gigantic size — proudly told me how it happened to be built.

It seems that the Führer came out one day to see how his Life-Guards were housed. At that time, the swimming-hall was an old structure capable of accommodating only one company at a time. Hitler looked it over and frowned. "This is no fit place for my *Leibstandarte* to bathe," he announced. "Bring me pencil and paper!" Then and there he sketched out his idea of what the new swimming-hall should be. And on those lines it was actually built.

Such is the "Party" and such are the men who control its destinies. What are we to think of this amazing organization and of its aggressively dynamic creed which so uncompromisingly challenges our world and its ideas?

One thing seems certain: The National Socialist upheaval that has created the Third Reich goes far deeper than the Fascist regime in Italy, and is perhaps a more defiant breach with the historic past than even the Communism of Soviet Russia. This the Nazis themselves claim with no uncertain voice. Listen to what Otto Dietrich, one of their outstanding spokesmen, has to say on this point:

"The Nationalist Socialist revolution is a totalitarian revolution ... It embraces and revolutionizes not only our culture but our whole thought and the concepts underlying it — in other words, our very manner of thinking. Hence it becomes the starting point, the condition, and the impelling force of all our actions ... We are crossing the threshold of a new era. National Socialism is more than a renaissance. It does not signify the return to an old and antiquated world. On the contrary, it constitutes the bridge to a new world!"

Outside of Germany, most persons seem inclined to think that the "new world" envisioned by the Nazis would not be a very desirable abode. However, that does not alter the fact that we are here confronted by a revolution of the most radical kind, and that its leaders are revolutionists from the ground up. Furthermore, though most of them are still relatively young in years, they are all veterans hardened by prolonged adversity and scarred from many battles. They are the logical outcome of the quarter-century of hectic national life which we have already discussed. In my opinion, therefore, both they and their movement may be deemed *normal by-products of an abnormal situation*.

To give one instance of the grim school wherein they were fashioned, let me cite an episode from my own experience. In mid-summer of the year 1923, I sat in my room at the Hotel Adlon, discussing with a German the deplorable position to which his country had then been reduced. I had just come to Berlin from a trip through the Rhineland and the Ruhr, where I had watched the passive-resistance campaign against the French invaders, seen the black troops, and studied other aspects of that tragic affair. Now, largely in consequence of that desperate maneuver, the Mark was slipping fast to perdition, national bankruptcy was at hand, and utter ruin loomed in the offing.

As my guest discussed the seemingly hopeless situation, he was visibly in agony. Sweat stood out on his forehead. Suddenly, his mood changed utterly. Flinging back his head, he burst into truly blood-curdling laughter, best described by the German phrase *galgenhumor* — gallows-humor. Still shaking with his macabre mirth, he leaned forward and tapped me on the knee.

"Millions of us have already died, on the battlefield and from the British hunger blockade," he

chuckled. "Perhaps millions more of us will perish, and we shall surely be ruined. No one can tell what trials await us, and the world will do little to assuage our agony. But, no matter what happens, it will be mainly the weak and soft who will perish. Soon, the good-natured, easy-going, pot-bellied German will be no more. Dr. Stoddard, let me make you a prophecy. If this goes on, in about fifteen years you will see a New Germany, so lean, so hard, so ruthless, that she can take on all comers — and beat them!"

The desperate spirit of the cornered man I talked to on a long-gone summer day typifies merely one phase of the bitter schooling which made Germany's present rulers what they are. In post-war Britain, a phrase was coined to depict their English counterparts. That phrase was: *The Lost Generation*. But if that were true of the war-scarred youth of Britain, how infinitely truer was it of German youth! Well, those war-youngsters are now in the saddle. So what we see in Germany is — *the lost generation come to power*.

From the moment I first looked at those rulers of the Third Reich, I felt there was something about them which, from my American viewpoint, was queer. As I analyzed them, I realized that it was a sort of twisted cynicism combined with a hard ruthlessness. And when I listened to their life-stories, I saw it could scarcely be otherwise. Most of them had entered the war as volunteers when they were mere boys. One, I recall, was only fifteen at the time; others were not much older. These burningly patriotic lads went through the hell of a losing war, culminating in crushing defeat. Then their abased spirits were given a savage tonic by joining the Free Corps formed to combat the attempt at a "Spartakist" [Communist] revolution. Joyously, they killed Communists for a while. After that, some of them tried to go to college or into business; but few of them could adapt themselves to the life of the Weimar republic which they hated and despised. Some of them went abroad, adventuring; the rest sulked and brooded until their ears heard a sudden trumpet-call. It was Nazidom's brazen clarion: *Deutschland, Erwache!* "Germany, Awake!" They listened to Adolf Hitler's oratory which stressed all the longings of their embittered hearts and they fell under his hypnotic spell. Into the ranks of the Storm-Troops they went, with additional years of fighting as they killed more Communists and "mastered the streets." Then, at last, victory — and undisputed power.

Such, in a nutshell, are the Nazis, as I analyzed them. The rest, only war's awesome arbitrament can decide.

Jewish Influence and Power

"During the last three decades Jews have made up 50 percent of the top two hundred intellectuals, 40 percent of American Nobel Prize winners in science and economics, 20 percent of professors at the leading universities, 21 percent of high level civil servants, 40 percent of partners in the leading law firms in New York and Washington, 26 percent of the reporters, editors, and executives of the major print and broadcast media, 59 percent of the directors, writers, and producers of the 50 top-grossing motion pictures from 1965 to 1982, and 58 percent of directors, writers, and producers in two or more prime time television series."

— Seymour Martin Lipset and Earl Raab, *Jews and the New American Scene* (Harvard Univ. Press, 1995), pp. 26-27.

'Ruling Symbol of Our Culture'

"The Holocaust is being misused as a symbol for a wide range of current political situations ... Whether presented authentically or inauthentically, in accordance with the historical facts or in contradiction to them, with empathy and understanding or as monumental kitsch, the Holocaust has become a ruling symbol of our culture ... Hardly a month goes by without a new TV production, a new film, a new drama, new books, prose or poetry, dealing with the subject, and the flood is increasing rather than abating."

— Israeli Holocaust historian Yehuda Bauer (professor at Hebrew University, Jerusalem). From a 1992 lecture published in: David Cesarani, ed., *The Final Solution: Origins and Implementation* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), pp. 305, 306.

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

— Bismarck

"Writing history is a dangerous trade, and anyone who undertakes it must bring relevant facts into the story, if loyalty to truth is his profession."

— Charles A. Beard, American historian (1874-1948). Quoted by James J. Martin in *American Liberalism and World Politics, 1931-1941* (1964), volume 1, p. ii.

Man of the Century?

The suspense is over. *Time* magazine has finally named its man — sorry, person — of the century: Albert Einstein. Oddly enough, *Time* named Winston Churchill its man of the half-century in 1950, and Einstein, who died in 1955, did nothing after 1950 to surpass Churchill, who at least returned to power briefly after the century's midpoint.

In fact Einstein had done all his ground-breaking work in physics before World War I. His single achievement after that was to persuade Franklin Roosevelt to launch the quest for a superbomb that would kill whole cities in a flash. He seems to have been grieved when the atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki instead of Berlin and Munich; and he was especially alarmed that it might later be used against the Soviet Union. A reliable fellow traveler of Stalin, he spent his latter days denouncing nuclear warfare and the United States. After defending Stalin's show trials in the 1930s, he warned against "McCarthyism" in the 1950s. As a scientist, a genius; as a human being, a worm.

Time's runner-up for Person of the Century is Franklin D. Roosevelt, my own choice for con man of the century (followed by Freud, Picasso, and Clinton). The magazine devotes several pages to a gushing dithyramb to FDR by that garrulous den mother of liberal mythology, Doris Kearns Goodwin. Sure enough, we hear of FDR's cigarette holder, maintained at a "jaunty angle." No other cliché is omitted: "buoyant optimism ... serene confidence ... moral compass ... unshakable belief in the American people ... came to sympathize with the poor and the underprivileged ... defied prevailing opinion ... magnificent sense of timing ... in the end, Roosevelt's great strengths far outweighed his

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weaknesses ... the most genuine and unswerving spokesman for democracy," etc., etc.

Mrs. Goodwin's essay is interesting not because it's in any way original, but precisely because it isn't. It's a recitation of the orthodox liberal litany, without a syllable of deviation.

She says barely a word about FDR's chum Stalin, the real winner of World War II. By implication, Roosevelt helped the Soviet Union only for the sake



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of whipping Hitler; never mind his diplomatic recognition of the pariah Communist state in 1933, his personal fondness for "Uncle Joe," and his readiness to overlook forced famine, purges, and invasions of Poland, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania. Even before the war FDR assured Americans that the Soviet constitution protected religious freedom just as ours did.

Considering who his boss was, Alger Hiss got a raw deal. The active Soviet sympathizers around Roosevelt — Hiss, Harry Hopkins, Harry Dexter White, and others — merely reflected FDR's attitude. He had no differences in principle with Stalin; he merely acted under more restraints. None of this is mentioned by Mrs. Goodwin.

Mrs. Goodwin says nothing, of course, about Roosevelt's contempt for the US Constitution he was sworn to uphold. She has never read it and cares nothing for its severe divisions and limitations of power. His scheme to pack the Supreme Court, which shocked even his fellow Democrats, gets no mention either. She merely coos over the way Roosevelt communicated his infectious "confidence" to the little people during the Depression, especially through his inspiring "fireside chats."

She makes a glancing regretful reference to his order that Japanese-Americans be deprived of their rights, a measure even J. Edgar Hoover condemned as unconstitutional. Not a word about FDR's use of the FBI, the IRS and other Federal agencies to spy on, intimidate, and control his opponents. Nor about his slandering of his critics, like the brave Charles Lindbergh, which went far beyond anything McCar-

thy would do later. Nor about FDR's attempts to stir envy and hate against "economic royalists," an absurd but potent phrase.

Nor does she understand the FDR's giveaway programs were a classic demagogic technique of bribing the electorate. If you want to give Roosevelt credit for anything, it should be for his Machiavelian savvy in perceiving and exploiting the worst possibilities of mass democracy.

Not a word, either, about FDR's resort to the savage practice of terror-bombing cities, deliberately targeting civilians in utter violation of the principles of civilized warfare — an "advance to barbarism," as F.J.P. Veale later called it. Though fully worthy of Stalin, this policy was adopted by FDR in partnership with his fellow savior of Western civilization Winston Churchill. (At the post-war sham trials at Nuremberg, the blitz of London was not included in the "war crimes" the Germans were accused of, since the Allies had initiated the aerial bombing of civilian areas — a fact that was discreetly acknowledged only years after the war had ended, when few were paying attention.)

Thus did Franklin Roosevelt save "democracy and capitalism," according to Mr. Goodwin. She does her utmost to make him sound like a philosopher-statesman with some higher purpose than getting elected and re-elected and amassing power. And of course she acknowledges no cost: it's pure profit, with no loss in terms of American constitutionalism, the rule of law, personal liberty, or Christian morality.

Mrs. Goodwin's resolute optimism has a quaint shallowness, a refusal not only to see other possible dimensions of her hero, but a typically American inability to see the potential for evil in the American role in the world. For her there is no tragedy in a war that claimed tens of millions of innocent lives, leaving every survivor scarred — only a happy vindication of Democracy and its "peerless leader."

The Allied cause was fatally corrupted by its association with the Soviet Union, and even today the democratic West remains both tainted and morally disoriented by its inability to admit the profound evil of the means it adopted for the purpose of defeating Hitler. The notion that Roosevelt and Churchill were innocents at Yalta, and that Stalin revealed his true colors only after the war, is nonsense.

The year 2000 affords one more occasion for rehearsing the threadbare epic of our great progressive heroes, airbrushing their little peccadilloes out of the picture. But Churchill professing surprise at the "Iron Curtain" was as hypocritical as Einstein professing shock at the horrors of nuclear war. Were these far-sighted men so unable to foresee the natural consequences of their own actions?

Persecution Update

A few months ago I was persecuted for my opinions again. A speech I was scheduled to deliver to the Shakespeare Oxford Society was cancelled, not because of my views on Shakespeare, but because a handful of members accused me of "anti-Semitism." Other members objected — after the fact. They weren't consulted in advance, nor was I; the governing board simply caved in to backstage pressure, in the usual way of these things, then announced its decision.

What this had to do with Shakespeare we could only guess. In fact it seems odd that a society that defines "anti-Semitism" so loosely should be devoted to the creator of Shylock.

I'm driven to the conclusion that I'm a victim of a boycott — or more precisely, a goycott. Such luminaries as Richard Cohen of the *Washington Post* and Leon Wiesel of the *New Republic* have refused to participate in broadcast discussions with me, citing my views on Israel — even when Israel wasn't the scheduled subject of discussion!

There's no point in complaining. If Israel means so much to these folks, so be it.

But I do want to make one point. The usual pretext of Israel's American partisans is that Israel is a "reliable," if not indispensable, ally of the United States. But if they were really motivated by the welfare of the United States, why do they attack critics of Israel and the alliance as anti-Semitic, anti-Israel, insensitive to Jewish concerns, and so forth?

According to their own professions, they should attack those critics for hurting *American* interests. Yet they never do. And nobody is surprised by this. Everyone seems to understand what their real motive is.

The hypocrisy lies in the pretense that American and Israeli interests are the same thing, and that the Israeli lobby isn't just doing what most lobbies do: seeking the sacrifice of the general good to its own special purposes. This is the old problem of what the framers of the Constitution called "factions."

More recently, American Jews, supporters of Israel and otherwise, have worded about the charge of dual loyalty." But the Israel lobby doesn't evince *dual* loyalty; it has only *one* primary loyalty. It would display *dual* loyalty if it occasionally recognized a divergence between American and Israeli interests, and preferred the former to the latter. Which it never does. It pretends that no divergence exists, that Israel's enemies are also America's enemies, and that the United States should, for its own good, maintain hostilities toward Arab and Muslim countries.

All this is a matter of simple logic and common

sense. We have been saved from the natural consequences of the Israel lobby's conduct by Israel itself — specifically, by the realism of Yitzhak Rabin.

And for that, no credit belongs to our toadying politicians; nor to those conservative pundits who do their Judaeo-Christian duty by staying on the safe side of their neoconservative cronies, while knifing those of us who apply our principles even to Israel — principles that are supposed to be theirs too.

The trouble with the customary charges of bigotry — not only anti-Semitism, but racism, sexism, homophobia, etc. — is that they assume that certain demands must be granted because of their provenance. They are made by the pedigreed underdogs. If you resist them, you are at least insensitive to the victims, and possibly hostile. The demands are assumed to be moral tests of those they are made against, who have no right to scrutinize them.

That's a formula for a politics of passion, imbalance, intemperance, and finally injustice. It denies the principle that there may be two sides to a question; it flouts the whole Aristotelian tradition of the West, which seeks to measure every claim against a total moral order and to draw appropriate lines against excess.

When Aristotelian reason is banished, there is no longer such a thing as moral order or excess. Any critical scrutiny of inordinate political claims can be treated as persecution of those who make them, as I keep discovering. It's no use pleading that you merely want to test whether the fights some people claim for themselves are bound to be greater than the rights of others, and to place unjust burdens on those others. To reason is to incur guilt.

And so "civil rights" have come to mean privileged treatment for some, treatment that can be purchased only at the cost of depriving others of their natural freedom of association. "Israel's right to exist" has come to mean its privilege of living off the tax money of Americans, while denying Christians and Muslims the equal rights Jews elsewhere properly insist on for themselves. "Gay rights" means the suppression of sexual morality. It never ends.

Verdicts of History

Though I try in my writing to present myself as the soul of reason, the truth is that I'm merely capturing and recording what I think are my relatively few lucid moments. It has taken me many years to reach conclusions which, once achieved, appear so obvious that I wonder why it took me so long.

The other day, for example, it hit me that I'd spent most of my life vaguely assuming that Lincoln

had abolished slavery by a simple act of will. Nobody ever taught me that explicitly, but it's the impression we are given by our teachers, textbooks, and public Lincoln-worship. You'd think (as I certainly did) that Lincoln was the first president who didn't believe in slavery, and one day he just picked up his pen and wrote an order doing away with it.

The truth, of course, is more complicated. Lincoln wanted to punish the South for secession, encourage a slave uprising, and give the Union cause a moral gloss that would override Northern reservations about quelling an independence movement: after all, many Northerners were willing to let the South have its independence. Besides, Lincoln had no constitutional power to abolish slavery: he knew it, and he knew everyone else knew it. He could justify it only as a punitive measure of expropriation against what he chose to define as insurrection. Legally, he wasn't abolishing slavery; merely putting down a rebellion. Slaves in the Union states remained slaves.

Lord Palmerston, the British Prime Minister, observed that Lincoln had freed the slaves over whom he had no authority, while not freeing those over whom he did have authority. But once the Union had conquered the South and freed slaves within the Confederacy, slavery had to go in the loyal border states too. But a constitutional amendment was required, not a mere statute, edict, or executive order.

Today, of course, Lincoln's act is treated as a feat of pure moral will, and freeing the slaves has become, in retrospect, the whole purpose of the Civil War. Of course few Northerners would have been willing to give their lives for the Union if the issue had been framed that way at the time; the South would have been allowed to secede, and slavery would have continued indefinitely. I like to think it would have been abolished by attrition before very long, but I have no way of knowing that.

The Civil War had three great results. The one we always hear about is the accidental one of abolishing slavery. The other two were the deaths of more than a half million young men, which is sometimes mentioned as a sort of regrettable detail, and the subversion of constitutional restraints on Union power, which is rarely mentioned at all, since it was precisely the tear of consolidated government — the kind we now rake for granted — that led the Southern states to secede.

I often think of the wonderful exchange between General Burgoyne and Major Swindon that concludes Bernard Shaw's witty play about the American Revolution, *The Devil's Disciple*. When Burgoyne remarks acidly that Britain is about to lose her American colonies because of the folly of a single British minister, the flustered Swindon asks: "But

what will history say?" Burgoyne, ever the suave ironist, replies: "History, sir, will tell lies, as usual."

Here's to the Losers

I have a temperamental sympathy for lost causes, or at least a passionate curiosity about them. I can't stand the "progressive" attitude that in nearly all the great controversies of history, remote and recent, the right side won. I always want to know what the losing side had to say for itself. History, notoriously, is written by the victorious side; and usually in such a way as to provoke the question why there could ever have been any other side. Even if the winning side was always right, why did some people oppose it?

Why was there an Inquisition? Why was there slavery? Why did some people vote against ratifying the Constitution? why was there a Confederacy? Why were there "isolationists"? All these causes are so discredited in modern rhetoric that it remains to be explained why opposition to them wasn't as unanimous in their own time as it is in ours. And it seems to me a kind of bigotry to assume that there was never anything to be said in their favor — as if, had we been there, we'd have naturally been on what is now assumed to have been the "right" side.

The Imperial Theme

The United States isn't just a republic. In fact it's not at all the little federal republic it used to be. It's an empire, an immense concentration of power, overly complicated and overextended, with no clear purpose, rules, or rationale. It undertakes vast new commitments at home and abroad even as it sinks beneath a \$5 trillion debt it lacks the will and resources to deal with. Americans don't like the word "empire," so they resist facing the obvious.

Clinton himself is a reluctant imperialist. So are most Americans. In fact there is little domestic support and even less enthusiasm for the Bosnian mission. None of the major Democratic constituencies — labor, Jews, blacks, feminists, teachers, homosexuals — is wholeheartedly behind it. The military is deeply skeptical. Clinton has more conservative and neoconservative than liberal support for this adventure, which isn't saying much. Every congressman reports passionate and almost unanimous opposition from his own district. Our young president knows that he is courting political disaster, even if only a handful of American soldiers die in Bosnia.

But Clinton is trapped. He feels he has no choice. Unless the United States gets into the act in Bosnia, along with its Western European "allies," it will forfeit its "leadership" in both the United Nations and

the "NATO alliance." But how can there be an "alliance" without a common threat, or a common enemy? Thereby hangs a tale.

The historian Stephen Ambrose speaks (approvingly) of America's "rise to globalism" during and after World War II. "Globalism" is one of several euphemisms for empire; it would sound silly to speak of Belgium's or Singapore's "rise to globalism," however much their engagements with the outside world may have widened. It's assumed that "world leadership" is an American duty and prerogative. Only in America is "isolationism" deemed a sin; when Russia threw off Communism and turned inward, in fact, the same Americans who would lament a similar mining inward at home applauded it there. Now the United States is, as Ben Wattenberg crowed, the world's first "omnipower." Its "sphere of influence" is not even a mere hemisphere, but the whole sphere — the great globe itself. This after generations of accusing Germany, Japan, the Soviet Union, and Communist China of seeking "world domination."

Gore Vidal has said that the Civil War was America's Iliad. That was once true, but World War II has displaced the Civil War, making it seem like a local skirmish. World War II was vaster, far better recorded (which keeps it still relatively immediate), and more ideologically seminal. Even conservatives now feel they have to make their obeisances to the official mythology of that war. For Americans in our time, history virtually begins with that war and is centered around it in the same way the ancient Greeks and Romans thought history was begun and forever shaped by the Trojan War. World War II not only shaped our world but provided it with its most basic lessons, such as "the lesson of Munich" and "the lessons of the Holocaust."

The correct lesson is being missed. The United States under Franklin Roosevelt was remade on the European model of the centralized state. The great old "isolationist" critics of the New Deal, including John Flynn and Garet Garrett, saw clearly that the New Deal was not the opposite of fascism but its counterpart; that domestic centralization would be easily consummated under wartime conditions; and that the postwar settlement was a dual US-Soviet imperialism (reified in the United Nations), which quickly split into rival empires.

The conversion of the United States into a radically different system required all sorts of hypocrisies. These began with the Nuremberg Trials, in which mass murderers were tried for mass murder by mass murderers, all of whom had made ruthless war on civilians. At home, the US Government was forced to "reinterpret" the Constitution, not as something it had to obey, but as something it had to *enforce* — against the very states and citizens whose

reserved powers and rights were underlined by the most important articles of the Bill of Rights, the Ninth and Tenth Amendments, both of which became dead letters.

In an odd way all this has made federalism global just as it has ceased to be national. The Constitution is defunct at home, but something like the original constitutional system obtains abroad. Other countries have the same relation to Washington the “several states” used to have. They are allowed to govern themselves internally, provided they adhere to the union. (It’s doubtful that outright secession would be tolerated.) Of course even here there are exceptions: South Africa’s apartheid laws became an excuse for intervention, just as “civil rights” became the excuse for Washington to violate the reserved powers of the states.

But in general, US power over other countries is so far confined to external matters. As in Kuwait, the United States is in Bosnia on an imperial mission — to define and guarantee borders.

Clinton has won support for the Bosnian mission in quarters where he is usually opposed with contempt. Many neoconservatives, who want the United States to play an imperial role for Israel’s sake, are backing him. The *Weekly Standard*, Rupert Murdoch’s new magazine, is squarely behind him. So is most of the *Commentary* crowd. So is William Safire. So is *The Wall Street Journal*, which in a single editorial denounced “head-in-the-sand isolationism,” “beer-belly isolationism,” and “hell-no-we-won’t-go isolationism” — never acknowledging the principled “neutrality” among the “belligerents of Europe” that guided Washington, Jefferson, and most of the founding fathers, who feared what they called “the poison of foreign influence” to which republics are especially vulnerable. (They argued that a monarch, unlike an elected politician, has no natural motive to sell out his country’s interests.)

But other Zionists and neoconservatives, such as Charles Krauthammer and Abe Rosenthal, strongly oppose the mission, if only because it may drain imperial resources and popular support they’d rather reserve for future occasions when Israel’s interests may be more nearly touched.

There was a time when the US empire could be sustained. It may even have been profitable. After World War II, the United States was the only major country that wasn’t devastated. Its domestic institutions and moral traditions were still solid. Washington wasn’t yet consuming most of its wealth. Taxes were low; incomes were soaring. The welfare state was relatively small. Christian standards of conduct could be presumed, in private life and in public. Most Americans could feel that their government was on their side and that this meant that

they were free. The white birth rate was high. The dollar was strong. Crime wasn’t a worry.

If you’re old enough, you can amaze yourself by simply remembering how high national morale was in those days. People didn’t fret about what their government was doing, because everything was going so well. There were still deep anxieties — the fear left over from the Depression, the new fear of Communism and nuclear war — but Americans believed in their future. The few things liberalism asked in the way of welfare payments and civil fights seemed like reasonable concessions for a rich majority to make to the less favored. Federal spending was in the tens of billions. Only a few right-wing Cassandras warned of organic trouble ahead, arising not from foreign threats, but from the principles that were taking root within the governing system and the ruling elites.

How times have changed. Americans no longer feel much hope for their future, and they have accordingly ceased to feel that they profit by their country’s imperial role, any more than they feel that they are the beneficiaries of the welfare state. The empire is inseparable from the welfare state, and they are tired of paying for both.

Given a welfare state that supports even *illegal* aliens, we are headed for all kinds of trouble. We have a regime that, apart from being anti-white and anti-Christian, subverts family morality, crime control, private property, economic sanity, and every other bulwark against social chaos. The marriage of liberalism and empire may be the most potent recipe for disaster ever devised.

Inheriting the Future

“There is an iron law in history: the future belongs to the fertile. Just as the clan-centered, child-rich barbarian tribes ... swept away the sensuous and sterile Western Roman Empire, so shall new barbarians arise. Barring religious renewal ... the fate of the European Community is already written: The heirs to the continent will be ... the Muslims, the Asians, the Africans — who have been brought in to clean up after their hosts. With fertility levels three to four times that of their neighbors ... What remains of the splendor and wealth of Europe will probably be theirs by the mid-21st century. In other words, forget the ‘new politics’ of the Tony Blairs; bet on the Taliban.”

— Allan Carlson, “An Elegy for the Free Sexual World,” *Family in America*, July 1999.

Flawed Documentary of Execution Expert

Mr. Death: The Rise and Fall of Fred A. Leuchter, Jr. (1999) Genre: Documentary film. Length: 1 hr. 31 min. MPAA Rating: "PG-13" (www.mrdeath.net). Starring: Fred A. Leuchter, Jr., David Irving, James Roth, Shelley Shapiro, Suzanne Tabasky, Robert-Jan Van Pelt, Ernst Zündel. Director: Errol Morris (www.errolmorris.com). Producers: Dorothy Aufiero, David Collins, Michael Williams. Released by: Lions Gate Films.

Reviewed by Greg Raven

'Mr. Death" is a stylized documentary that deals with the life and work of Fred A. Leuchter, Jr., a US Federal Court qualified expert in execution technology. On the basis of his qualifications, in 1988 Leuchter was commissioned by German-Canadian publisher Ernst Zündel to conduct the first thorough forensic examination of the alleged Nazi gas chambers at Auschwitz and Birkenau in Poland. After Leuchter testified that the alleged facilities were not — and could not have been — used for mass extermination, Jewish activists ruined his life. (See Winter 1992 *Journal*, pp. 421-492)

Even though director Errol Morris is known for his portrayals of eccentrics ("Stairway to Heaven," "Fast, Cheap & Out of Control," "The Thin Blue Line," and "Gates of Heaven"), his choice of Leuchter as a subject may seem odd, considering that Morris is Jewish and claims to have lost relatives in the Holocaust, while Jewish groups have attempted to portray Leuchter as a dangerous anti-Semite.

Leuchter's Background

During the opening credits, Leuchter sits in what appears to be an oversized bird cage, which rises from the floor amidst arcing bolts of electricity. From this jarring beginning, "Mr. Death" settles down to allow its subject to retrace the path he took in becoming America's only execution hardware specialist. Leuchter recounts how he grew up around prisons, prison employees and convicts, the result of going to work with his father (a corrections officer for Massachusetts). It quickly becomes apparent that Morris has a gift for combining interviews and new footage (typically seen in documentaries) with contemporaneous images, recreations, and other clips, to make fluid montages that are striking in their impact.

As Leuchter explains, he became involved in the

manufacture of execution equipment out of concern with the deplorable condition of the hardware found in most of the state's prisons, "which generally results in torture prior to death."

A number of years ago, I was asked by a state to look at their electric chair. I was surprised at the condition of the equipment and I indicated to them what changes should be made to bring the equipment up to the point of doing a humane execution.

His first job was refurbishing an electric chair for the state of Tennessee. This led to jobs for other state prisons in a sequence Leuchter acknowledges defies logic:

What lethal injection has to do with electrocution is beyond me.... Simply because I'm capable of building an electric chair, doesn't mean I'm capable of building a lethal injection machine; they're two totally different concepts.... Essentially the states talk with each other.... The reasoning here is that I built helmets for electric chairs, so now I could build lethal injection machines. I now build lethal injection machines, so I'm now competent to build a gallows. And since I'm building gallows, I'm also competent to work on gas chambers because I've done all of the other three. And what really makes you competent is the fact that you have the necessary background, you do the investigation, you find out what the problem is and you solve it.

Throughout the 30 or so minutes required to establish Leuchter's credentials and work history, interruptions are few and minor: most of the time, Morris trains his camera on Leuchter in close-up, letting Leuchter tell his story almost alone. This changes radically, however, in the segments that follow.

The Leuchter Report

In Toronto, Ernst Zündel was being tried under the little-used "false news" law for publishing *Did Six Million Really Die?*, a booklet by British author Richard Harwood that disputes Holocaust extermination stories, including claims of mass killings in Nazi gas chambers. French revisionist Robert Faurisson urged Zündel to have an acknowledged American gas chamber expert conduct a forensic examination of the alleged Nazi gas chambers,

which at that time had never been done (See Robert Faurisson, "The Zündel Trials [1985 and 1988]," Winter 1988 *Journal*, pp. 417-431). In the film, Zündel explains, "You can't open up the telephone book and say gas, and then chamber, and then experts, and out come ten Fred Leuchters. No. There's nobody. Fred Leuchter was our only hope." Leuchter concurs:

I testified in Canada for two reasons: First, the trial was an issue of freedom of speech and freedom of belief. As an American, one who supports the Bill of Rights, I believe that Mr. Zündel has the right to believe and say what he chooses. I have this right in the United States.

Secondly, Mr. Zündel was not on trial for a misdemeanor. This was a major felony. He could have faced up to 25 [sic] years in prison for printing a document stating that there were no gas chambers at Auschwitz. I believe that any man, no matter what he's done, has a right to a fair trial, and the best possible defense that he can muster.

I, unfortunately, was the only expert in the world who could provide that defense. There was no one else.

Morris artistically intercuts footage taken by Zündel's videographer of Leuchter's visit to Auschwitz and Birkenau, with his own recreations of Leuchter gathering samples at various sites alleged to have been Nazi gas chambers. Leuchter says, "I was taught that they had gas executions there."

I expected to see facilities that could have been used as gas chambers. I expected to see areas that were explosion-proof. I expected to see areas that were leak-proof. There have to be holes in walls or areas where they had exhaust fans and pipes. There has to be something to remove the gas after it has been put into the room. There has to be some kind of a device to heat the chalk pellets and sublimate the gas to get it to go into the air. These things didn't exist ... Whether or not these facilities were used for gas execution, that's not a mystery; I don't believe they were, because in my best engineering opinion I don't think they could've been. It's a tough job, to execute several hundred people at once. We have a hard job executing one man. I think it'd be easier to shoot them or hang them ... I did everything possible to substantiate and prove the existence of the gas chambers, and I was unable to.

Tests performed on Leuchter's samples by a prestigious US laboratory revealed there were almost no traces of cyanide compounds in the concrete, bricks, and mortar of the alleged gas chambers.

Leuchter presented his engineering and chemi-

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"Mr. Death" was first released to the general public in New York and Los Angeles in December 1999 and January 2000. This ad appeared in *The New York Times*.



Errol Morris

cal findings to the Toronto court in 1988, causing an immediate sensation. Zündel quickly published an abridged version of Leuchter's detailed forensic study as the *Leuchter Report*. Since then, it has been translated into dozens of languages, with hundreds of thousands of copies circulated world wide. (The *Leuchter Report* is available from the IHR for \$17.00 postpaid, and on the Institute's web site at <http://www.ihr.org/books/leuchter/>.)

Best-selling British historian David Irving was so impressed by Leuchter's findings that he agreed to testify on Zündel's behalf. While Irving disparages Leuchter personally on film in a variety of ways, he does acknowledge:

He came back with these earth-shattering results. The big point: there is no significant residue of cyanide in the brickwork. That's what converted me. When I read that in the report in the courtroom in Toronto, I became a hard-core disbeliever.

The Attacks Begin

In an attempt to discredit Leuchter's competence and findings, Morris juxtaposes architect Robert-Jan van Pelt, and chemist James Roth. Van Pelt teaches cultural history and architecture at the University of Waterloo, Canada, has written a book about Auschwitz, and has submitted a lengthy expert opinion about the Holocaust and other matters on behalf of anti-revisionist author Deborah Lipstadt in Irving's lawsuit against her in London. (See Irving's opening statement to the court elsewhere in this issue.) Roth, formerly a professor of chemistry at Cornell University, was laboratory manager of Alpha Analytical Laboratories, where Leuchter had his samples assayed. Conspicuously absent are researchers who have independently verified Leuchter's findings, such as Germar Rudolf, formerly of the prestigious Max Planck Institute, and Walter Lüftl, a court-recognized expert engineer in Austria, head of a large engineering firm, and formerly president of the Austrian Engineer's Chamber. (See "The Lüftl Report," Winter 1992 *Journal*, pp. 391-420. A summary edition of *The Rudolf Report* is available from the IHR for \$9.00 postpaid.)

Morris gratuitously includes Jewish activists Shelly Shapiro, director of the Holocaust Survivors and Friends Education Center, and Adjunct Professor at the University of Albany School of Education, and Suzanne Tabasky, founding member of the Malden Holocaust Commission. Neither has any competence in the field of execution technology, forensic science, or chemistry; they appear only to disparage Leuchter's character.

Robert-Jan van Pelt leads off the barrage by dismissing Leuchter as a "fool" who is "no Sherlock Holmes," a taste of what's to come from others. Van Pelt claims to have painstakingly retraced Leuchter's steps in collecting samples at Auschwitz and Birkenau, and belittles Leuchter for not visiting the Auschwitz Museum archives, where van Pelt claims there exists a "concentration of evidence" for gassings. Morris shows van Pelt handling blueprints in the archives, but their contents are never revealed to the viewer.

Perhaps more damaging are the remarks of James Roth. Although he has never been to Auschwitz or Birkenau, he is portrayed as someone with an expertise greater than Leuchter's. At the 1988 trial of Zündel, Roth's testimony explicitly supported Leuchter's methodology in collecting samples. However, in "Mr. Death," Roth states:

I don't think the Leuchter results have any meaning.... Hindsight being 20/20, the test was not the correct one to have been used for the analysis. He presented us with rock samples anywhere from the size of your thumb up to half

the size of your fist.... You have to look at what happens to cyanide when it reacts with a wall. Where does it go? How far does it go? Cyanide is a surface reaction, it's probably not going to penetrate more than 10 microns. A human hair is 100 microns in diameter. Crush this sample up. I have just diluted that sample ten thousand, a hundred thousand times. If you are gonna go look for it you are going to look on the surface only. There's no reason to go deep because it is not going to be there.

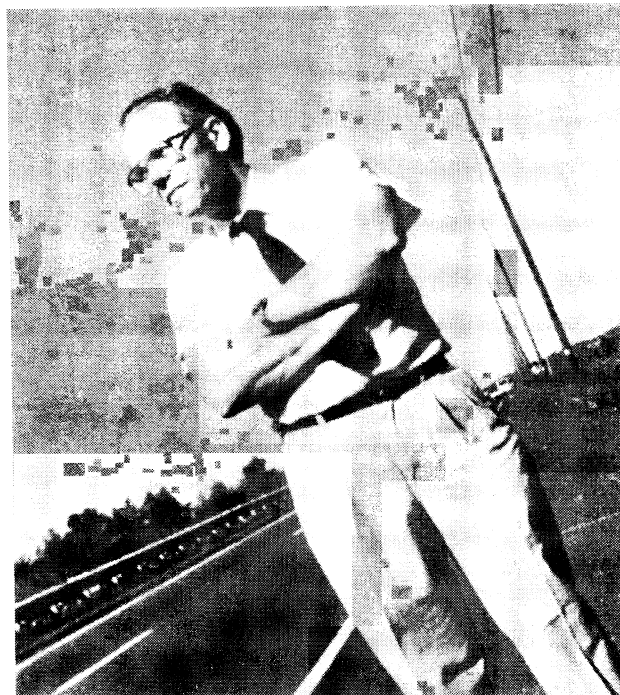
Which was the exposed surface? I didn't have any idea. That's like analyzing paint on a wall, by analyzing the timber that's behind it. If they go in with blinkers on, they will see what they want to see. What was he really trying to do? What was he trying to prove?

The viewer is left to decide if Leuchter was the best person to conduct a forensic examination of the alleged gas chambers, or if he has been miscast all his adult life by people assuming he had skills in one area based on past performance in another area.

Morris intersperses Shapiro's and Tabasky's denigrating commentary among what should properly be a scientific discussion. At one point, for example, Shapiro appears on screen and abruptly declares, "The man is an anti-Semite. There are hate-mongers in this country, and he's one of them." Nothing in Leuchter's manner, tone, or utterances lends any credence to that charge. To leave no doubt as to who "they" are, Morris shows Leuchter addressing the Ninth IHR Conference in 1989, and a meeting in Germany. (Videos of all of Leuchter's IHR conference presentations are available from the IHR.) Morris fails to inform the viewer that Leuchter subsequently was arrested and for months kept in "investigative detention" in Germany because of his findings, or that Leuchter was arrested in Britain and subsequently expelled for the same reason, or that the man shown standing next to Leuchter at the meeting in Germany, Günter Deckert, himself was sentenced to one year imprisonment and had to pay a fine merely for translating Leuchter's remarks. (See "Political Leader Punished," July-August 1993 *Journal*, p. 26.)

Not until some time later does Morris give Leuchter the chance to say:

Of course I'm not an anti-Semite. I have a lot of friends that are Jewish. I've lost Jewish friends, too, because of what's happened. I bear no ill will to any Jews any place, whether they're in the United States or abroad. I bear a great deal of ill will to those people that have come after me, those people who have persecuted and prosecuted me, but that's got nothing to do with them being Jewish. That only has to do with the



Fred Leuchter in a scene from "Mr. Death."

fact that they've been interfering with my right to live, think, breathe, and earn a living.... They've expressed their unquestioned intent of destroying me simply because I testified in Canada, not because I have any other affiliation with any anti-Semitic organization, not because I'm affiliated with any Nazi or neo-Nazi organization.

Jewish activists embarked on a relentless campaign of defamation against Leuchter, going so far as to lodge a complaint with the state of Massachusetts that he was practicing engineering without a license. Wardens around the United States received a letter, warning them not to do business with Leuchter. He lost his livelihood, his wife, his car (twice), and eventually had to work anonymously in another state in menial jobs just to feed himself.

Toward the end of the film, Morris asks Leuchter, "Have you ever thought that you might be wrong, or do you think that you could make a mistake?" Leuchter replies:

No, I'm past that. When I attempted to turn those facilities into gas execution facilities and was unable to, I made a decision at that point that I wasn't wrong. And perhaps that's why I did it. At least it cleared my mind, so I know that I left no stone unturned. I did everything possible to substantiate and prove the existence of the gas chambers, and I was unable to.

Morris seems unconcerned that Jewish activists

have ruined Leuchter's life and career for alleged thought crimes, and that by slanting his film to alter the viewer's perception of Leuchter, he is participating in the ongoing attempts to destroy Leuchter.

Shabby Treatment

Leuchter comes across just as straightforward and guileless on film as he is in real life. As a result, some viewers of earlier versions at the Sundance Festival, the Toronto Film Festival and Harvard University began to question the Holocaust extermination stories they'd been told, while others suspected that Morris himself might have been converted to Holocaust revisionism. At the eleventh hour, Morris re-edited the film in an effort to emphasize his anti-revisionist point of view. Character assassination aside, the question remains as to whether or not Leuchter's findings regarding the alleged Nazi gas chambers at Auschwitz and Birkenau are correct.

Van Pelt

Perhaps in response to Holocaust revisionists, some anti-revisionists today are attempting to minimize the role of gas chambers in the Holocaust. Van Pelt is not among them. He tells the viewer:

Crematorium II is the most lethal building of Auschwitz. In the 2500 square feet of this one room, more people lost their lives than any other place on this planet. 500,000 people were killed.

In this short statement, van Pelt makes two errors. First, crematory building (*Krema*) II is not at Auschwitz, but rather at Birkenau. Second, *Krema* II is not comprised of one room of 2500 square feet, but rather of many rooms. The "one room" to which van Pelt refers is in one of the two large underground areas attached to the crematory building, which are designated on every known contemporaneous drawing and blueprint as a morgue [*Leichenkeller*], which may explain why Morris and van Pelt did not show them on screen.

If we assume that 2500 persons were packed into this space (that is, one person per square foot, which is extremely tight), there would have been 200 mass gassings in the 623 days *Krema* II was in operation (March 15, 1943, through November 27, 1944), or a minimum of roughly one mass gassing every three days in this one building alone. (Looser packing of victims would require even more frequent gassings.) In support of his belief in this fantastic level of homicidal activity, van Pelt offers four pieces of evidence: a letter requesting "gas detectors" for the crematory building, a letter referring to heating and ventilation in the alleged gas chambers, a letter referring to an order for a gas-tight door with a peep

hole, and a letter in which the word *Vergasungskeller* (carburetion cellar) is underlined in red pencil. Although he mentions them elsewhere in the film as being readily available, van Pelt does not show any devices for introducing Zyklon-B into the alleged gas chambers. He also goes on record to say, "Every year, remains of human beings are found. Bones, teeth. The earth doesn't rest." He does not, however, produce any for the film, nor inform the viewer where these remains are located.

Van Pelt's first document, and thus presumably the strongest evidence in support of his claim that there were hundreds of thousands of gassing victims, is a telegram dated February 26, 1943, to the Topf company in Erfurt from SS Untersturmführer (second lieutenant) Pollok, "Send immediately ten gas detectors [*Gasprüfer*]. Invoice us later."

Van Pelt assumes that any mention of gas detectors implies the existence of a gas chamber in which they would be used. However, even one of van Pelt's collaborators, French anti-revisionist Jean-Claude Pressac, allowed that there might be a non-sinister use for these gas detectors. Without showing what type of gas detectors these were, and how and where they were used, this document is useless. (See Arthur R. Butz, "Gas Detectors in Auschwitz Crematory II," Sept.-Oct. 1997 *Journal*, pp. 24-30.)

Van Pelt's second document is a letter dated March 6, 1943, from camp architect SS Hauptsturmführer (captain) Karl Bischoff, who van Pelt believes was the person responsible for deciding to convert the morgue in Birkenau crematory building II into a homicidal gas chamber. Regarding *Kremas* II and III, Bischoff writes:

In accordance with your suggestion, Cellar I should be preheated. At the same time we would ask you to send an additional quotation for the modification of the air extraction installation in the undressing room.

Van Pelt's thinking is no doubt along the lines of Pressac, who believes that there is no need for a heater in a morgue, and that the ventilation system mentioned would be able to clear away residual gases after a mass execution. However, heating a morgue would be highly desirable to prevent freezing during the winter, and the modified ventilation system alluded to has no more than the capacity normally specified for morgues in Germany at that time, and van Pelt fails to tell the viewer that it was never installed. The mention of a preheater and ventilation system prove the existence of a homicidal gas chamber only if one first assumes the existence of such a gas chamber. (See Carlo Mattogno, "The Crematories of Auschwitz: A Critique of Jean-Claude Pressac," Nov.-Dec. 1994 *Journal*, pp. 34-42.)

Van Pelt's third piece of evidence against Leuchter is a letter dated March 31, 1943, also from Bischoff, that states in part:

Three gas tight doors have been completed. We remind you of an additional order for the gas door from *Krematorium III*. This must be made with a spy-hole, with double 8 millimeter glass. This order is particularly urgent.

Morris illustrates this point by zooming in on the peep hole on the outside of a metal gas-tight door. Remarkably, however, the zoom "continues" through the peephole using special effects, and the viewer finds himself inside the alleged gas chamber at the Auschwitz main camp, not *Krema III* at Birkenau. Not only has it now been authoritatively acknowledged (even by van Pelt) that the alleged gas chamber at the Auschwitz main camp is not in its original state, contrary to claims made for many years, but additionally none of the alleged gas chambers at Auschwitz or Birkenau has such a door. Therefore, in order to prove van Pelt's point, Morris (who traveled to Auschwitz and Birkenau during the making of this film) *invents a gas chamber with a gas-tight door*. Because Van Pelt neglects to tell us anything about this door, it may well have been for a delousing chamber, like the air-tight door on display at the US Holocaust Museum, or for an air raid shelter, as has been proposed by Samuel Crowell. (See "Wartime Germany's Anti-Gas Air Raid Shelters: A Refutation of Pressac's 'Criminal Traces'," July-August 1999 *Journal*, pp. 7-30.)

Van Pelt's penultimate piece of evidence to refute Leuchter is a single underlined word, used once in one German wartime document. Van Pelt interprets it as a reference to mass gassings of Jews:

There was a code. The Germans had a coded language. You never talk about extermination, you always talk about "special action," or "special treatment." There was a very clear policy; words like gas chamber would not be used. The letter of Bischoff of the 29th of January [1943], is a kind of exception in this, because it is a letter which is written by a person who manages the whole operation, and who himself had established a policy that you would never use the word "gas chamber." Somebody in the architecture office underlined the word *Vergasungskeller*, literally "gassing basement," and put on top a note: "SS Untersturmführer [second lieutenant] Kirschneck" exclamation mark. Which means, Kirschneck should be informed about this slip. And it doesn't occur after that. The Nazis were the first Holocaust deniers. Because they denied to themselves that it's happening.

It is worth noting that van Pelt has pulled this one word out of a document without quoting the doc-

ument in full. This is unfortunate because the two sentences to which he refers tell us a great deal. These sentences read:

The formwork for the reinforced concrete ceiling of the mortuary cellar [*Leichenkeller*] could not yet be removed on account of the frost. This is, however, unimportant, as the *Vergasungskeller* [gassing cellar] can be used for this purpose ...

Here is confirmation that preheating might well be needed in an underground morgue in an area of bitterly cold winters. As for the word itself, even if *Vergasungskeller* could be interpreted to mean "gassing basement" (the German word for gas chamber is *gaskammer*), this definition raises more questions than it answers. There are no other documents, including blueprints, that make reference to a *Vergasungskeller*, which means that 1) no one knows for certain what is meant by this term, and 2) no one knows where it was located. Van Pelt concludes that this term refers to an unspecified room somewhere in the crematory building explicitly designated for mass executions, rather than asking if perhaps this "slip" by the very person who supposedly forbade the use of this word simply is nothing more than the use of the wrong terminology in referring to some other location, which would also explain why the term was never used again, and why the "gassing basement" does not appear on the drawings for the crematory building. (See Arthur R. Butz, "The Nagging 'Gassing Cellar' Problem," July-August 1997 *Journal*, pp. 20-23.) One wonders if van Pelt believes that more than a million persons were gassed to death at Auschwitz and Birkenau on the basis of these paltry items.

Van Pelt offers nothing even approaching a scientific test, let alone a thorough forensic investigation of the weapon of the crime — the Nazi gas chamber — despite having better resources and complete access to premises believed by van Pelt to have been the site of at least 200 mass homicidal gassings. According to the credits at the end of the film, there were more than two dozen other persons in the Morris entourage who could have helped van Pelt take samples and measurements. (Morris has stated elsewhere that he took a crew of 50 to Poland.) Van Pelt claims to have spared no expense in retracing Leuchter's steps, and was intimately familiar with the methodology used. Throughout the section on Auschwitz, there are numerous recreations of samples being chipped away with a hammer and chisel.

Yet, with all of these resources, with all the access, with all the time, with all the personnel, with all the knowledge about Leuchter's supposed errors, van Pelt (and Morris) failed to collect sam-

ples of their own for James Roth to test (putting his newly-acquired 20/20 hindsight to good use). Instead, van Pelt attacks Leuchter as an ignoramus and a sacrilegious fool for desecrating what van Pelt calls the "holy of holies": Auschwitz. This is not a scientist or dispassionate researcher talking, this is a True Believer wrestling with a heretic.

Van Pelt gets so carried away with his polemics against Leuchter that he makes an astonishing statement:

Leuchter has said a number of times that the place was untouched. I mean, you just open your eyes, you realize that this is utter nonsense.... Where are all the bricks of the crematoria?... I think I know where they are. The real places to sample are the farmhouses to the west of the crematoria, the farmhouses where people are living, children are playing, dogs are barking.

While van Pelt is saying this, the camera shows him walking along a low brick wall amid the ruins of a crematory building at Birkenau, and then cuts to brick homes apparently nearby. Many of the crematory building bricks may have been taken elsewhere, and Germar Rudolf established that the foundation walls now visible at the former locations of crematory buildings IV and V were built after the war. Even so, there still remain concrete, bricks and mortar at the alleged gas chamber room of crematory building II, much of which has been protected from the elements by the collapsed roof. As for the bricks from the other crematory buildings, Van Pelt suggests he might know where they are, criticizing Leuchter in passing for not testing them (thus implicitly acknowledging that Leuchter's fundamental approach was correct), and *still* he doesn't call for a chemical test of the building materials used in the alleged gas chambers.

Roth

Several reviewers of "Mr. Death" have written that James Roth single-handedly demolishes Leuchter's findings. This is based on the fact that the chemical analysis portion of the *Leuchter Report* was done by Roth's company, and on the mistaken assumption that the *Report* deals only (or primarily) with chemical testing for cyanide residues in the alleged gas chambers. Clearly, none of these reviewers has compared Roth's critical remarks in "Mr. Death" against statements he made under oath in 1988 in Toronto. For example, in the film Roth states:

You have to look at what happens to cyanide when it reacts with a wall. Where does it go? How far does it go? Cyanide is a surface reaction, it's probably not going to penetrate more

than 10 microns. A human hair is 100 microns in diameter.

On the stand in Toronto, however, Roth was shown a color photograph of the blue staining on the wall of hydrogen cyanide (HCN) Delousing Facility No. 1 at Birkenau, from which Leuchter had taken his "control" sample. He indicated that the color was what is commonly referred to as "Prussian blue" (also known as ferric ferro cyanide), formed by the interaction of hydrogen cyanide with iron molecules found in the bricks. The reaction is most efficient in warm, moist environments, resulting in a very stable compound. Roth testified that Prussian blue could penetrate any porous surface, with the depth of penetration dependent on factors such as the porosity of material and available moisture. (Barbara Kulaszka's exhaustive *Report of the Evidence in the Canadian "False News" Trial of Ernst Zündel* is available from the IHR for \$53.00 postpaid.)

Does crushing the samples dilute them to the point of meaninglessness? In Toronto, Roth told the court, "In other words, we're looking at an analysis of a large sample in which we took a sub sample."

In the film, Roth does not tell us how he determined that the standard operating procedure he cited in his testimony before the Court in 1988 was so flawed that it can cause a disastrous level of dilution in samples.

But only in *some* samples. On the witness stand in Toronto, Roth stated that all the samples he had tested for iron content contained essentially the same levels, and that the reactivity of the iron in each sample to HCN was similar. The control sample from the delousing chamber tested in excess of 1000 milligrams of cyanide per kilogram of sample. The next two highest samples, from alleged homicidal gas chambers, tested at 6.7 milligrams and 7.9 milligrams of cyanide per kilogram of sample, that is, less than one percent of the control sample. Roth testified that if each "gas chamber" sample had been subjected repeatedly to HCN, Prussian blue should have formed.

Roth now would have us believe that dilution from crushing the samples somehow occurred only in the 30 brick, mortar, and concrete samples taken from the alleged gassing facilities, while the one sample that was not diluted was the control sample from the delousing facility. Clearly, the odds against this happening by chance are astronomical.

It is also worth pointing out that paint on the wall typically does not penetrate to the timbers behind the wall, and that Roth knows (or should know, from photos of the delousing chamber at Birkenau) that the blue staining can in some instances penetrate completely through walls constructed of the type of brick used at Birkenau. Even in cases where blue staining is not visible, Roth tes-

tified in Toronto, "Chemically, you can see a lot more than what you visually see." Perhaps in the film Roth is actually referring to the crushing power of the Jewish lobby, an object lesson which has for him turned Leuchter's samples meaningless.

Not True to his Art

Reviewers of "Mr. Death" have picked up on Morris' description that the film is a look at human hubris. This is accurate as far as it goes, but the hubris is not Leuchter's, but Morris'.

Like so many before him, Morris is a victim of the hubris of believing that he had not been lied to about the Holocaust, and that he knows the facts better than Leuchter, or any other skeptic. In front of the camera, however, far from coming off as some kind of nut, Fred Leuchter ably enunciated the revisionist position simply and persuasively in a way that Morris' editing could not mitigate. Initially unaware of what had taken on, Morris was caught off-guard by the logic, common sense, and verifiability of Leuchter's findings, and created a film that was too dangerous to release. Rather than admit to being flummoxed, however, he attempted to salvage his pride and protect the extermination myth at Leuchter's expense. The resulting film is neither as powerful nor as thought-provoking as it started out to be. "Mr. Death" will not change many minds, let alone provide the spark that at long last ignites a dispassionate look at Holocaust extermination claims.

Still, it is a step forward for historical awareness that forensic testing of the alleged gas chambers at Auschwitz is the subject of a feature-length film, dozens of articles and film reviews. As if that is not enough, anyone with the price of a movie ticket can see and hear the quiet, unassuming man who helped cause a revolution in Holocaust historiography: Fred Leuchter.

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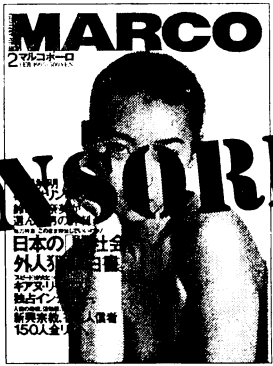
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A Warning from an American Historian

"... Today we must face the discouraging prospect that we all, teachers and pupils alike, have lost much of what this earlier generation possessed, the priceless asset of a shared culture ... Many of the young practitioners of our craft, and those who are still apprentices, are products of lower middle-class or foreign origins, and their emotions not infrequently get in the way of historical reconstructions. They find themselves in a very real sense outsiders on our past and feel themselves shut out. This is certainly not their fault, but it is true. They have no experience to assist them, and the chasm between them and the Remote Past widens every hour ... What I fear is that the changes observant in the background and training of the present generation will make it impossible for them to communicate to and reconstruct the past for future generations."

— Carl Bridenbaugh, president of the American Historical Association, 1963. Quoted in Kevin MacDonald, *Separation and its Discontents* (1998), pp. 82-83.



The image shows the cover of Marco Polo Magazine. At the top, the word 'MARCO' is printed in large, bold, black letters. Below it, the title '2739 CENSORED' is written in a stylized font. The central image is a black and white photograph of a man's face, looking directly at the camera. Overlaid on the right side of the face is the word 'CENSORED' in large, bold, black letters. Below the photograph, there is Japanese text, including '日本の社会' (Japanese Society) and '外人' (Foreigner).

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

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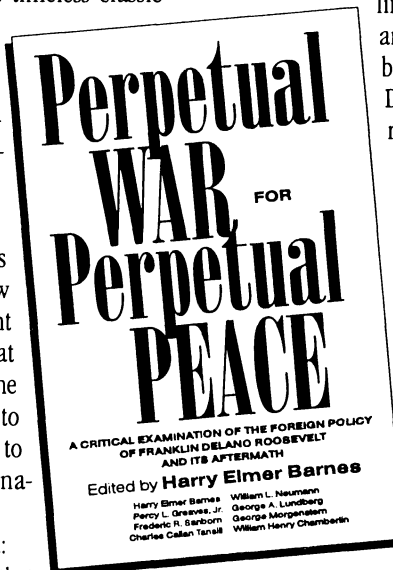
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Its republication by the Institute in 1983 was an event, and not merely because IHR's version included Harry Elmer Barnes' uncannily prophetic essay on "1984" trends in American policy and public life (considered too controversial for conservatives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

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

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

Today, the Institute for Historical Review is proud to be able to make this enduring classic available to you, and to our fellow Americans, in both the original 1953 hardbound edition, and our phoenix-like 1993 quality softbound reprint (with additional material not included in the 1953 edition). This book can silence the lies about World War II, and thus the bombs and bullets our interventionist rulers plan — for our own American troops no less than the enemy — in the Middle East, Europe, Africa, Asia, or wherever else the interventionist imperative imposed by World War II may lead us.



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Numb with Shock

Having just finished reading James Bacque's book, *Crimes and Mercies*, I am numb with shock. It is nearly impossible for me to believe what so-called fair and honest people of America and England carried out in postwar Germany. So much for my English heritage of fairness — of "playing cricket" by the rules of the game. I have been a *Journal* subscriber for years, and pray hope you continue printing the truth.

R. E.
Berkshire, England
[by e-mail]

Monty Correct About Africa?

General Bernard Montgomery, Britain's famed World War II commander, was dubious about the future of a black-ruled Africa, and concluded in a recently-revealed 1947 report that the native African "is quite incapable of developing the country himself." He also wrote, in response to a critic, that "time will show which of us is right." ("General Montgomery's 'Racist Masterplan,'" March-April 1999 *Journal*, p. 33.) By any objective standard of an orderly and prosperous society, time has shown that, so far anyway, Monty was absolutely correct.

S. L.
Philadelphia, Pa.

One-Sided Revisionism?

You do good work in exposing the Holocaust hoax and Zionist myths, but I find that you do not apply your historical skepticism evenhandedly. While you carefully scrutinize baseless allegations made against fascist regimes, you uncritically repeat myths about socialist ones. A case in point is the statement, in the "From the Editor" essay (May-June 1999 *Journal*, p. 3), that "by all accounts, the victims of Stalin,

America's ally, vastly outnumbered those of Hitler, America's enemy."

By whose accounts? Those of the anti-Communist Hearst newspapers or of the Hitler regime, both of which spread the hoax of a massive famine in the Ukraine in the 1930s? Surely not the accounts of the recently opened KGB files, which reveal that the number of victims of the purge trials is far fewer than had been widely claimed in the West for decades. Rightists keep shouting that Stalin killed 20 million people, and that socialism killed 100 million, but they have never given a proper accounting of these figures with real evidence, nor, does it seem, do you ask them to do so. Because they shout the same number loud enough and long enough, they are believed, just as Jews do with the infamous "six million." But while you question the latter, you don't question the former.

Your *Journal* advertisement for the IHR edition of *The Last Days of the Romanovs* tells readers: "When the news of the cold-blooded massacre of Tsar Nicholas II, his wife Alexandra, and their five children reached the outside world, decent people were horrified." Oh really? What of the many hundreds of thousands of Russian workers and peasants sent by the Tsar and his officials to perish miserably in a useless and aggressive war against Germany? What of those who starved because of the food shortages caused by that war for the glory of their dynasty? What of all those who suffered under their autocratic rule? Even if the Bolshevik regime was more cruel and oppressive than the Tsarist regime, it does not exculpate them. After all, it was their regime and their war that drove

the Russian people to embrace Lenin.

"Decent people" are not horrified by the killings of the Tsar and his family. Decent people know that the Romanovs had it coming.

One-sided revisionism is as bad as suppressing historical truth.

K. W.
Phoenix, Arizona

Pure Gold

I must congratulate you for the article about the Anglo-Boer war [in the May-June 1999 *Journal*], which exposes the concentration camps in South Africa and the British propaganda lies. It is "pure gold," history writing at its best. Bravo.

Keep up your magnificent work.

V. de C.
Laval, Quebec, Canada

Gullible Tourists

Ten years ago I visited Auschwitz. It was truly a memorable hoot. The uncritical visitor "sees" what he is supposed to see.

What stunned me is the hostility of so many tourists when glaring discrepancies are pointed out to them. For instance, the "gas chamber" that is routinely shown to tourists in the Auschwitz I main camp is obviously of postwar Soviet construction.

An American visitor got visibly upset when I pointed out that each of the many suitcases that were displayed in a large pile to "prove" extermination had the owner's name and address — from every conceivable part of Europe — written in identical writing and in the same white paint. I said that this suggests that millions of innocent victims, prior to deportation, just happened to have the foresight to inscribe their names and addresses in the same hand-

writing, and with the same marking paint. This tourist — was of Polish Christian ancestry — got quite angry, not for having been deceived, but at me for having the bad taste to bring this to her attention.

Necessary illusions, indeed.

Your web site is of continuing fascination. Please keep up the good work!

F. M.
Melbourne, Australia

Spain's Conquest of Mexico in Historical Context

Zoltán Bruckner's article, "For a Balanced History of the American Indian" (March-April 1999 *Journal*), is fair in principle, but his conclusions are wrong.

He writes that "certainly, the Aztecs waged brutal war against their neighbors, but they did not exterminate them. They amalgamated with their conquered neighbors, absorbing and mixing with their cultures ..." While it is true that the Aztecs did not exterminate the peoples they vanquished, they cared nothing for their integration. They imposed oppressive tribute payments, not only of goods in kind, but also of men who were sacrificed to the Aztec god Huitzilopochtli, and of young virgins for the amusement of the Aztec emperor and his warriors. If the subject peoples defaulted, even briefly, in paying tribute, they were punished severely. It was the deep resentment over this oppression that motivated many natives to join the Spanish against the Aztecs. Thus, during the siege of Tenochtitlán in 1521, more than 75,000 Tlaxcaltec warriors joined Hernán Cortés and his 900 conquistadors.

Bruckner cites selectively, and out of historical context, the cruelties of Nuño de Guzmán, as reported by Bernal Díaz del Castillo, and the quotations of Diego de Landa. During this period Spanish rule in the New World was not so much cruel as it was negligent, in conditions that were still very chaotic and unset-

tled. (At this time Spain itself was involved in a terrible conflict in Europe.)

When the Spanish Crown fully realized the failure of its administration in "New Spain," it was dismissed. In 1531 Vasco de Quiroga was appointed *audiencia* (governor). This distinguished priest vigorously protected the natives, enforcing, for example, the Spanish ban against slavery. His benevolent concern for the welfare and education of the Indians won him widespread affection. He also worked for their conversion to Christianity — a religion of love that, unlike the native one, did not demand human sacrifice.

The writings of Bartolomé de Las Casas, which Bruckner quotes to make his case, are not reliable. This is proven by Philip W. Powell in his book, *Tree of Hate*. In his zeal to protect the Indians, de Las Casas spread many falsehoods, even claiming that the Spanish killed 20 million (!) natives.

Bruckner seems to think that, instead of warriors, Spain should have sent to the New World delegations of anthropologists, ethologists, physicians, dentists, veterinarians, agronomists and civil engineers.

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that the terrible mortality of the natives during this period was due mostly to devastation by disease, especially smallpox, introduced from Europe. (Similarly, many in Europe succumbed to syphilis, which, apparently, was introduced from the New World.)

Throughout history wars and conquests — along with the transformation and even eradication of cultures — have inevitably been bloody, accompanied by the terrible cruelties of which all human beings are capable. Spaniards themselves suffered under the conquest and 700-year occupation of their country by the Arabs. To highlight cruelties by White or European peoples, as Bruckner has done, is therefore neither fair nor serious.

At the same time, it is very often wars and conflicts that bring one culture to another, promoting the social and cultural changes that are the hallmark of human progress.

Certainly Indians suffered greatly during the Spanish conquest. But it is also clear that, rather than being exterminated, they were assimilated into Spanish culture. This is manifest today in the life and culture of Mexico and the other countries of Latin America.

R. C.
Mexico City

Indians Not 'In Harmony' With Nature

In his article in the March-April 1999 *Journal*, "For a Balanced History of the American Indian," Zoltán Bruckner writes (p. 24) that "the Indian had lived in harmony with Nature for centuries, and would have continued doing so 'until the end of time' if Whites had not intervened."

This is grossly misleading, as Durward L. Allen, a historian of wildlife management, showed in *Our Wildlife Legacy* (New York: 1962), an ecological study of the interrelationship between American Indians, Whites and buffaloes (bison). Allen wrote (p. 10):

"Contrary to storybook tale, the Indian was no conservationist, except by his limitations. He stampeded whole herds over cliffs or drove them into slaughter pens. Opportunity permitting, he fired the dry prairie grass to put the masses at his mercy. Catlin [a historian of the American Indian] told of a Sioux foray in which 1,400 [buffalo] tongues were the sole booty, since the camp had abundant meat already."

Paul Grubach
Lyndhurst, Ohio

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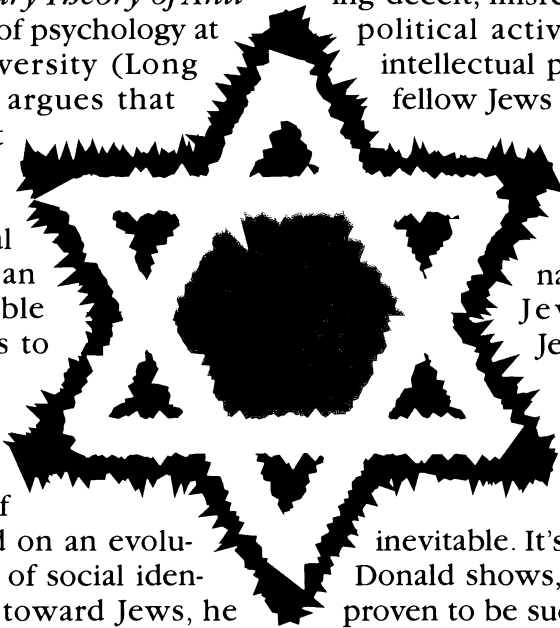
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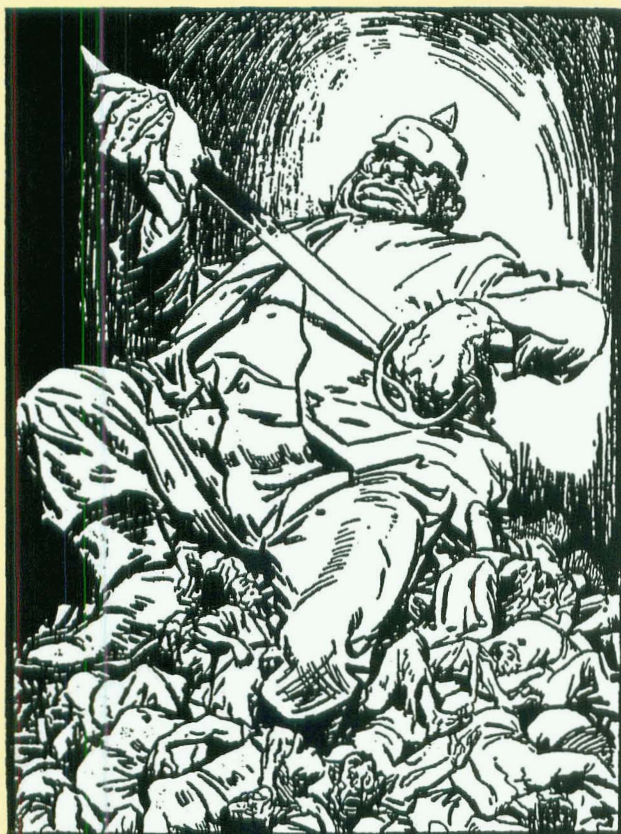
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